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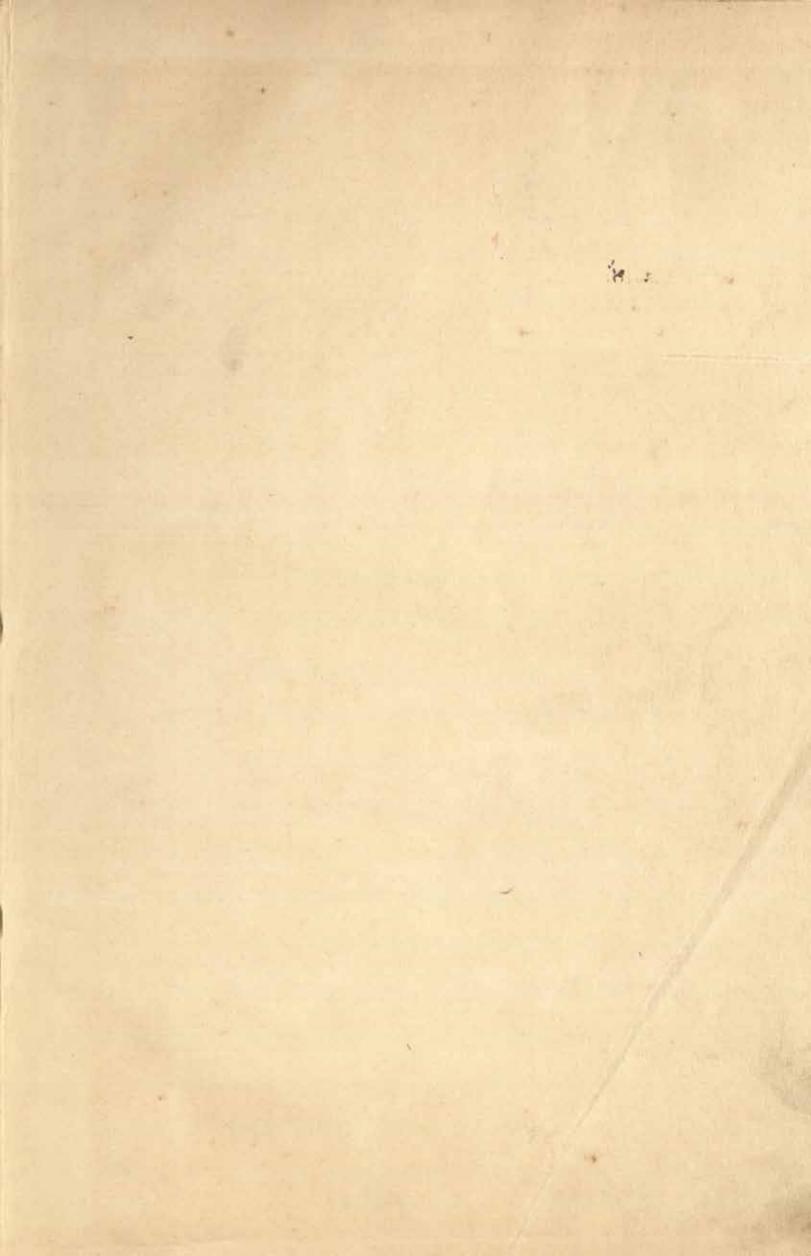
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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACHURI CHEDI ERA

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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

EDITED BY

VASUDEV VISHNU MIRASHI, M.A.

Formerly Principal and Professor of Sanskrit, Morris College, Nagpur, and Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amaravati; formerly Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit in the University of Nagpur

IN TWO PARTS

PART I



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WITH 3 MAPS AND 61 PLATES

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PREFACE

Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era was offered to me by the Director General of Archæology in India in his letter of the 7th March 1935. As I was already interested in the study of these records for a long time and had also edited some of them, I gladly accepted the offer, though not without some diffidence; for my official duties as Professor of Sanskrit at the Morris College, Nagpur, left me little leisure, and I knew full well 'how easy it is to glean a few straws, and how laborious to mow a whole field.' After spending most of my spare time during nine years on this work, I made over the typescript of it to the Director General of Archæology on the 6th March 1944. Its printing could not, however, be taken up immediately on account of war conditions then prevailing. The delay was not without an advantage; for it enabled me to include in the present Volume some important records which were discovered subsequently, and to shed some more light on the epoch of the Kalachuri era. At last, the work of printing commenced in June 1949. It was again delayed for some time for want of matrices with the necessary diacritical marks, but was ultimately completed in December 1954.

The present Volume has been planned to contain all inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, by whatever dynasty they may have been issued. It therefore includes, inter alia, records of the Abhiras and their feudatories, the Traikūtakas, the Early Gurjaras, the Sendrakas and the Early Chalukyas of Gujarat, the Harischandriyas as well as the Kalachuris of Māhishmati, Tripuri and Ratanpur, and their feudatories. For completing the sources of the history of the Kalachuris it was found desirable to include a few more records of the rulers of Tripuri, Sarayūpāra, Ratanpur and Raipur, though they are dated in other eras. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Kalyana have, however, been excluded as none of them are dated in the Kalachuri era. The records have been arranged dynastywise in the chronological order, and named uniformly after the reigning kings. Some more inscriptions, because of their being spurious, or for not mentioning the name of any particular king, or due to some other reasons, have been grouped under the heading Miscellaneous Inscriptions and, for convenience of reference, have been inserted in three places where they were chronologically and territorially connected. As the Volume was going through the press, some more records, either dated in the Kalachuri era or allied to those already included, came to light. They have been inserted at the end under the heading Additional Inscriptions. All these inscriptions have been edited from their originals or mechanical ink impressions. In the case of a few other inscriptions, however, the original stones or copper-plates have since been lost and their facsimiles have not been published. Their texts, where possible, have therefore been given from previous editions or notices, with translations added, in an Appendix under the heading Supplementary Inscriptions. As this matter was being composed, one of these records which had been very briefly noticed before and had long been given up for lost, viz., the Göpälpur stone inscription of Vijayasimha, was rediscovered at Jabalpur. I was consequently able to include its text from an excellent inked estampage kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra, though it was too late to have its plate prepared for the present Volume.

(vi) PREFACE

The Introduction discusses first the important question of the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era which has been at issue among scholars for nearly a hundred years. When Dr. Kielhorn attempted to fix it in 1888, he had only fourteen dated records with the necessary details available to him, on which he based his conclusion. Since then twenty-six more dated inscriptions containing details necessary for computation have come to light, which have enabled me to fix the epoch of the era more accurately. The Introduction next gives the political history of the dynasties that used the era, and an account of the administration as well as the religious, social and economic conditions of the times as gleaned from the inscriptions. The next two sections deal with the literature of the age and the coins of the Traikūṭakas and the Kalachuris.

In my editions of inscriptions I usually give their texts in the Nāgarī characters. The same method is followed here. As the book is printed in monotype, some of the conjunct letters could not be displayed exactly as in the original records. As regards discritical marks, I have used them in all ancient names, whether of persons or of places, and also in some modern place-names which were not sufficiently well-known. They were not considered necessary in the case of such well-known modern place-names as Nasik, Banaras or Allahabad.

The Volume became too bulky to be issued in one part. It has therefore been divided into two parts: the first part containing the Introduction, early inscriptions of the Kalachuri era and inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, and the second, the remaining records of the era, additional and supplementary inscriptions and the Index to both the parts.

For some years past I have been suffering from a recurring eye-disease which makes reading difficult and painful. At one time it was even apprehended that I might lose my eye-sight altogether. Though this has, fortunately, not come to pass, my sight is still far from normal. The first 374 pages of the Texts and Translations, which were rushed through the press during 1950-51, when the disease was very troublesome, contain a considerable number of typographical and other errors, for which I crave the indulgence of the reader. The Additions and Corrections are inserted at the beginning of both the parts, which the reader is requested to notice.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the distinguished scholars who previously edited many of the records included here, though I have had occasion to differ from them in some places. For the verification of dates I have used throughout S. K. Pillai's indispensable Indian Ephemeris. With the help of the tables given in that work I have myself calculated some early dates, the equivalents of which in the Christian era have not been given therein. To the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology, who first turned my attention to the editing of epigraphic records, encouraged and helped me in various ways, I owe a deep debt of gratitude which I cannot adequately express in words. I am obliged to Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, the present Director General of Archæology, for kind consideration and help. My thanks are also due to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, who, as Government Epigraphists, supplied excellent ink impressions of several records and got illustrative plates prepared for the Volume. Dr. Chhabra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. M. N. Mitra, and Prof. N. R. Navalekar went through parts of my typescript and made some useful suggestions, for which I feel very grateful. I must also thank Mr. G. S. Ramanathan of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India for the help he rendered me in the correction of proofs when my eyesight became very defective. I am obliged to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the

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Central Museum, Nagpur, who supplied casts of the gold coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Museum, and to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, who placed at my disposal the copper coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Mahakoshal Historical Society. Mr. N. H. Kulkarni, Artist of the Social Welfare Department, Madhya Pradesh, kindly drew the three maps showing places mentioned in the inscriptions, for which my thanks are due to him. I am also obliged to Mr. L. R. Kulkarni, Mr. V. P. Rode, Mr. J. K. Abhyankar and several other friends for the help they rendered me in various ways. Finally, I thank the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records, and the Manager, Allahabad Law Journal Co., Ltd., for the consideration he showed to me while the work was going through the press.

NAGPUR: The 22nd December, 1954.

V. V. MIRASHI.

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	(Kalachuri) Year 963	Between	pages	37
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ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. I. A. - Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leiden).

A. B. O. R. I.—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

A. C. A. I.-Allan, Coins of Ancient India.

A. C. S .- Antiquities of the Chamba State.

A. H. D .- Jouveau-Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Daccan.

AK.-Amarakōśa.

A. R.-Asiatic Researches.

A. R. A. D. G. S.—Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.

A. R. A. S. I.- Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.

A. R. A. S. M .- Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore.

A. R. B. I. S. M.-Annual Report of the Bharata Itihasa Samśödhaka Mandala.

A. R. S. I. E .- Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.

A. S. W. I.-Archæological Survey of Western India.

BK.—Bhārata-Kaumudī (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji), Part I.

Bom. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.

B. R. W. W.-Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World.

BS.—Brihatsamhitā.

B. V.-D. R. Bhandarkar Volume.

C. A. D.—Rapson, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bödhi Dynasty.

C. A. I.-Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India.

C. A. S. I. R.—Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India Reports.

C. H. I .- Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

C. I. M.-Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India.

C. T. I.-Burgess, Cave Temples of India.

C. W. B.—Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).

D. H. N. I .- H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.

DK.—Hēmachandra, Dvyāśrayakāvya.

D. K. A.-Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age.

D. K. D.-Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.

E. D. H. I.-Elliot and Dowson, History of India.

E. H. D.—R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III).

Ep. Carn. (or E. C.).-Epigraphia Carnatica.

Ep. Ind.-Epigraphia Indica.

G. i. L.-Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur.

H. A. S .- Hyderabad Archæological Series.

H. C. I. P .- History and Culture of the Indian People.

H. D. L.-Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra Literature.

H. I. S. I.—Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.

H. P. D.-Ganguli, History of the Paramara Dynasty.

H. P. K.-Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī.

H. T. M.-R. D. Banerji, Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments.

HV.—Harivamsa (Chitrasala Press, Poona).

I. B.-N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.

I. C. P. B.—Hiralal, Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar (Second Edition).

I. C. T. W. I.—Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India.

I. I. B. S .- Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State.

I. M. C .- Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.

I. N. I .- D. R. Bhandarkar, Inscriptions of Northern India.

Ind. Ant.-Indian Antiquary.

Ind. Cult.-Indian Culture.

Ind. Hist. Quart. (or I. H. Q.) .- Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. P.—Bühler, Indian Palæography.

J. A. H. R. S .- Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

J. A. O. S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society. J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. B. O. R. S .- Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. B. T. S .- Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

J. D. L .- Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.

J. M. S. G. U .- Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad University.

J. N. S. I .- Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

J. O. R .- Journal of Oriental Research.

J. R. A. S. (N. S.) - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).

J. R. A. S. B .- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

KM.—Rājaśēkhara, Kāvyamīmāmsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

K. AS.-Kaurilya, Arthasastra.

K. D. G.-Khandesh District Gazetteer.

KVS.-Kavindravachanasamuchchaya ed. by F. W. Thomas.

M. A. S. B.—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

M. A. S. I.-Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

MBH. Cr. Ed.—Mahābhārata (Critical Edition) published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

MSM.—Manusmriti (Nirnayasagar Press edition).

MP.-Mārkandēya Purāņa.

M. S .- Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, Monuments of Sanchi.

M. W.-Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

N. H. I. P .- A New History of the Indian People.

N. I. A .- New Indian Antiquary.

NSCH.—Navasāhasānkacharita (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

NVA.—Somadeva, Nitivākyāmrita ed. by Nathuram Premi. O. Y. C.—Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.

PCH.—Merutunga, Prabandhachintāmaņi, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni.

PCHU.—Krishnamiśra, Prabodhachandrodaya (Nimayasagar Press edition).

P. H. A. I.—Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India.

P. I. H. C.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

P. R. A. S. W. I .- Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western India.

P. T. A. I. O. C .- Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.

P. V. O. C .- Proceedings of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section.

Q. B. I. S. M.—Quarterly of the Bharata Itihasa Samśödhaka Mandala.

RCH.—Sandhyākaranandin, Rāmacharita (published by the Varendra Research Museum).

RM.-Rāsamālā ed. by H. G. Rawlinson.

SA.-Vallabhadēva, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

SHC.—Siddhahēmachandra.

S. I.-Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I.

S. I. I .- South Indian Inscriptions.

S. I. M. H.-Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History.

SKM.-Vallabhadēva, Saduktikarņāmrita ed. by H. D. Sharma.

SKM.-Jalhana, Süktimuktāvali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

S. M. H. D.-Khare, Sources of the Mediæval History of the Daccan (Marathi).

SNS.—Sukranītisāra edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar.

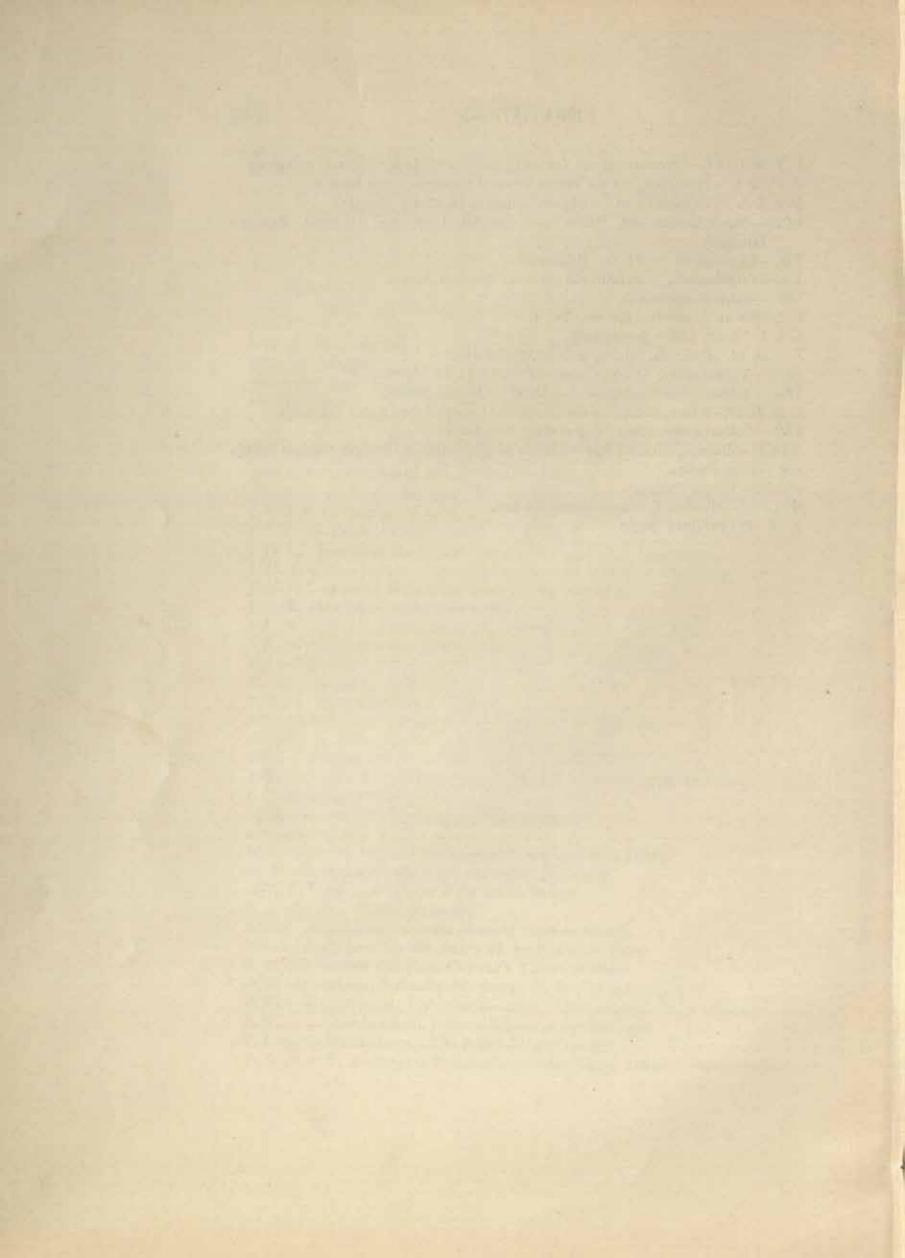
VDCH.-Bilhana, Vikramānkadēvacharita edited by Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

VP.-Vāyu Purāņa.

VSHP.-Vishnu Purāna.

W. C. V.-Woolner Commemoration Volume.

Y. S .- Yājñavalkya Smriti.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Page ii, para. 2, line 5-For thesame read the same.

- " iii, para. z, line 12 For 423 read 443.
- " v, para. 1, last line -For purnimanta read parnimanta.
- " xxvii, para. 1, line 1-For 709-10 A. C. read 710-11 A. C.
- " xxxiv, para. 3, line 5—Mr. G. H. Khare takes Gōpaka-pālaka, mentioned in the Tāsgaon plates, over whom Kēšava obtained a victory, in the sense of 'the king of Goa'.
- " xxxvii, line 2—Recently silver coins of Kalachuri Krishnarāja (circa 550-575 A. C.) have been found at Nandurbār in Khandesh.
- " xli, para. 1, last line-For rules read rule,
- " xlvi and xlvii-For Krishnaraja wherever it occurs read Krishnaraja.
- " xlvi, para. 2, line 12—Recently a silver coin of Kalachuri Krishnarāja has been found at Bhērā-Ghāṭ near Tewar in the Jabalpur District. J. N. S. I., Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
- " xlvii, para. 5, line 2 from the bottom-For Sankaragana read Sankaragana.
- " Ivi, para. 2, line 4-For 740 A. C. read the 21st October 739 A. C.
- " lviii, f. n. 2—The Nāgad and Kāsārē plates have since been edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. He takes Nikumbhāllaśakti to mean Allaśakti of Nikumbha, and apparently understands Nikumbha as a family name. The Kāsārē plates show, however, that Nikumbha was another name of Bhānuśakti, the founder of the family. It was used by his descendants as a biruda. Their family name was Sēndraka.
- iix, f. n. z—The facsimile of the Mundakhēdē plates has since been noticed in a subsequent issue of the same Marathi journal Prabhāta (Vol. II). I have edited the plates in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX from that facsimile,
- " lxiv, line 10-For 740 A. C. read 739 A. C.
- " lxv, para. 2, line 5-For Anivartakānivartayitri read Anivartakanivartayitri.
- " lxxi, para. 2, line 1—One more record of the reign of this Sankaragana has recently been discovered at Muriā, 3½ miles from Bōriā on the Jabalpur-Saugor road. It is fragmentary and records the construction of some meritorious work (kīrti) by one Bhattikaradēva during the reign of the illustrious Sankaragana. I have edited the record with a facsimile in A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXXV, pp. 20 ff.
- " lxxii, para. 4, line 5-For Vallabharāia read Vallabharāja.
- " lxxxv, para. 2, lines 9 and 13 -For Kāliyā read Kāliya.
- " lxxxvi, para. 4, line 5-For Someśwara read Somasyamin.
- " Ixxxvi, para. 5, line 1—Recently a fragmentary stone inscription of Sankaragaṇa III has come to notice at Jabalpur. It opens with a verse in praise of Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu). Line 8 of the inscription states that Sankaragaṇa defeated with ease a Gurjara king. The latter was probably the Pratīhāra king Vijayapāla whose Rājōrgaḍh inscription is dated V. 1016 (959 A. C.). The inscription has been edited by me with a facsimile in A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXXV, pp. 23 ff.
- " lxxxvii, line 6—Mr. M. Venkataramayya has recently discussed the identification of Vāchaspati, the minister of Kṛishṇa, mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription. J. O. R., Vol. XXII, pp. 56 ff. He identifies this Kṛishṇa with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and thinks that his minister Vāchaspati defeated the Chēdi king Lakshmaṇarāja II, as the latter had set at nought the authority of the Rāshṭrakūṭas over Malwa and Lāṭa in marching across those territories as far as Sōmanāth Pāṭan. He further says that these raids of Lakshmaṇarāja were undertaken at the instigation of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. This view does not appear to be correct. There is no basis for the supposition that the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris, who had been matrimonially connected for several generations, became hostile to each other during the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja II. Far from assisting the Gurjara-Pratīhāras by his raids in Gujarat and Saurashtra, Lakshmaṇarāja II is known to have fought with them. His son Sankaragaṇa III continued the hostilities as stated in the preceding note.

Page lxxxvii, line 8—The Māsēr iascription has since been edited by Mr. M. Venkataramayya in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. He thinks that Narasiriha of the Sulkī family, who fought with the Kalachuris, held sway over the Bilhāri region. He identifies the territory Viḍa-dvādaśa (Viḍa-12) which he held with the village Viḍā donated by the Kalachuri queen Nōhalā to the god Siva. Krishṇarāja at whose command Narasiriha fought against the Kalachuris was, according to Mr. Venkataramayya, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. It is difficult to accept these identifications. Viḍa-12 was probably a fairly large territory. It must have been situated somewhere outside the Kalachuri dominion, and cannot therefore be identified with the small village Viḍā near Bilhārī. Again, the Māsēr inscription shows that Narasiriha not only fought with the Kalachuris but killed a Kalachuri king; for he is said to have initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command he did this is not likely to have been the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, who is known to have married a Kalachuri princess.

" xci, para. 1, line 7—For Mahipāla read Mahīpāla.

" xcv, f. n. 10, line 3-For the conqueror read to the conqueror.

" zevii, para. 1, line 14-For Karna read Karna.

"xcvii, para. 2, line 2—Two earlier dates of the reign of Kirtivarman are also known, viz., V. 1132 (1073 A. C.) of the Darbat image inscription (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.) and V. 1147 (1090 A. C.) of the Kalanjar stone inscription (A. R. A. S. I. for 1936-37, pp. 92 ff.).

" ci, lines 3-6—In the Kudlur plates of Mārasimha II the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III is called Narapati (lord of men). So the reference to Narapati in Karṇa's title may signify his victory over the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I—Āhavamalla. As stated before (p. xcvi), an Apabhramśa verse mentions Karṇa's defeat of Sōmēśvara I's son Vikramāditya VI.

", cviii, para. 1, line 2-For Mabārājakumāra read Mabākumāra.

" exiii, line 6-For reign read reigns.

" cxxiii, last line-For Samantas read Savantas.

" cxxvi, f. n. 8-For ज़िस्स read ज़िस्से.

" clv, line 10 from the bottom—For the Māsēr inscription, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Krishņarāja mentioned in this inscription with the Rashtra-kūta Krishņa III proposed by the editor, see above, add. to page Ixxxvii, line 8.

, clix, para. 2, line 2-For bigotted read bigoted.

" clxi, para. 1, line 3-The complete name of the work is Ashtasāhasrikāprojūāpāramitā.

., clxxi, para. 1, line 19-For absoutely read absolutely.

" clxxlii, para. 1, line 4—Since these remarks were drafted, Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University has kindly informed me that he has discovered a MS. of the Udāttarāghava. From the extracts of its Prastāvanā and Bharatavākya, which Dr. Raghavan has favoured me with, it appears that its author was identical with that of the Sanskrit play Tāpasavatsarāja. Like the latter work, this MS. gives his name as Mātrarāja alias Anangaharsha, the son of Narēndravardhana. How Mātrarāja came to be known as Māyurāja is not known. If Rājaśēkhara's statement that he belonged to the Kalachuri family is correct, we have two more names in the Kalachuri genealogy, viz., Narēndravardhana and his son Mātrarāja alias Anangaharsha.

., clxxiii, f. n. 3-For aifogul read aifogul.

" clxxiv, line 1—Another work of Bhīmaṭa named Manōramā-Vatsarāja is cited in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, p. 14.
" clxxx, line 16 from the bottom—Some Traikūṭaka coins have also been found in the excavations at Maski in the Hyderabad State. See J. N. S. I., Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.

, claxxii, line z—Coins of Krishnarāja have recently been found also at Nandurbār in Khandesh and Bherā-Ghāṭ near Tewar. See J. N. S. I., Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.

" clxxxv, f. n. 2—For a detailed examination of Mr. Nath's view about the attribution of these coins, see my article in J. N. S. I., Vol. XV, pp. 208 ff.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

17, para. 4, line 7-For Bhāradvāja read Bharadvāja.

" 17, para. 6, lines 6 and 9-For Dasarna read Dasapura.

" 18, para. 2, line 7-For Sejwānik read Sējwāni.

,, 18, Text-line 2, -For -यनतका- read -य (यू)क्तका-

,, 20, Text-line 1-For (1*) substitute [1*].

,, 20, Text-line 2-For (स्थान?) read [स्थान?].

```
Page 20, Text-line 12-For (1*) substitute [1*], and for আভজনা read আভজ (ভট) না.
 " 21, Translation, para. 1, line 1-For Mahushmati read Mahishmati.
    21, Translation, para. 2, line 4-After offerings insert for ( the worship of ) the divine Buddha.
    21, Translation, para. 2, line 8-For constructed read made.
    21, f. n. 2 line 2-For Guriaras read Gurjaras.
    21, f. n. 6, line 1-For udranga read udranga.
   21, f. n. 6, line 4-For s-odranga read s-odranga.
   22, Title of the record-For PLATE read PLATES.
   22, para. 6, line 5—The word Vākāṭaka should be in the Roman type.
 ,, 24, f. n. 2-Insert Vol. XVI after J. B. B. R. A. S.
   25, f. n. 1, line 2-For n. 12 read n. 9.
   27, f. n. 11-For -परिहीणाग्राहार- read -परिहीणाग्रहार-.
 " 31, Page-title-For 246 read 245.
   31, f. n. 7, lines 2-3-For Suprabhāyāh read Suprabhāyāh.
    31, f. n. 10, line 2-For diety read deity.
    32, Translation, line 6-Enclose and in round brackets.
    34, line z-Delete the comma after dūtaka, and for Rēvadhyaka read Rēvādhyaka.
    35, f. n. 9-For q'fue read q'fue.
    36, f. n. 2, lines 4-5-For Yasovarman read Yasodharman.
   36, f. n. 4, line 1-For councillor read minister.
 " 36, f. n. 6, line 1-For Nagarika read Nagaraka.
 ,, 37, line z, from bottom -For 30 read 90.
 " 38, para. 3, line 3-For an read o.
 ,, 39, para, 1, line 4-Insert a comma after was.
 " 39, f. n. 2, line 2-For rup- read rupa-.
 " 39, f. n. 3, line 2-For sali-lāsvādita- read salil-āsvādita-.
 " 39, f. n. 3, line 7-Insert pillar after stone.
 " 39, f. n. 4, line 6-For prātibbēdika read prātibbēdikā.
   40, para. 3, line 8-For A. D. read A. C.
    40, f. n. 3, line 4-For A. D. 247-48 read 247-48 A. C.
    41, f. n. 12-For - चिचीपभि - read - दिचचीपभि-
    43, f. n. 9, line 5-For varjja(m) read -varjja[m].
    43, f. n. 10, line 1-For proprietory read proprietary.
    44, line 3-For sākhā read fākhā.
    44, line 16-Delete the comma after lunar.
    44, line 17-For Mabāpīlupatī read Mahāpīlupati.
 " 45, para. 1, line 8, and para. 4, line 7-It seems better to take the name of the village as Śriparņakā
          in stead of Śrī-Parņakā, as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. J. O. R., Vol. XIX, pp. 39 f.
    46, Text-line 4 -For - मोगिक- read - मोगिक-
    46, Text-line 5-For -स्तहब (इ) ला- read -स्तह्ब (इ) ला-
    46, Translation, line 14-For Sri-Parnakā read Śriparnakā.
   46, f. n. 15,-Insert Read before भद्रनपतिभि:
 ,, 47, line 12 from the bottom-For i read i.
    48, f. n. 1, line 2-For Pillay read Pillai.
    48, f. n. r, line 5-For Epoch des read Epoche der.
     49, line 2-For (vāṭāka?) read (vāṭaka?).
     49, Text-line 14-Put a hyphen after - स्तकल.
     50, Text-line 30-For महि महींमतो read. महि (हीं) महींमं (म)ता.
     50, f. n. 6-For स्थादिति read -स्यादिति.
     51, line 11-Delete the note-reference 1.
     51, line 21-Insert agnibotra after vaisvadera.
     51, line 2 from the bottom-For well-done read well done.
    53, line 8-Close the bracket after District,
 " 54, Text-line 6-For-बङ्श भिना -read बङ्श शोभिना.
  " 55, line 6 from the bottom -For Brihannārikā read Brihannārikā,
  ,, 55, f. n. 6, For -संयुक्त: read -संयुक्त:.
  " 56, line 2-Insert agnibātra after vaisvadēva,
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Page 59, line 6-For 248-49, A. C. read 248-49 A. C.,
     59, f. n. 5-Delete the comma after lines.
     61, Text-line 25-For प्रभृत्व read प्रभवं (त्वं).
     62, Text-line 47-For नरक read नरके.
     64, f. n. 2,-For (kalā) read kalā.
     65, para. 2, line 3, and f. n. 6, lines 3-4-For Châturvedins read Chaturvedins.
     66, para. 1, line 5-For lovely a read lovely as.
     66, f. n. 1, line 1-For charagas read charagas.
     66, f. n. 1, line 2-For gorra read gotra.
     66, f. n. 1, line 3-For Kauthum read Kauthuma.
     66, f. n. 2, line 1-For Isvara read Isvara.
     67, para. 2, line 1-Insert a comma after plates.
     67, para. 3, line 7-For rūp-ānurūpam read rūp-ānurūpam.
     67, para. 3, line 14-For jihvāmūliya read jihvāmūliya.
     70, f. n. 10-For चतुस्त्रिंश द्वयो- read - इचतुस्त्रिंश द्वयो-.
     71, Text-line 49-Delete the visarga after [4:].
     71, line 12 from the bottom-For udranga read udranga.
     71, f. n. 1 For art (*) ar- read - Far (*) ar-
     72, line 19-Insert a comma after District.
     73, para. 3, line 14-For Mātribhata read Mātribhata.
     75, line 3-Insert (and) 1 after 90.
     75, line 14-Insert a comma after District.
     76, para. 4, line 1-Insert a comma after Nandipura.
     76, para. 4, line 3-For Malwa read Malwa.
     77, f. n. 8-For Read. अन्येवांगामि- read Read -रन्येवांगामि-
     78, Translation, line 9-After Suvarnarapalli insert and the junction with (the boundary of) the village
     78, Translation, line 16-For Dāśapura read Daśapura.
     80, f. n. 10, line 1 - Insert a comma after which.
     80, f. n. 12-For fawai - read - frawai -.
     81, Translation, para. 1, line 6-For Sāka read Śāka.
     81, Translation, para. 1, line 7-For Salmali read Salmali.
     82, para. 2, line 1-Insert a comma after copper-plates.
     82, para. 2, line 9-Delete the comma after seal.
     82, para. 3, line 9-Insert a before curve.
     82, para. 3, lines 13-14-For Nagari read Nagari.
     83, para. 4, line 2-For great-grand-father read great-grandfather.
    84 f. n. z, lines 4 and 6-For A. D. read A. C.
    84, f. n. 8, line 2-For in 'Kārwān read 'in Kārwān.
    85, Text-line 7-For -वगुष्ठित- read -वगुण्ठित- and add a hyphen after -स्तस्यास्म.
    87, f. n. 2-For square read rectangular.
    88, para. 3, line 4-For full-moon read full moon.
    88, para. 3, line 11-For the Mahattaras and read and the Mahattaras of.
    89, line 14-Enclose now in round brackets.
   89, line 15-For Chaturvedins read Chaturvedins.
   90, para. 2, line 1-Insert a comma after copper-plates.
    92, line 1-Insert a comma after 460.
    92, para. 1, line 7-Insert the before Karjan.
    94, Text-line 23-Delete the visarga after करिरिल्डणी.
    94, Text-line 31-Insert a visarga after क्षंयत.
    95, line 7 from the bottom-For defind read defined.
    96, line 1-For Brāhamaņa read Brāhmaņa.
    97, para. 2, line 6-For krishna- read krishna-.
    99, Text-line 7 - For -रंजित्त (न) - read -रंजित्त (त)-.
    99, f. n. 7-Add a bypben after -स्तारिय.
   100, Text-line 17-For व्यावेधे read व्याचे (से) थे.
    100, Text-line 24-For तुस्ट्ये read चतुस्ट्य.
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Page 101, Translation, para. 1, line 8-Close the bracket after night.
      101, Translation, para. 4, line 5-For king read kings.
      101, f. n. 1-For fithi read tithi.
      106, Text-line 26-For - शिखर read - शिखर:..
      107, Text-line 41-For भजत: read भंजत:.
      107, Text-line 50-For सम्बत read सम्ब (व)त्.
      110, f. n. 1-For Mediaval read Mediaval.
      111, para. 1, line 9-For new moon read new-moon.
      111, f. n. 2-For chakshū-bhūtah read chakshu-bhūtah.
      111, f. n. 6, line 4-For No. 19 read No. 29.
      111, f. n. 6, line 11-For n. 41 read n. 4.
      111, f. n. 7-I have recently noticed that a facsimile of the record was published in Vol. II of the same
             monthly Prabbata. I have edited the record in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.
      112, para. 2, line 11-For Vikarma read Vikrama, and for as with often as read as often as.
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      113, Text-line 18-For निक्म्भालल्लशक्ति read निक्म्भाल्लशक्ति.
      114, Text-line 21—For [q]ण्णंन्छदि (दी) - read [प]ण्णंन्छनदि (दी) -.
      115, Page-title-For YEAR 204 read YEAR 404.
      115, f. n. 6, line 1-For Sōtā's read Sītā's.
      116, line 4-Delete the bracket after worshipped and insert it after gods.
      116, para. 1, line 2-Enclose bis in round brackets.
      117, para. 3, line 19-For -dhikarik- tead -dhikārik-.
      117, para. 3, line 20-For -kārik-adīn read -kārik-ādīn.
      119, f. n. 7-For सेन्द्रकराजान-ा. read सेन्द्रकराजाना-.
      120, Text-line 15-For यथा स(सं)बच्य- read यथास(सं)बच्य-.
      120, Text-line 18-For ट[टा]युक्तक- read ट(टा)युक्तक-.
      122, line 2-Substitute a semicolon for the comma after intellect.
      122, para. 1, line 2-For full moon read full-moon.
      124, para. 2, line 6-For 429 read 421.
      127, line 17-Insert a comma after Nasik.
      129, f. n. 3-For occurring read occurring.
      131, f. n. 1, line 1-For Allasakti read Allasakti.
      135, para. 4, line 1-For Il. 36-3 read Il. 36-37.
      135, Text-line 28-For चरवव्याणि read चैरवव्याणि.
      136, line 8-Insert Satyäśraya before Pulakēśivallabha (II).
      137, Translation of line 36-For forty three read forty-three.
      138, line 14-Delete the semicolon after in.
      138, line 16-For Prtibivi read Pritbivi.
      139, para. 1, line 7-For 737 A. C. read 739 A. C.
      139, para. 2, line 4—For the Brāhmaņa Govindaļi . . . . Kānchaļe read the Dvivēda Brāhmaņa
             Kañchala, the son of the Brāhmana Govindaļi.
      141, Text-line 35-Add a bypben after fau.
      145, para. 5, line 6-For whole-world read whole world.
      144, line 5-Delete the note reference 2.
      144, line 20-For the note reference 1 read 2.
      144, para. 2, line 3-For Mahākārṭtikī read Mahākārttikī. After Mahākārttikī, insert for the per-
             formance of bali, charu, vaiśvaděva, agnihôtra and other rites.
      144, f. n. 2-For p. 143 read line 1.
 99
      147, para. 2, lines 6-7—For Simhavarmarāja read Simhavarmarāja.
      147, f. n. 2-For are read is.
 33
      148, para. 1, line 3-For Vikaramāditya read Vikramāditya, and for grand-father read grandfather.
      148, f. n. 2, line 3-Insert) after pp. 304 ff.
      148, f. n. 2, line 5-For Durgadevi read Durgadevi.
      149, line 2-Insert a comma after Trikūţa and the Traikūţakas.
      149, line 8-Insert a comma after Mairika.
      151, Text-line 39—Insert [i*] after शतं १००, and delete that after -विषये.
      151, Text-line 59-For स्प(म्न): read स्प(म्न:).
      152, f. n. 2,-Insert a comma after at first.
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Page 153, line 17-Delete the comma after (and).
     153, f. n. 4-Kōvēra may be the fee of registration. See Introduction, p. cxlii.
     154, Translation of line 54-After sixty-one insert 400 (and) 60 (and) 1.
     154, Translation of lines 56 ff., line 6-For rupees read rupakas.
     155, para. 3, line 6-For Siriharāja read Sirihavarmarāja.
     156, f. n. 3, line 1-For kumäri- read kumäri-.
     157, Text-line 9-For -सहस्त्र- read -सहस्त-.
     158, Text-line 35-For giffanfa- read -giffanfa (द) -.
     158, Translation of line 28, line 1-For Bhogasakti read Bhogasakti.
     158, Translation of line 29, line 3-For Ambēyapallikā read Ambayapallikā.
     158, f. n. 11-Umura-bhēda in Text-line 33 is probably identical with ummara-bhēda which occurs in the
            expression उन्मरभेदी न करणीयो राजपुरुषेण in the grant of Vishnushena, dated V. 649. See
            P. T. A. I. O. C., Vol. XV, p. 272, It probably means the forcible breaking of a house-door.
            Umura is probably the same as Marathi umbara meaning a threshold. The intended meaning
            seems to be that the royal officers were forbidden to break open the doors of houses for the
            recovery of stolen property in the resettled village.
     162, para. 1, line 7-For Kalpaumam read Kalpalumam.
     163, line 1-For G. 405 (724-25 A. C.) read G. 403 (723-24 A. C.).
     163, line 7-For Mānkaņi plates read Mānkaņikā grant.
     163, Text-line 1-For -fauce- read -fauce-.
     164, f. n. 14-For पट्चत्वारिश- read पट्चत्वारिश-
     167, para. 1, line 12-Insert a comma after issued.
     168, para. 1, line 17-Insert a comma after is.
     168, f. n. 1-For Ibid. read Bom. Gaz.
     169, Text-line 9-For -विषयान्तर्गत सन्धियर- read -विषयान्तर्गतसन्धियर-.
     172, para. 1, line 12-For Isvara read Isvara.
     172, para. 1, line 25 -For Narman read Narman.
     174, para 3, line 4-For stone inscription read stone pillar inscription.
     174, f. n. 6, line z-For Vāmorājadēva read Vāmarājadēva.
     175, line 8-Insert a comma after Deuka and delete that after king.
     175, Translation, para. 2, line 1-Insert a comma after Deuka.
     176, Title of the Inscription-Insert PILLAR after STONE.
     176, para. 1, line 8-Insert a comma after remarked and for what read What.
     176, f. n. 4-For pp. 17 ff. read pp. 170 ff.
     177, Page-title-For SANKARGANA read SANKARAGANA I.
     178, line 6 from the bottom-Delete the comma after Lakshmanaraja II.
     179, line 4-For right hand-side read right-hand side.
     179, para. 3, line 10-For someone read some one.
     180, line 25-For grand-father read grandfather.
     181, f. n. 4-For Archælogical read Archæological.
     182, Translation of lines 11-12-For Srutis read Sruti.
     184, Translation, line 3-For was read is.
     185, Translation, line 6-For (Lines 6-7) read (Lines 7-8).
     185, line 18-After No. 41 add (No Plate).
     185, para. z from the bottom, line 1-Insert a comma after alphabet and delete that after closely.
     187, para. 1, line 6-For jihvāmuliya read jihvāmūliya.
     189, Text-line 8-For विविक read तीयंत्रिके
     189, Text-line 11-For विशिभद्द करं read विशिभिहं करं.
     190, f. n. 2-Delete the comma after admitted.
     193, Translation of v. 19, line 4-For straight-forward read straightforward.
     193, Translation of v. 20, line 2-Insert a comma after front.
     193, Translation of v. 20, line 3-For gods read demons.
     193, f. n. 1-After a sacrificial ladle in general, insert including juhu made of paläsa, upabbrit of asvattha
           and dbriva of vikankata.
     195, Translation of v. 39, line 2-For karsha read karshas.
     195, line 2 from the bottom-For consits read consists.
     196, line 4 from the bottom-For Kësari read Kësarin.
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Page 196, line 11-For vrahma-stamba read vrahma-stamva.
      196, line 8 from the bottom-The Maser inscription has since been edited by Mr. Venkataramayya in
            Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Krishna mentioned
            in that record with Rashtrakūta Krishņa III proposed by him, see above, add. to p. lxxxvii.
      196, line 5 from the bottom-For Kalachuri kings read a Kalachuri king.
 22
      196, f. n. 1, line 1-For simbāhvayam read Simbāhvayam.
 33
      198, line 2-For Siva read Siva.
      199, para. 4, line 5-Insert a comma after ruins.
      201, Text-line 25-For ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे read ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे.
      202, f. n. line 3-For dikō-bbāsu read dik-fōbbāsu.
      204, line 14-For (V. 19) read (V. 20).
      204, line 15-Delete the mark of interjection after letters.
      206, para. 2, line 5-For Vikaramānka- read Vikramānka-.
      206, para. 2, line 13-For Simhavarman read Simhavarman.
      206, para. 4, line 7-For king of Avanti read king Avanti.
      206, para. 4, line 8-For Sabdasiva in two places read Sadāsiva.
      208, f. n. 1, line 2-For Lakshmanasena read Lakshmanasena.
      209, Text-line 1-For य[स्मि]ल्लेल- read य (स्मि)ल्लोल-.
      209, Text-line 4-For सोमाभिधानितस्तलकयति read सोमाभिधानस्तिलकयति. Insert a byphen after प्रोच्छलज्या-
                 (ज्ज्बा).
      210, Text-line 7-Insert a byphen after प्रणियसे and after कालाह (द्य).
      211, Text-line 13-Delete the visarga after कोप:.
      211, Text-line 14-For -दर्योद्धतिषया- read -दर्थोद्धतिषया.
      212, Text-line 15-For यन्त read यत्त.
      212, Text-line 16-For भर्त्: [३७॥*] read [३७॥*] भर्त्तु:, and for महद्ग्णानां read महद्गणानां.
      212, Text-line 18-For -स्तस्याभृद्- read -स्तस्यामभृद्-
      213, f. n. 3-For तस्व read तस्व.
      216, f. n. 2, line 1-For avyābat-ēcheham read avyābat-echehham
      217, Translation of v. 18, line z-Insert more before exalted.
      217, f. n. 1, line 3-For killed read conquered.
      218, Translation of v. 24-For polity read policy.
      218, Translation of v. 28, line 2-Insert a comma after rage.
      218, f. n. 3, line 1-For good conduct read prudent behaviour.
      220, Translation of v. 46, line 2-For Lakshmnaraja read Lakshmanaraja.
      223, Translation of v. 80, line 2-For by every measurer read on every measure.
      223, f. n. 2, line 2-For pavillion read pavilion.
      223, f. n. 7, line 3-For Yājñavalkyasmriti, II, 221 read Yājñavalkyasmriti, II, 121.
      223, f. n. 9, line z-For Pūtaka read Pūlaka.
      224, Translation of v. 85-Pārvā in this verse may have the sense of prasasti as suggested by Dr. Chha-
             bra. Sarūpa-Bbāratī, p. 22. He translates the second half of this verse as follows:- "May this
             composition-this fame, this eulogy-endure as long as the creation." I do not agree with
             Dr. Chhabra that all the three words kriti, kīrti and pūrvā in this verse refer to the eulogy. Kriti
             probably refers to the composition of Sīruka, kīrti to the temple of Nohalēśvara, and pūrvā to
             the eulogy of the Kalachuri princes.
      225, para. 1, line 9-For samadhayo read samadhayo.
      225, f. n. 4, line 2-For from read form.
      226, para. 2, line 10-For Pondik read Pondika.
      226, para. 2, line 20-Insert a comma after mentioned and Prabodhasiva.
      227, f. n. 9-For tw overses read two verses.
      228, Text-line 15-For - त्रैला[लो]बय- read - त्रैला (लो)वय-
       229, Text-line 38-For य[बल्लित) read य[ल्लि]-.
       233, Translation of vv. 36-37-Insert a comma after Sarasadollaka.
      235, Translation of vv. 38-40, line 3-For Siddhantas read Siddhantas.
      233, Translation of v. 42-For the Siva read (the god) Siva .
      233, Translation of v. 44, line 1-For Madu read Madhu.
      233, Translation of v. 46-For artist read artisan.
       236, para. 3, line 1-Insert a comma after Wilford.
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Page 237, para. 2, line 12-For I read i.
     237, para. 2, line 21-For kim=v=aparēna read kimuv=āparēna.
     238, line 10-On further consideration I think it more likely that this Srī-Harsha is the Guhila
            prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Pratīhāra Bhōja I. See Introduction,
     241, line 2-Insert a comma after Banaras.
     242, Text-line 14-Delete the visarga after (gu:).
     242, f. n. 9-For are read is.
     242, Text-line 19-For जनना read जनता.
     243, Text-line 23-Insert a hyphen after of (4).
     243, Text-line 24-For कल्बेनरपतियि भ read कलनरपतियियेभ.
     243, f. n. 9-For danda read danda.
     244, Text-line 39—For प्रन (ण) वे read प्रन (ण) प्रे.
     245, Text-line 41-For विश्वाय read विधाय.
     245, Text-line 47-For वा प्रतिमानि read वान्तप्रतिमानि.
     245, f. n. contd. from last page—For प्रतिसांवत्सरिकथाद्वा read प्रतिसांवत्सरिकथाद्व.
     248, Translation of v. 25, line 1-For Gangeyadeva read Gangeyadeva.
     248, Translation of v. 25, line 2-Substitute a semicolon for the comma after Kökalladeva (II).
     248, f. n. 1, line 1-Insert a semicolon after here.
     249, para. 3, line 3-Substitute a comma for the full point after place.
     249, f. n. 20-For Audāla read Audala.
     251, Page-title-Insert PILLAR after STONE.
     251, Text-line 5-For न्या[ये]* read न्या[ये*].
     251, f. n. 8, line 1-For भक्तवात्र read भक्तवात्र.
     251, f. n. 16, line 2-For ta read tā and for प्रसादात read प्रसादात.
     253, line 4-For chb read chba.
     253, para. 1, line 12-For grāmaņi read grāmaņī.
     253, para. 1, line 18-For pütkara read pütkära.
     254, para. 3, line 8-For full moon tithi read full-moon tithi.
     254, f. n. 5-Insert a comma after 1030 A. C.
     256, Text-line 16-For योगमाजां read योगभाजां.
     256, Text-line 17-For exfer read exferi.
     257, Text-line 21-For -मेक व्याजन- read -मेकव्याजन.
     258, Text-line 31-For समुद्दीषणा: read समुद्देषीयणा:.
     258, Text-line 34-Delete पति after माहेबबर.
     260, Translation of v. 14, line 4-For of Indra read to Indra.
     261, Translation of v. 17, line 2-Insert a comma after Anga.
     262, Translation of v. 27, line 3-For enmy's read enemy's.
     262, Translation of Line 33, line 11-Insert in before the village.
     264, f. n. 3, line 2-For Kācharasya rend -kinikarasya.
     268, f. n. 1, line 3-For note worthy read noteworthy.
     268, f. n. z, line 1-For Śrāvasti read Śrāvasti.
     269, Text-line 9-For आक्रमा- read _आक्राम-.
     270, f. n. 11, line 1-For यहिमन्मुखकप्रभव read यहिमन्मुखकप्रभवे.
     274, Translation of v. 38, line 2-For Keyastha read Kayastha.
     277, f. n. 12-For -गुप्तावाशीवाद read -गुप्तावाशीर्वाद-.
     280, para. 3, line 6-For Gujocrat read Gujarat.
     280, f. n. 3-For also read above.
     282, Text-line 16-For (सान्त): read (सान्तः).
     282, f. n. 3-Omit Read स्वयं.
     283, f. n. 2-For Upajātī read Upajāti.
     284, Translation of v. 8, line 2-Insert a comma after father.
     286, Text-line 5-For (前) read (前).
     287, Text-line 11-For प्रता[प]नावि- read प्रता[प]नारि-.
     287, Text-line 19-For स्तध्ना read स्तदध्ना.
     288, line 18-Insert a comma after inscription.
     289, 291, 293, 295, and 297, Page-title-For PLATE read PLATES.
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Page 289, last para., line 5-For li read /ri.
     289, last para., line 6-For klipta read klripta.
     290, f. n. 3-For Kāsī read Kāśī.
     291, para. 2, line 1-For Yasahkarana read Yasahkarna.
     292, f. n. 3, line 2-Insert a comma after however.
     292, f. n. 3, line 3-Insert a comma after Ganga.
     295, f. n. 6, line 5-For - त्रिपराय: read - त्रिप्रवराय.
     298, Translation of v. 15, line 1-Insert the before Kalachuris.
     298, f. n. 9, line 2-For Kāśyapa read Kāśyapā.
      301, para. 3, line 4-Insert to before 1078-79 A. C.
     302, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom-Delete the note reference 5.
     302, f. n. 5, line 1-For हमाद्र- read हमाद्र-.
     304, f. n. 6-For danda read danda.
      304, f. n. 15, line 3-For p. 19 read l. 19.
      307, f. n. 10-For Sālini read Sālinā.
      308, f. n. 5, line 1-For matri read maitri.
      310, line 7-For the Chandrakara Āchārya read the Āchārya Chandrakara.
      311, Translation of C, para. 4, line 3-For the holy Chandrakara Acharya read the holy Acharya
          Chandrakara.
      311, Text-line 5-For संज्जक read सज्जक-.
      311, Translation of C, para. 3, line 1-For Sreshthi read Sreshthi, and for thim read him.
      311, f. n. 4-Insert a comma after aksbaras.
      311, f. n. 8-For n. 3 read n. 2.
      311, f. n. 9-Add n. 3 after Loc. cit.
      312, para, 2, line 3 from the bottom-For sațăla read sațăla.
      313, para. 2, line 3-For Gangeyadeva read Gangeyadeva.
      313, f. n. 2-For Mahidhara read Dharanidhara.
      314, para. 1, line 4-For Godavari read Godavari.
      315, Text-line 5-For qui read qui.
      316, Text-line 21-For a (a) न्यूप- read a (a) न्यूर-.
      318, f. n. 5-For Brahmanda read Brahmanda.
      322, Text-line 8-For श्रीव (ब) लल्लाल- read श्रीव (ब) ल्लाल-.
      323, para. 4, line 4-For 28 miles read 36 miles.
      323, f. n. 2-For Bhāgīrathi read Bhāgīrathī.
      324, f. n. 3-For तटाश्म्बका- read तटाम्बका-.
      326, line 3 from the bottom-For date read day.
      326, f. n. 3-For des read der.
      326, f. n. 4-For Prithvideva read Prithvideva II.
      327, Text-line 6-For qfft read qfft.
      330, Translation of L. 25, line 3-Insert at Tripuri after in the Reva.
      333, para. 1, line 6-Insert a comma after Jayasiriha.
      333, para. 2, line 4-For Nannadēva read Nāmadēva.
      334, Text-line 8-For -स्तीर्थे read -स्तीर्थे.
      336, Text-line 24-For समकरोल्लेका- read समकरोल्लोका-.
      341, line 2-For sons' read son's.
      543, Text-line 12-For -मापवन्त- read -मापयन्त-.
      343-For the text-line number 81 read 18.
      345, para. 5, line 1-For Sīkhā read Sūkhā.
      346, Translation, line 2 from the bottom-For Kēsāva read Kēśava.
      346, line 5 from the bottom-For fi read Iri and for praklipta read praklipta.
      346, f. n. 4, line 2-Delete p. 295.
      347, line 14-For darsanant read darsanan.
     347, line 19-For giram read giram.
     347, line 20-For Vijayasimhadeva read Vijayasimhadeva.
     347, f. n. 3, line 3-For Chandrasimhö read Chandrasimhö.
     348, para. 1, line 6-For tankakas read tankakas.
      348, para. 3, lines 6-7-For councillor read counsellor.
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Page 348, line 2 from the bottom-For inscriptions read inscription.

- " 349, line 1-For numerical symbols read numerical figures.
- 349, para. 2, line 8-For Vikarma read Vikrama.
- 550, f. n. 2, line 2-For Yājāavalkya-smritii read Yājāavalkya-smriti.
- 350, f. n. 14-For चित्य read चित्यं.
- 351, Text-line 11-For विलिसते read विलिसते.
- 553, Text-line 25-For मुद्दान read मर्देशन.
- 355, Translation of verse 20, line 4-Delate the comma after confidence and insert it after prowess.
- 356, Translation of v. 29, line 1-For Ramasimha read Ranasimha.
- 359, line 17-Delete the comma after consonants.
- 360, para. 1, line 4-For paravaras read pravaras.
- 360, para. z, line 1-Insert of after the date.
- 362, Translation of L. 2, line 3-For Vāmādēva read Vāmadēva.
- 362, f. n. 13-For also occurs read occurs also.
- 362, f. n. 15, line 1-Insert a comma after Bharati.
- 363, Translation, para z, line z-For mahasabda read mahasabda.
- 364, f. n. 9- For or one of her sons read her son or grandson.
- 365, line 5 from the bottom-For the semicolon after predecessors substitute a comma.
- 366, f. n. 11-For कोड्रपाल read महाकोड्रपाल.
- 367, Text-line 17-Insert the note reference 2 after [9*][8][x] and delete that after [#*].
- 368, para. 3, line 5-Insert a comma after Cunningham.
- 369, line 11 from the bottom-Insert a comma after Rewa.
- 370, para. 2, line 8-For Alaura read Alaura.
- 371, Text-line 5-Insert a hyphen after विराजमान.
- 372, f. n. 10-For याना हरण्यं read गानहिरण्यं.
- 374, f. n. 2-For Alaura read Alaura.

PLATES

- Plate XXVIII, Title-Far Spurious Plates read Spurious Kaira Plates.
- " XXIX B, Title-For Stone Inscription read Stone Pillar Inscription.
- For Bargaon Temple Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXII, read Bargaon Stone Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXIII.

INTRODUCTION

THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

LTHOUGH some of the inscriptions dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era were discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not suspected till about half a century later that their dates must be referred to an era different from the Vikrama and Saka eras which were then current in different parts of India, or from the Gupta era which had become known from inscriptions. For instance, the date of the Banaras plates of Karna discovered in 1801, which was evidently misread by Captain Wilford, was taken by him to correspond to 192 A. C.1 The date Sanivat 932 of the Kumbhi plates published in 18392 was referred by the editors of the grant to the Vikrama Samvat and taken to be equivalent to 876 A. C.3 The Kanheri plate was discovered by Dr. Bird in 1839, but the earliest attempt to date it approximately was that of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who, on considerations of palæography, referred the inscription to about the sixth century A. C.4 But he then made no conjecture about the era to which its date 245 should be referred, beyond stating that it could not be the same as that employed by the Kshatrapas, as the characters on their coins are of a much earlier type, and that it could not be the Gupta era in the absence of such expressions as Gupta-kāla, Guptasya kāla, Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhukti or Sam. Dr. Burgess, however, in a note on Bhagvanlal's article observed as follows: "From the form of the characters, I incline to think that this inscription may be dated in the Gupta era; the Trikūtakas, like the Valabhī Sēnāpatis, may have continued to use the Gupta era on assuming independence; or it may have been adopted from Gujarat."5 The first and approximately correct conjecture about the epoch of the era was made in 1859 by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall in his article on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvī, dated Samvat 907, and the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadeva, dated Sanivat 928,6 Finding that Alhanadevi was mentioned in the former inscription as the grand-daughter of Udayaditya, Dr. Hall conjectured that she might have been born about 1100 A. C., as her grandfather Udayaditya, who reigned between Bhoja (circa 1050 A. C.) and Naravarman (1104 A. C.), might have flourished about 1075 A. C. Now, Alhanadevi's sons, Narasimha and Jayasimha, were reigning in the years 907 and 928 respectively, and her great-grandson was a minor? in the year 932 of an unspecified era. Dr. Hall, therefore, thought that her birth might have taken place about the year 850 of the era to which the aforementioned dates

A. R., Vol. IX, p. 108. On this General Cunningham remarked, "I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193; and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states, 'the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 1922." C. A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 82.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 482. ⁴ I. C. T. W. I. (A. S. W. I., No. 10), p. 59.

⁵ Ibid., p. 59, n. 2.

⁶ J. A. O. S., Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859. 7 The Kumbhī plates, dated K. 932 (Appendix, No. 4), record a grant made by Gösaladēvī, mother of Vijayasimha, not his wife as Hall wrongly stated. Again, the grant was made by Gosaladevi during the reign of her son Vijayasimha and with his consent as explicitly stated therein. It was not made by her for her minor son Ajayasimha as Hall thought. Among the persons to whom the royal order is addressed is mentioned Mahāksumāra Ajayasimha. He had not ascended the throne then, but there is nothing to show that he was a minor at the time.

refer. He thus suggested that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about 250 A. C. He had no doubt that the numbers did not refer either to the era of Sālivāhana or to that of Vikramāditya. But he left it an open question whether the era was that of Valabhī with some epoch other than 319 A. C., or some other era till then unknown.

In 1878, Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his Reports of the Archaological Survey of India, Vol. VII, that he had found, among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces in 1873-74, two1 which were actually dated in the Chēdi Sanivatsara, and two others2 in the Kalachuri Sanivat. He identified the two eras, as 'the princes of Chēdi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe.' He further stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in 249 A. C., the year 250 A. C. being the year 1 of the Chēdi Sanivat.

In his Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. IX (A tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75), pp. 111 ff., Cunningham reiterated his conclusion that 249 A. C. was the initial point of the Chēdi or Kalachuri Samvat, the year 250 being the year 1 of the era, 'the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in thesame way as a person's age is reckoned.' He then gave details of the aforementioned eight dates together with the corresponding week-days obtained by calculation in the following form³:—

Chēdi Samvat	A. C.	Month and day		Calculated Weekday
793	1042	Phālguna vadi 9, Monday	Tayre-wafe	Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday	anne de	*Wednesday
898	1147	Āśvina sudi 7, Monday	III of the	Saturday
902	1151	Āshāḍha sudi 1, Sunday	THE NO.	*Sunday
907	1156	Mārgaśiras sudi 11, Sunday	of spinst	*Sunday
909	1158	Srāvaņa sudi 5, Wednesday	de en mis	Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvaņa sudi 6, Sunday	a) letter/U	Monday
928	1177	Māgha vadi 10, Monday	THE STATE OF	*Monday

Cunningham's calculations did not yield quite satisfactory results, as only in four out of the above eight cases⁴ the dates were found to be regular. In three other cases, the dates agreed within one day—an amount of deviation which, he thought, was not uncommon in Hindu dates. Cunningham's calculations are not, however, found to be correct in all cases⁵. Even with his epoch, the first date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th January, 1042 A. C., and the sixth, for intercalary Srāvaṇa, to Wednesday, the 2nd July, 1158 A. C.⁶ Secondly, in order to get the corresponding year of the Christian era, he added

¹ These were Nos. 98 and 100.

² See Nos. 87 and 88.

⁸ I give the names of months etc. in this table as we should spell them now.

⁴ They are starred in the table given above.

⁶ On p. 86 of the same Volume (IX) Cunningham, says, "By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D. or 793 of the Chēdi Samvat, according to this reckoning, the 9th day of Phālgun badi was a Monday."

^a Cunningham seems to have taken the month to be nija Śrāvaṇa; for, the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of nija Śrāvaṇa commenced 5 h. 20 m. on Thursday.

249 to the Chēdi date in all cases, whether the latter fell in Ashāḍha or in Phālguna, as if the Chēdi year completely coincided with the Christian year. Thirdly, he took all dates without exception to be in expired years. As regards the general correctness of Cunningham's epoch, however, there was no doubt; for, the dates he assigned to the Kalachuri kings on its basis were generally corroborated by the synchronisms known from the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, Rāshṭrakūṭa, Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratīhāra dynasties.¹ In the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) to the same volume, Cunningham adduced further evidence to support his conclusion about the epoch of the era. He pointed out that Abū Rīhān,² writing about 1030-31 A. C., referred to Gāṅgēya as a contemporary king of Dāhala and that from his Vikramānkacharita Bilhaṇa seemed to have resided at the court of Rājā Karṇa of Dāhala from 1070 A. C. to 1075 A. C. These dates, he showed, agreed with the approximate periods which he had assigned to the Kalachuri kings by the genealogical reckoning of his chronology.

In the meanwhile, some inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty were discovered in Western India. The dates Sainvat 380 and 385 of two of them, viz., the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda II,3 were at first referred to the Vikrama era; but after the discovery of a third grant, viz., the Ilao plates of Dadda-Praśāntarāga4, which was explicitly dated in the year 417 of the Saka era, the dates of the aforementioned two Kairā grants and also the date 486 of the odd Kāvī plate5 of Jayabhaṭa subsequently discovered, in all of which the era was unspecified, were referred to the Saka era.

In 1884, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji published the Navsāri grant of Jayabhata (III),6 dated Monday or Tuesday, the full-moon day of Magha, Samvat 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. This grant mentions in connection with Dadda, the great-grandfather of the donor Jayabhata, that he protected a prince of Valabhi against the Emperor (Paramēšvara) Srī-Harshadēva. Dr. Bhagvanlal naturally identified the latter with Harshavardhana of Thanesvar and Kanauj, who ruled from 606 A. C. to 648 A. C. As Dadda, the first prince mentioned in the Navsāri grant, was thus proved to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. C., it was clear that the date 456 of the Navsāri grant of that Dadda's great-grandson Jayabhata could not be referred to the Saka era. Dr. Bhagvanlal had again obtained four other grants of the Chalukya dynasty discovered in Gujarat, two of which, made by Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, were found to be dated in Samvat 421 and 423, the third, made by Mangalaraja, in Saka 653, and the fourth, by Pulakēśivallabha Janāśraya, in Samvat 490. From the genealogical portions of these grants it was clear that all these princes were sons of Jayasimhavarman, who was himself a son of Pulakēśin II, the famous king of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. From these data Dr. Bhagvanlal concluded that the dates 456 and 486 of the Gurjara grants and 421, 443 and 490 of the Chalukya grants referred to an era, different from the Saka era, which was used in Gujarat in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. He conjecturally fixed 244-45 A.C. as the initial year and 245-46 A.C. as the year 1 of that era, and identified it with

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, pp. 84-87; 100-11.

² He is more widely known by his name Albērūnī.

⁸ These were discovered about 1827 A.C. They were first published by J. Prinsep in J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. and subsequently by Dowson in J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. and by Fleet in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁴ Ed. by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 19 ff. and, with facsimiles, by Fleet in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

'the era of the Trikūṭakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate.'1

The nearness of the epoch 244-45 A. C. suggested by Bhagvanlal to the epoch of the Chēdi era (249 A. C.) led General Cunningham to suspect that the two eras might be identical. Calculating on this supposition, he found that the date of the Navsāri grant, 'Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha of Samvat 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,' corresponded to the 2nd February 706 A. C., which was a Tuesday and on which occurred an eclipse of the moon. He also found that the date of the Kāvī plate 'Sunday, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashāḍha of Samvat 486' regularly corresponded to Sunday, the 24th June 736 A. C.² In both these cases the corresponding Christian year was obtained by adding 250 to the (Chēdi) year showing clearly that the epoch of the Chēdi era was not 249 A. C., but 249-50 A. C.

In 1884, in his article on the Pārdī plates of Dahrasēna, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XVI, p. 346), Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view that the era used by the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas of Gujarat commenced in 249 A. C., but he pointed out that it was distinctly called the era of the Traikūṭakas in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate. He referred the date 207 of the Pārdī plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna to the same era and observed that the grant afforded indisputable corroboration of the existence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty which he had deduced from Dr. Bird's plate.

In the same year, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar published his Early History of the Decean (first ed.), in which he questioned the correctness of Dr. Bhagvanlal's view that the date 421 of Sryāśraya Sīlāditya's grant is in an era with 250 A. C. as its initial date, on the ground that the interval between the two brothers—Mańgalarāja and Sryāśraya—becomes 60 years, which unquestionably is too long.³ He further suggested that the date was in the Gupta era 'which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarat.'

In 1886, Dr. Bhagvanlal contributed a paper entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' to the International Oriental Congress, Vienna, in which he pointed out that Dr. Bhandarkar's view-that the grants of the Gujarat Chālukyas are dated in the Gupta erawould lead to the conclusion that Sryāśraya reigned as Ywarāja from 10 to 32 years later than his younger brother Mangalaraja who was a 'king'-which was clearly impossible. He further made some ingenious conjectures about the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era. The founder of the era, according to him, was king Iśvaradatta who interrupted the rule of the Western Kshatrapas and whose coins, dated in the first and second years of his reign, show that he assumed the titles Rajan and Kshatrapa. "Other kings", he proceeded to state, "bearing names which end in datta, have left their records in the caves of Nasik, and state that they are Abhiras by caste. This circumstance permits us to infer that they belong to the Abhira dynasty which, probably coming by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūţa its capital. Iśvaradatta whom I consider to belong to it probably attacked and obtained a victory over the Kshatrapas. After he had consolidated his power, he issued his own coins, copying the Kshatrapa currency of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kshatrapa Vīradāman and his brother Vijayasēna. The end of the reign of the latter falls, as the coins show, in the year 170 of the Kshatrapa era. If we take this to be the Saka era, the time of

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 76.

² See Fleet's note on Pandit Bhagvanlal's article on the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77.

¹¹ E. H. D., (first ed.), p. 102.

Isvaradatta's conquest will fall just about the same time as the foundation of the Traikūṭaka or Kalachuri era. This agreement induces me to consider Isvardatta as its founder. It seems further that the reign of the Traikūṭakas did not last long, as Vīradāman's son Rudrasēna appears to have regained power and to have driven his foe out of the country. The Traikūṭakas then probably retired to the Central Provinces and there assumed the name Haihaya and Kalachuri. Afterwards the kings of this dynasty appear to have taken possession of their former capital Trikūṭa at the time of the final destruction of the Kshatrapa power. Dahrasēna must have ascended the throne just about this time which was the year 207+170 or 377 of the Saka era."

Till 1887, scholars were engaged in pointing out in a general way the epoch of the Chēdi or Traikūṭaka era. A definite suggestion about the month and the tithi of its actual commencement was first made by Prof. Kielhorn,2 who, in his letters published in the Academy of December 10 and 24, 1887, and January 14, 1888,3 announced that his calculations of numerous week-days of later Chēdi inscriptions showed that the Chēdi era began not in 249, but in 248 A. C. Later on, in an article published in the Nachrichten der Ges. d. Wissenschaften, Göttingen (1888), pp. 31-41 and another in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff.) of August 1888, Dr. Kielhorn showed, from an examination of twelve dates of the Kalachuris and their feudatories and two of the Gurjaras, that the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi Samvat 0=248-49 A. C. and Chēdi Samvat 1=249-50 A. C., and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process, we must take the Chedi year to commence with the month Bhadrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, 249 A. C. Bhadrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Aświna would suit the dates examined by him as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada, and if the dates were to be worked out by a uniform process, the former would appear to be even more suitable than the latter. He preferred, however, the Bhadrapadadi year because 'Alberuni does mention a year beginning with Bhadrapada'.4 As regards the arrangement of the fortnights, Kielhorn showed from three dates that it was the purnimanta one in which the dark half of a month precedes the bright half,

Kielhorn's calculations, made on the basis of the epoch of 248-49 A.C., showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year is specified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year which may be taken as current if the Chēdi year was Āivinādi, and expired if it was Bhādrapadādi.

This proportion of the current and expired years of the Chedi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras such as the Vikrama, Saka and Newar eras. It was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar⁵ and others in connection

¹ See P. V. O. C. (1886), p. 221-22.

² Sh. B. Dikshit had earlier come to the conclusion that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chēdi dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with the epoch of 248-49 A.C., but his results were not published for the reasons stated by Fleet in the Introduction to C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 9 (published in 1888). The dates of the grants of the Uchchakalpa kings, which Fleet referred to the Kalachuri era (ibid., introduction, pp. 8 ff.), are probably recorded in the Gupta era. See my article on the subject in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

³ See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 187, n. 14.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 215, n. 5.

⁴ See his article 'The Epoch of the Gupta Era' (1889), pub. in the J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, Part II (1887-1889), pp. 80 ff.

with the question of the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era that the Hindu's usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'. The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Dr. Fleet in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era which are not qualified either as current or as expired should be taken as current. This controversy about the general custom of the Hindus in dating their records during the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusions about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cedi Aera' in the Festgruss an Roth and in another on the Bhera-Ghat inscription of Alhanadevi in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, both of which were published in 1893,2 Kielhorn expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed 247-48 A. C. as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the year, he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October, 1799-"The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Aśvina, but opening in the midst of Durga's festival, New Year's Day is celebrated on the 10th lunar day." Kielhorn thought that the Asvinādi year which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year, and as such a year suited all the twelve Chedi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Aświna śu. di. 1) 248 A. C. as the first day of the first current year, and the 26th August (Asvina su. di. 1) 249 A. C. as the first day of the first expired year of the Chedi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable dates of the Later Kalachuris which were known till then were, without exception, in expired years.3 The two dates of the Navsāri and Kāvī plates of Jayabhata III, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his List of Northern Inscriptions, published in 1898-99 as an Appendix to the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V.4

Three more Chēdi dates containing sufficient data for verification, which were discovered subsequently, were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, viz., (1) the Sārnāth fragmentary Buddhist stone inscription of the time of Karņa, dated 'samva[tsarē 8]10 Asvina (Āśvina) sudi 15 Ravau (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday the 4th October 1058 A. C.5), (2) Tahankāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja, dated Samvata(t) 965, Bhādrapadē vadi 10 Mriga-ri(ri)kshē So[ma]-dinē (corresponding, for the current year 965, to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C.6) and (3) Tahankāpār (second plate) of Pamparāja dated Samvat 966... Isva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūry-ōpa-rāgē (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A.C.7). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, viz. (4) that of the Shēorinārāyan image inscription, which he now read as Kalachuri-samvatsarē 1189811 Asvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē from a photograph supplied by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and which he found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September 1145 A. C.8

) A. C.

1 See his article 'The Gupta-Valabhi Era' in Ind. Ant., Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

² Kielhorn first expressed his view briefly in an article published in the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I (1893), p. 428. The Congress was held in London from the 5th to the 12th September 1892.

B Festgruss an Roth, pp. 53-56.

⁴ See p. 57, nn. 6 and 7.

⁵ A. R. A. S. I. (1906-1907), p. 100.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 129. ⁷ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 129-30. ⁸ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is 247-48 A. C. was confirmed by these new dates; for, while two of them (viz., 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the other two (viz., 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.

Since 1893, scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in 248 A. C. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first tithi of the dark fortnight of the pārņimānta Āśvina.¹

Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory—that the Chēdi era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas and was actually founded by a king named Iśvaradatta whom the Pandit considered to be an Ābhīra, and who, as shown by his coins, reigned sometime about 248-49 A. C. in Saurashtra—held the field for a long time. But in 1905, in his article 'Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era', 2 Dr. Fleet pointed out that all the early dates of the era came from Gujarat and the Thana District in Bombay and none from Saurashtra and that there was nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭaka era; for, the expression in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate on which Pandit Bhagvanlal relied might, in accordance with the early Hindu method of expressing dates, just as well mean 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 of (an unspecified era).' Dr. Fleet proposed to identify the founder of the era with the Ābhīra Iśvarasēna (not to be confused with, or identified with, the Iśvaradatta mentioned above) or with his father, the Ābhīra Sivadatta, if he did reign.

In 1908, in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Andbra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūtaka Dynasty, etc., Prof. Rapson considered the question of the Traikūtaka era in connection with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He pointed out that the dates assigned by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji to the coins of Isvaradatta rested on a mistaken observation, that the dates from 171 to 176 were quite continuous on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, and that the evidence of coins and coin-legends showed that the only interval to which the coins of Isvaradatta could be assigned was that between 158, the last recorded date of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasēna, and 161, the year in which his son Yaśōdāman I appears as Mahākshatrapa, i.e., between 236 and 239 A.C.3 He further drew attention to the fact that the Abhīra Sivadatta bears no royal title in the Nāsik inscription of his son Iśvarasēna, which seems to indicate that the latter was the founder of the dynasty and presumably preceded Isvaradatta. He thus placed both Isvrasena and Isvaradatta before 249 A. C. As regards the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era, he observed, "It is of course quite possible that the establishment of the era may mark the consolidation of the Abhīra kingdom during the reign of one of their successors. There can be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra Empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras."4

In 1911, a large hoard of Kshatrapa coins was discovered at Sarvāniā in the former Bānswārā State of Rajputana. In his detailed account of it published in the Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India for 1913-14, pp. 227 ff., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar examined

¹ See his History of Indian Astronomy (in Marathi) (first published in 1896), second edition, p. 375.

² J. R. A. S. (1905), pp. 566 ff.

³ C. A. D., pp. cxxxv-vi.

⁴ Ibid., p. clxii.

Prof. Rapson's view that Isvaradatta flourished in the gap between the years 138 and 161. He pointed out that the Sarvāṇiā hoard contained a coin of Yaśōdāman dated in the year 160. This date lessens the gap between Yaśōdāman and his predecessor by one year. "It is still not impossible", wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, "to adjust the two years of Iśvaradatta's reign even in this lessened gap, viz., between 158 and 160, but just as the gap between 171 and 176, which was imagined by Bhagvanlal, no longer exists, a day will, no doubt, come when with the further find of coins the gap between 158 and 160, now existing, will also be completely filled." Dr. Bhandarkar placed the rise of Iśvaradatta in the period 110-112 (188-190 A. C.) when the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha suffered a diminution of power and was reduced to the rank of Kshatrapa. He pointed out that the Ābhīras had acquired great predominance about this time; for, the Nāsik inscription of the Ābhīra Iśvarasēna can, on the evidence of palæography, be referred to about the year 100 and the Gunda inscription shows that in the year 103 and during the regime as Kshatrapa of Rudrasimha himself the post of Sēnāpati or Commander-in-Chief was held by an Ābhīra called Rudrabhūti.

In 1920, in an article entitled 'the Kushāna Chronology' published in the Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. I, pp. 65 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the Chinese works Heou Han Chou of Fan-Ye and Wei-lio of Yu Houan, came to the conclusion that the dates ranging from 72 to 136, found in the inscriptions of the Northern Satraps, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, must be referred to the Saka era beginning in 78 A. C. Kanishka who flourished after Wema Kadphises must, therefore, be placed after 214 A. C. Following the principle that 'we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no evidence at all', Dr. Majumdar put forward the view that Kanishka founded the so-called Kalachuri era of 248-49 A. C. He referred to Prof. Rapson's conclusion based on a critical examination of Kshatrapa coinage that from the year 167 or 168 (245-46 A. C.) the Western Kshatrapas had to face troublous times and that their dominions were probably subject to some foreign invasion. Dr. Majumdar attributed this to the establishment, by the Kushāņa Emperor, of a rival dynasty in the south to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and suggested that this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushāṇas long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

The main objection to Dr. Majumdar's theory is that there is no evidence of the establishment, by the Kushāṇas, of such a rival dynasty in the south, which curtailed the power of the Western Kshatrapas. Again, Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out that the reign of Vāsudēva, the last of the Kushāṇas, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudēva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudēva, was occupied about 350 A. C. by the Yaudhēyas and the Nāgas, and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvatī (or Pawāyā, at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā). The finds of Nāga coins as well as scattered references in Sanskrit literature indicate that the Nāgas, not the Kushāṇas, were powerful in Central India before the rise of the Guptas.4

In 1928, in his article entitled The Kalachuris of Tripuri', published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff., Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal

¹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1913-14, p. 229.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 157. See also J. R. A. S., 1840, p. 650.

³ A. H. D., p. 31.

⁴ For other objections, see P. H. A. I., pp. 468-69.

tried to revive Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory that the era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas, by identifying the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris. He suggested that Trikūṭa from which the dynasty derived its name was the Vindhya mountain which was so called because of its three peaks—Āmrakūṭa or Amarakaṇṭak, the Sālakūṭa or Sālēṭēkri in the Balaghat District and the Madhukūṭa or Mōhtur in the Chhindwara district. But the fact that all the early dates of the era are found in Western India—in Southern Gujarat and Western Maharashtra—is fatal to Dr. Hiralal's theory. Besides, there is no evidence to show that the Vindhya mountain was called Trikūṭa in ancient times. On the other hand, Kālidāsa clearly indicates in the Raghwaniśa that the mountain is situated in the Aparānta or North Konkan,¹ and this is corroborated by the discovery of the Anjaneri plates of Pṛithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti of the (Chēdi) year 461, in which a Trikūṭa vishaya is mentioned as situated in the kingdom of Purī-Konkaṇa (i. e., North Konkan).²

In 1933, in his History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D., Dr. K. P. Jayaswal attempted to prove that the Chēdi era was started by the Vākāṭakas. "The Purāṇas," he observed, "after the fall of the Satavahanas register the rise of Vindhyasakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Satavahanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power, whether at once or subsequently Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasena I became an Emperor and the previous Emperors, i. e., the Kushāṇas, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position." Jayaswal, therefore, concluded that Pravarasena I of the Vākātaka dynasty, who became Emperor, must have started the era, dating it from the coronation of his father. He read the dates on two coins which he ascribed to Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I as 76 and 100 respectively, and referred these dates together with the date 52 of the Giñjā inscription of Mahārāja Srī-Bhīmasēna to the Chēdi era dating from the rise of the Vākāṭaka power. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on these coins are extremely doubtful.4 Besides, his theory that the Chedi era was really founded by the Vākātakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākātakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years.5

In 1936, while editing the Kōsam stone inscription of Mahānāja Bhīmavarman, dated in the year 130, in the Indian Culture, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., Mr. A. Ghosh drew attention to certain palæographical peculiarities noticed in the record, such as the round and narrow-headed s, the unlooped sh and s, and the undeveloped curves representing medial s—peculiarities which are known to be characteristic of Kushāṇa rather than Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, referred the date 130 of that inscription to the Chēdi era. Subsequently, some more inscriptions of Praushṭhaśriya, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman were found at Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh, and some of them were published in the Epigraphia Indica and elsewhere. These records exhibited the same palæographic peculiarities which indicated that they belonged to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta age. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language used in them were also believed to point to the same conclusion. Their dates also were, therefore, referred by some scholars to the Chēdi era. The fact that some of these records came from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lent colour to this view.

¹ Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

² No. 31, l. 38.

¹ History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D., p. 111.

⁴ See J. N. S. I., Vol. V, pp. 130 ff.

⁵ Mirashi, Nagpur University Journal, No. 3, p. 26.

⁶ See, e.g., Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff; Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and pp. 255 ff. etc. Also Jba Commemoration Volume, pp. 101 ff.

It was, therefore, believed that these records of the Magha kings found at Giñjā, Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh supplied the early dates of the Chēdi era which had been missing till then.

This view was criticised by the present writer in an article entitled 'Dates of some Early Kings of Kauśāmbī' which, though written as early as 1941, was, on account of the Second Great War and other reasons, not published till 1952. In this article it was pointed out that if the dates of the Magha records are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. If these rulers were ruling at Kauśāmbī, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But, strange as it may seem, none of them mentions any Gupta overlord. Besides, they issued coins in their own names, indicating their independence. They must, therefore, have flourished before the rise of the Guptas. The dates of their records have consequently to be referred to the era of Kanishka. As for the palæographic peculiarities noticed in these records, it was pointed out that all of them can be traced in several records of the Kushāṇa age.

Till 1937, Dr. Kielhorn's view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 was generally accepted. In an article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era', which the present writer read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937, he examined thirteen later dates of the era discovered since Kielhorn's time and showed that, though they verified the epoch of 247-48 A. C. fixed by Kielhorn, they clearly showed that the Chedi year could not have commenced in Aśvina. It must have begun on some day between Aśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Margasirsha to Phālguna, it appeared probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu, di. 1. As regards Colebrooke's statement on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chedi year commenced on Asvina su. di. 1, it was pointed out that the statement in question referred to the festival of Durga which is, to this day, celebrated with great éclat not only in Madhya Pradesh but in other parts of India also. Colebrooke was clearly mistaken when he thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year. Besides, the Chedi year could not have been current in Nagpur as that part of the country was, except in very early times, not included in the kingdom of the Kalachuris.3

In 1944, the present writer showed from an examination of the so-called Indore plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa that they originally belonged to Khandesh and that their dates and also the date 117 of the Sirpur plate of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa should be referred to the era founded by the Ābhīra king Iśvarasēna. These princes of Khandesh explicitly mention their own feudatory status in their grants. They must, therefore, have owned the suzerainty of the contemporary Ābhīra kings ruling over Northern Maharashtra.⁴

In 1945, the present writer further showed that the date 167 of the Barwani plate of Mabaraja Subandhu also must be referred to the same reckoning.5

In 1946, the present writer, again, showed that the date of the Kānākherā stone inscription of the Saka Srīdharavarman, which he read as 102, also refers to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 f.

^{*} J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.

³ For a full discussion of this matter, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

⁴ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.

¹ Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.

In 1949, in an article entitled 'New Light on the Epoch of the Kalachuri Era' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 81 ff., the present writer showed that the date 322 of the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja, which had been discovered in the preceding year, probably referred to the Kalachuri era, and that the details of the date recorded in the grant indicated a new epoch of the era, viz., 250-51 A. C.¹

We have so far seen how our knowledge about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era has advanced step by step since 1859 when Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall first made his ingenious conjecture on the subject. We shall next examine such dates of the era as furnish details for computation in order to determine the exact epoch of the era.

Leaving aside the date of the Nagardhan plates which appears exceptional, we find that the dates of the Kalachuri era fall into two groups, viz.—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and Maharashtra where, as shown below, the era had its origin, and (2) the later ones from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalachuri power. It has already been pointed out by Kielhorn² that the same epoch does not suit these two groups of dates. In regard to the first, the only equation which yields satisfactory results is Kalachuri-Samvat 0=248-49 A. C., while in regard to the second, the equation is Kalachuri-Samvat 0=247-48 A. C. In both the periods the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, but in the earlier period the months were generally amānta, while in the later one they were generally pūrņimānta.

EARLY DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

As the epoch for these dates is 248-49 A. C., the first day of the first current year of that era is the amānta Karttikā śu. di. 1 (25th September) in 249 A. C. (corresponding to the expired Saka year 171). Therefore, to convert a current Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 170 when the date falls in any of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 171 in all other cases. Similarly to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 171 and 172 respectively in the same circumstances.

Among early dates of the era, there are only five which contain the details necessary for computation. Three of these are in expired years, and the remaining two, in current ones, as shown below:—

Dates in Expired Years

1. Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No. 21, p. 82)—Lines 30-31—Māgha-suddha-pañchadasyām chandr-ōparāgē, 'on the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' Lines 41-42 give the year 456 (expressed in both words and numerical symbols). The plates mentioned also in l. 43 the tithi (now completely lost) and the week-day (which, judging from the traces left, was either Monday or Tuesday) on which the grant was recorded. Assuming that the grant was recorded on the same day on which it was made, i. e., Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday or Tuesday, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the corresponding Christian date for the expired year 456 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 456+171=627) is Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A.C. On that day, the aforementioned tithi ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

If the year 456 is applied as current, the tithi falls on the 14th January 705 A. C., which was a Wednesday (not Monday or Tuesday as required). Besides, there was no lunar

2 Ep. Ind., Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, notes 6 and 7.

¹ The same epoch appears to be applicable in the case of the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga, which should be read as Sam. 463, not as Sam. 663. J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. XXVI, pp. 163 ff.

eclipse on that day. In 704 A. C. also there was no lunar eclipse on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the epoch 247-48 A. C. which suits later dates of the era is wholly inapplicable in this case.¹

2. Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No.22, p.90)—Line 30—Āsvayuja-babul-aikādasyāni Tulā-samkrāntē ravau, 'on the eleventh tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the Tulā-rāsi (the zodiacal sign of Libra).' Line 39 gives the same tithi together with the year 460 (expressed in numerical symbols). The occurrence of the Tulā-sankrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was amānta. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. with the year commencing on the amānta Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 460 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 460+172=632), to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C. On that day the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvina commenced 45 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 45. m. after mean sunrise on the same day. Like the tithi of the Kāvī plate of K. 486 (No. 23) this was, therefore, a kshaya-tithi; but as the Tulā-sankrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day while the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvina was current, it is coupled with the latter.

If the year is applied as current, the Tulā-sankrānti falls on Āśvina pūrnimā (the 23rd September 709 A. C.), not on Āśvina va. di. 11 as required. In 708 A. C. also, the Tulā-sankrānti did not occur on the stated tithi. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case also.

3. Kāvī plate of Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 23, p. 96)—Lines 15-16—Ashāḍha-śuddha-daśamyām Karkkaṭaka-rāśau samkrāntē ravau, 'on the tenth tithi of the bright half of Āshāḍha on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Karkkaṭaka.' Lines 24 and 25 give the year 486, Āshāḍha śu. 12,2 Sunday, as the date of the recording of the grant. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the Karkaṭa-saṅkrānti in the expired year 486 (i.e., in the expired Saka year 486+172=658) occurred about 8 h. after mean sunrise on the 22nd June 736 A. C. The tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha commenced 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd June and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of the following day. It was, therefore, a kshaya-tithi; but as the Karkaṭa-saṅkrānti took place during the tenth tithi, it is coupled with it. Again the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of the same lunar month fell on Sunday (the 24th June 736 A. C.) as required. The date is thus perfectly regular.

In the current year 486, on the other hand, the sankranti occurred on Thursday, the 23rd June 735 A. C., which was the 13th of the dark fortnight of Ashadha (not the 10th of the bright fortnight of that month as required).

In 734 A. C. also, the sankranti did not occur on Ashadha su. di. 10. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case too.

Dates in Current Years

4. Kāsārē plates of Allasakti (No. 25, p. 110)—Lines 31-33—Sam 404, Āshādha ba Ā(A)māvasyā[m*] sūrya-grab-ōparāgē, 'in the year 404, on the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of Āshādha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the amāvāsyā of the pūrņimānta Āshādha in the current year 404 (i. e., in the expired Saka year 404+171=575) fell on the 1st June 653 A. C., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the plates. There was no solar eclipse on the amānta Āshādha of this year.

2 As regards the reading of the number of the tithi, see below, p. 98.

According to this epoch of 247-48 A.C., the date should fall in 704 A.C. if the year 456 was a current year, and in 705 A.C. if it was an expired one.

If the year is applied as expired, the date would fall in 654 A. C., but there was no solar eclipse on the pūrņimānta or amānta Āshāḍha of that year.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the tithi should fall in 652 A. C. or 653 A. C., according as the year 404 was current or expired. In 652 A. C. there was no solar eclipse at all. In 653 A. C., of course, the eclipse did occur on the stated tithi as shown above and so the date may be said to be in an expired year according to that epoch. But if we have to explain all early dates according to a missorm process, this date will have to be regarded as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. rather than in an expired year according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C.

5. Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha (No. 28, p. 127)—L. 19—Chaitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyām Vishuē (Vishuvē), 'on the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, on the occasion of the vernal equinox.' Line 28 gives the date Sam 436 Chai su 10, i. e., the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the corresponding Christian date for the current year 436 (i. e., the expired Saka year 436+171=607) is the 21st March 685 A. C. On that day the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Vishuva or Mēshasankrānti had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day. The sankrānti did not thus take place during the 10th tithi, but as the punya-kāla of the Mēsha-sankrānti extends to as many as 15 ghaṭikās before and after the sankrānti, the tithi seems to be coupled with the sankrānti.

If the year is applied as expired, the tithi would fall on the 10th March 686 A. C., but the Mēsha-sankrānti took place 10 days later, on the 20th March 686 A. C.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A.C., the date would be expected to fall in 684 A.C. if the year 436 was current, and in 685 A.C. if it was expired. But in 684 A.C. the tithi fell on the 3rd March, while the Mēsha-sankrānti occurred 16 days later on the 19th March. In 685 A.C. the sankrānti occurred on the same day as the mentioned tithi, but in view of the other early dates for which the epoch of 247-48 A.C. appears wholly inapplicable, it seems better to take this date as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C.

A careful examination of these five early dates of the Kalachuri era will show that-

- (1) All these dates can be shown to be regular according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.; for, though the dates 4 and 5 can also be explained as dates in expired years according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., that epoch will not at all suit the first three dates.
- (2) Date 2 shows that the month of Aśvina stood at the close of the Kalachuri year; i. e., the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Aśvina, probably in Kārttika.
- (3) Among the five dates there are only two (2 and 4) which fell in the dark fortnight. As shown above, one of them (2) shows that the month cited in it was amanta, and the other date (4) indicates that it was pirnimanta. From this, one cannot, of course, draw any definite conclusion. But it is noteworthy that the months of the Saka era, which was current in Maharashtra both before the rise and after the disappearance of the Kalachuri era, were almost invariably amanta. Besides, the date 4 comes from Khandesh and belongs to the reign of the Sēndraka prince Allasakti. Another date from Khandesh which occurs in a record of this same Allasakti's son Jayasakti mentions that the Mina-sankranti in the Saka year 602 (680-81 A. C.)

¹ Among the 400 dates of the Saka era which Prof. Kielhorn collected, there was only a single one which could confidently be said to be according to the pūrņimānta scheme. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 272.

occurred on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. This clearly shows that the month Phālguna was amānta. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year as current in Maharashtra and Gujarat were generally amānta and only exceptionally pūrnimānta.

(4) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 3: 2. This is in keeping with that observed in the case of other eras. Most of the early dates of the Kalachuri era are not verifiable for want of the necessary details. Otherwise, the proportion of expired years would have been still higher.

According to the testimony of these five dates, therefore, the Kalachuri era commenced on the amanta Karttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

LATER DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

We shall next take the later dates of the Kalachuri era. As stated before, these dates come from North India and Chhattisgarh where the era was introduced by the Kalachuris. The epoch which suits these dates is that of 247-48 A. C., the year commencing on the pārņimānta Kārttika śu. di. 1. The first day of the first current year of the Kalachuri era, according to this epoch, was pārņimānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C. Therefore, to convert a current Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in other cases. Similarly, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

Dates in Expired Years

1. Banaras plates of Karna (No. 48, p. 236)—Lines 39-40—Srīmad-Gāngēyadēvasya samvatsarē(a)-srā(śrā)ddhē Phālguna-va(ba)bula-paksha-dvitīyāyām Sa(śa)naischa(ścha)ra-vāsarē, 'On the occasion of the first annual śrāddha of the illustrious Gāngēyadēva, on Saturday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' Line 48—Samvat 793 Phālguna va di 9 Sōmē, 'on Monday, the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793.'

Of the two dates mentioned in this record, the second regularly corresponds, for the expired year 793 (i.e., Saka 793+170=963), to Monday, the 18th January 1042 A.C., on which day the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of the purnimanta Phälguna ended 18 h. after mean sunrise. In 1041 A.C. the tithi fell on a Thursday. So the year cannot be applied as current.

The first date is irregular; for, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrņimānta Phālguna fell on Monday (the 11th January 1042 A.C.), not on Saturday, but the apparent irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown elsewhere.²

2. Goharwa plates of Karna (No. 50, p. 252)—Line 41-42—Srīmat-Karnna-prakāšē vyava-haranē saptama-samvatsarē Kārttikē māsi su(su)kla-paksha-Kārttikē-paurnnamāsyām tithau Guru-dinē, 'During the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karna, on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika.' As shown elsewhere, Karna came to the throne some time after Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792. If the Kalachuri year was Kārttikādi, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karna's reign would fall in the expired year 793. The same month in the seventh regnal year would fall in the expired year 799 (i. e., in the expired Saka year 799 +170=969). The full-moon tithi in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A. C. The date is thus quite regular. It shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some tithi before Kārttika paurnimā.

¹ A. R. B. I. S. M. (Saka 1834), pp. 169 ff.

^{*} See below, pp. 239-40.

If the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Kārttika, the date would fall in 1046 A.C. But in that year the full-moon day of Kārttika fell on a Friday (the 17th October), not on a Thursday as required.

- 3. Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa (No. 51, p. 263)—Line 31—[Kha*]ra-[nāmnā(mnī) mahā-maṅgala-saṅvatsarē] 1180011 'In the very auspicious year 800, named Khara.' The date does not give any details for verification except the name of the Jovian year Khara. Now, the expired Kalachuri year 800 corresponded to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding Jovian year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. The date is thus regular. If the year 800 had been a current year, the Jovian year would have been Vikṛita.
- 4. Rewa stone inscription of Karna (No. 53, p. 278)—Line 20—Samvatsata(ra) 812 śrīmat-Karnna-prakāsa(śa)-vyavaharaṇayā navama-sam(m)vatsarē Māgha-sudi 10 Guran, 'In the year 812, the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by Karna, on the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on Thursday.' The corresponding Christian date for the expired year 812 (i.e., for the expired Saka year 812+170=982) is Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A. C., when the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The date is thus regular.

In the current year 812, the tithi fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1060 A. C.

- 5. Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, p. 409)—Line 31—Samvat 866 Mārgga sudi 9 Ravau, 'In the year 866, on Sunday, the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgašīrsha.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 866 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 866+170=1036), to Sunday, the 8th November 1114 A. C. On that day the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgašīrsha ended 20 h. after mean sunrise. In the current year 866, the tithi fell on Wednesday, the 19th November 1113 A. C.
- 6. Shëorinarayan plates of Ratnadëva II (No. 82, p. 419)—Line 26—Samvata(t) 878, Bhādra sudi 5 Ravan, 'In the year 878, on Sunday, the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 878 (i. e., the expired Saka year 878+171=1049), to Sunday, the 14th August 1127 A. C. On that day, the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 878, the tithi fell on Tuesday, the 24th August 1126 A. C.

7. Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva (No. 83, p. 423)—Lines 23-24—Tēn=āsī(šī)ty-adhik-āshļa-vatsara-satē jā(yā)tē dinē Gīḥpatēḥ Kārttikyām=atha Rōhin-ībha-samayē rātreś=cha yāma-trayē Srīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vvidām:agrataḥ sarvvagrāsam=anushṇagōḥ pravadatā tīrṇṇā pratijña-nadī II 'The expired year 880, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, 'Thursday, with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 880 (i. e., the expired Saka year 880+170=1050), to Thursday, the 8th November 1128 A. C., when the moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The nakshatra Rōhiṇī commenced 13h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The date is thus perfectly regular.

The explicit statement that the year 880 was expired is important. It shows that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits all later dates, the Kalachuri year must have commenced before Kārttika pūrņimā.

8. Pāragaon plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 122, p. 622)—Lines 22-23—Rāhu-grastē Kārttikē māsi bhānau, 'When the sun was devoured by Rāhu in the month of Kārttika'; l. 30—Kalachuri samvatsarē 885 Āsvi(śvi)na sudi 1 Vu(Bu)dhē, 'In the Kalachuri year 885, on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on Wednesday.' This date corres-

ponds, for the expired year 885 (i.e., for the expired Saka year 885+171=1056), to Wednesday, the 19th September 1134 A. C. On that day the tithi Asvina su. di. 1 commenced 19 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

This date shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some day after Aśvina

There was, however, no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika (amānta or pūrņimānta) in K. 885 or even in K. 884. Perhaps Kārttikē māsi in II. 22-23 is a mistake for Śrāvaņē māsi; for, there was a solar eclipse in the month of pūrņimānta Śrāvaṇa in K. 885, on the 23rd July 1134 A. C.

In the current Kalachuri year 885, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Friday (the 1st September 1133 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required. As stated before, there was no solar eclipse in the month of Karttika, amanta or parnimanta in that year.

9. Daikoni plates of Prithvīdēva II (No. 86, p. 443)—Line 23—Rābu-grastē rajani-tilakē Kārttikē pamchadasyā(syā)m, 'When the ornament of the night (i. e., the moon) was devoured by Rāhu on the fifteenth tithi of Kārttika; ll. 26-27—Samvat 890, Mārgga vadi 11 Ravau, 'In the year 890, on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārga-sīrsha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 890 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 890+170=1060), to Sunday, the 30th October 1138 A. C. On that day the eleventh tithi in the dark fortnight of the pūrnimānta Mārgašīrsha commenced 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. There was a lunar eclipse on the preceding Kārttika pūrnimā (the 19th October 1138 A. C.).

In the current Kalachuri year 890, on the other hand, the tithi in the pūrnimānta Mārgašīrsha fell on Thursday (the 11th November 1137 A. C.). Besides, there was no lunar eclipse in the preceding Kārttika.

10. Rājim stone inscription of Prithvīdēva II (No. 88, p. 450)—Lines 18-19—Kalachuri-sanivat-sara(rē) 896 Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē rath-āshṭamyāni Vu(Bu)dha-dinē, 'In the Kalachuri year 896, on Wednesday, the eighth tithi (called Rathāshṭami) of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 896 (i. e., the expired Saka year 896+170=1066), to Wednesday, the 3rd January 1145 A. C. On that day the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 896, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1144 A. C.

11. Bilaigarh Plates of Prithvideva II (No. 89, p. 458)—Line 27—Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse'; l. 36—Sanvat 896 Amine 5 (Āśvinē 15) 'In the year 896, on the 15th tithi of Āśvina'. The date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that in the expired year 896 (i.e., in the expired Saka year 896+170=1066) there were two solar eclipses, one in the pūrṇimānta Māgha (on the 26th December 1144 A. C.), and the other in the pūrṇimānta Āshāḍha (on the 22nd June 1145 A. C.). The latter is probably intended here.

In the current year 896, there was no solar eclipse.

12. Pāragaon plates of Prithvīdēva II (No. 123, p. 626)—Line 37—Samvat 897 Phālguna su di 15 Vu(Bu)dhavārē, 'In the year 897, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, on Wednesday.' This date corresponds, for the expired year 897 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 897+170=1067), to Wednesday, the 27th February 1146 A. C. On that day the tithi Phālguna śu. di. 15 commenced 8 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

In the current Kalachuri year 897, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Friday (the 9th February 1145 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required.

13. Amodā plates (first set) of Prithvidēva II (No. 91, p. 474)—Line 24—Chaitrē somagrahē sati; l. 32—Samvat 900, 'The year 900, with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra.' The corresponding Christian date for the expired year 900 (i. e., the expired Saka year 900+171=1071) is Friday, the 25th March 1149 A. C. On that day there was a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

In the current year 900 (1148 A. C.), on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse in Chaitra.

14. Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarṇadēva (No. 58, p. 305)—Lines 20-22—Navasa(śa)ta-yugal-ābd-ādbikya-gē Chēdi-dishṭa(tē) | ja[na*]padam-avat=īmam śrī-Gayākarṇṇadēvē |
Pratipadi śuchi-māsa-śvēta-pakshē-rkka-vārē.. | II, 'In the year 902 of the Chēdi era, on Sunday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarṇa.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 902
(i. e., the expired Saka year 902+171=1073), to Sunday, the 17th June 1151 A. C., on which day the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha ended 2 h. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 902, on the other hand, there were two Ashādhas. In the adhika Ashādha, the tithi fell on Monday, the 29th May 1150 A. C., and in the nija Ashādha, on Tuesday, the 27th June 1150 A. C.

- 15. Amodā plates (second set) of Pṛithvīdēva II (No. 94, p. 491)—Line 35—Mam(Sam)vata(t) 905 Āsvi(śvi)na su di 6 Bhaumē, 'In the year 905, on Tuesday, the 6th tithi of the
 bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year
 905 (i. e., Saka year 905+171=1076), to Tuesday, the 14th September 1154 A. C.
 On that day the sixth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m.
 after mean sunrise. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248
 A. C., this date should fall in 1152 A. C. if the Kalachuri year 905 is taken as current,
 and in 1153 A. C. if it is taken as expired. But in 1152 A. C. the tithi ended 7 h. 30 m.
 after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September), and in 1153 A. C. it ended 7 h.
 after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to
 be regarded as irregular.
- 16. Bhērā-Ghāṭ stone inscription of Narasimha (No. 60, p. 312)—Line 29—Samvat 907

 Mārgga sudi 11 Ravau, '(in) the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright
 fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha.' This date corresponds, for the expired year 907 (i. e.,
 the expired Saka year 907+170=1077), to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C.,
 on which day the tithi commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. It ended 45 m. after
 mean sunrise on the next day. Though not current at sunrise, the tithi must have been
 joined to the week-day 'which was almost entirely filled by it.' In the current year
 907, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Wednesday, the 17th November 1154 A. C.
- 17. Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription of Narasimha (No. 61, p. 321)—Line 7—[Sam]vat 909 Srā(Srā)vaṇa su di 5 Vuddhē (Budhē), 'In the year 909, on Wednesday, the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Srāvaṇa.' In the expired Kalachuri year 909 (corresponding to the expired Saka year 909+171=1080) there were two Srāvaṇas. The first or adhika Srāvaṇa is evidently meant here; for, the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the 2nd July 1158 A. C.

In the current year 909, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Saturday, the 13th July 1157 A. C.

18. Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha (No. 63, p. 324)—Lines 25-26—Samvat 918 Āšvina su di paurņņamāsyām tithau sa(śā)ni-dinē.....Soma-grahaņē, 'In the year 918, on Saturday,

¹ For another instance of an intercalary month not so specified, see date 20, below.

the full-moon tithi of Aśvina, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 918 (i. e., the expired Saka year 918+171=1089), to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A. C. On that day the full-moon tithi ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1165 A. C. if the year was current, and in 1166 A. C. if it was expired. But in 1165 A. C. the tithi fell on Tuesday (the 21st September), and in 1166 A. C. it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again, in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given tithi.

If the year 918 is applied as current, the tithi should fall in 1166 A. C., but as shown above, it would not be regular.

19. Rewa plate of Jayasimha (No. 65, p. 340)—Line 14—Samvat 926, Bhādrapada-māsē sukla-pakshē [Cha]turthyām tithau Guru-dinē Rāṇaka-śrī-Vatsarājaśya(sya) nimittē pimḍ-ārchana-sthānē, 'In the year 926, on Thursday, the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada at the place of worshipping the balls (of rice) offered in honour of the Rāṇa-ka, the illustrious Vatsarāja'. The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 926 (i. e., the expired Saka year 926+171=1097), to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A. C. On that day, the tithi commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, it is coupled with the week-day as it was current in the afternoon at the time of the performance of the śrāddha.

In the current year 926, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Saturday, the 3rd August 1174 A. C.

20. Tewar stone inscription of Jayasiriha (No. 66, p. 344)—Line 7—Sanivat 928 Srāvaņa su di 6 Ravau Hastē, 'In the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of Hasta.' There were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalachuri year 928 (i. e., in the expired Saka year 928+171=1099). Of these, the first or adhika Śrāvaṇa is intended here;¹ for, the 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A. C. and the nakshatra Hasta also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. In the nija Śrāvaṇa of that year, the tithi fell on Monday, the 1st August, and the nakshatra was Chitrā.

In the current year 928, the tithi fell on Wednesday, the 14th July 1176 A.C., and the nakshatra was Chitra.

21. Sāhaspur statue inscription of Yaśōrāja (No.115, p. 595)—Line 5—Samvat 934, Kārttika su di 15 Vu(Bu)dhe, 'In the year 934, on Wednesday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.' The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 934 (i. e., the expired Saka year 934+170=1104), to Wednesday, the 13th October 1182 A. C. On that day, the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 14 h. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 934, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Saturday, the 24th October, 1181 A. C.

22. Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasiriha (No. 68, p. 346)—Line 26—Chatvārimšaty-adhikē vdē(bdē) chaturbhir=mavamē šatē i Sukrē Sāhasamall-ānkē Nābhasye prathamē dinē ii Samvat 944 Bhādrapada su di i, Sukrē, 'In the year 944 called Sāhasamallānka, on Friday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' This date corresponds, for the expired year 944 (i. e., the expired Saka year 944+171=1115), to Friday, the 30th July 1193

¹ For a similar case of an intercalary month, cited without being specified as such, see above,page xvii, date 17.

A.C. On that day, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 944, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Monday, the 10th August 1192 A. C.

23. Bēsāni stone inscription (No. 71, p. 368)—Line I—Samvata(t) [9]58 prathama-Āsha(shā)dbā sudi 3-The expired Kalachuri year 958 corresponds to 1206-07 A. C. In 1207 A. C. there were two Ashādhas, of which the first or intercalary Ashādha lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June.

In the current year 957, on the other hand, there was no intercalary Ashādha.

24. Dhurëti plates of Trailokyamalla (No. 72, p. 369)—Line 7—Samma(va)t 963 Iyështha su di 7 Some dinani(ne), 'In the year 963 on Monday, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyeshtha.' The details do not work out satisfactorily; for, according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the tithi fell on Friday (the 20th May 1211 A. C.), if the year 963 was current, and on Wednesday (the 9th May 1212 A. C.) if it was expired. In view of the slovenly manner in which the record has been written throughout, it is not unlikely that Some (Monday) is a mistake for Saumye (Wednesday), in which case the date would regularly correspond, for the expired year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

25. Pendrābandha plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 101, p. 543)—Line 26—grāmō Makara-samkrāntau dattah sanikalpa-pūrvakah; 1.35—Sanivata(t) 965.... Māgha su di 10 Manigaladine. The details of the date are 'Makara-sankranti; the year 965, Tuesday, the 10th of the bright fortnight of Magha.' As it stands, the date is irregular; for, in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of 'Magha connected with a Tuesday'. If, however, sudi is taken to be a mistake for vadi, the date corresponds, for the expired year 965 (i. e., the expired Saka year 965+170=1135), regularly to Tuesday, the 7th January 1214 A. C. On that day, the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of the pürnimanta Magha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-sankranti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December 1213 A. C.

In the current year 965, the tithi Magha su. di. 10 fell on Saturday, the 2nd

February 1213 A. C.

26. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparājadēva (No. 117, p. 599)—Lines 7 and 8—Isva(śva)rasamvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē su(sū)ry-oparāgē; 1. 10—Samvat 966, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday in the nakshatra Chitra in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Iśvara, in the year 966'. The date corresponds, for the expired year 966 (i. e., the expired Saka year 966+170=1136), to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A. C., when there was a solar eclipse visible at Kānkēr, the tithi being the new-moon day of the purnimanta Karttika, and nakshatra Chitra. The cyclic year, however, does not agree. According to the southern luni-solar system it was Bhava, and according to the northern system it was Bahudhanya. The discrepancy is evidently due to the writer's carelessness.

In the current year 966, on the other hand, there was no solar eclipse in the purnimānta or amānta Kārttika.

27. Bilaigarh plates of Pratapamalla (No. 102, p. 549)—Line 28— Ashādhyām Soma-parvvaņi; 1.38—Samvat 969, 'A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Ashadha; in the year 969.' This date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 969 (i. e., the expired Saka year 969+171=1140), to the 9th July 1218 A. C. On that day the full-moon tithi of Ashādha ended 18 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise and there was also a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

In the current year 969 (corresponding to 1217 A. C.), there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon tithi of Ashādha.

Dates in Current Years

28. Makundpur stone inscription of Gāngēyadēva (No. 47, p. 234)—Line 1—Samvat 772, Kārttika su di 12 Vu(Bu)dha-dinē, 'on Wednesday, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 772.'

This date, occurring in the month of Kärttika, should fall in 1019 A. C. if the year 772 was current, and in 1020 A. C. if it was expired; but in 1019 A. C., the aforementioned tithi ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), and in 1020 A. C., 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was it connected with a Wednesday. But if the deviation of one day is overlooked, it may be taken to correspond to the 13th October 1019 A. C.

29. Sārnāth stone inscription of Karņa (No. 52, p. 275)—Line 6—Samva[tsarē*][8*]10 Asvina (Aśvina) [su]di 15 Ravau 'In the year 810, on Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Aśvina.' The date corresponds, for the current year 810 (i. e., the expired Saka year 810+170=980), to Sunday, the 4th October 1058 A. C. On that day the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Aśvina ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the expired year 810, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Friday, the 24th September 1059 A. C.

30. Raipur Plate of Prithvīdēva I (No. 75, p. 398)—Line 7—Uttarāyaṇa-sakrau (saṅkrāntau), 'On the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti'; l. 17—Saṅvat 821, Magha va di 8 Ravau, 'In the year 821 on Sunday, the 8th tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the current year 821, to Sunday, the 18th January 1069 A. C. On that day the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight of the amānta Māgha ended at 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The Uttarāyaṇa- or Makara-saṅkrānti had occurred more than a fortnight before, on the 23rd December 1068 A. C.

According to the pārņimānta scheme, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Saturday, the 20th December 1068 A. C., and the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti occurred three days after, on the 23rd December.

If the year is applied as expired, the tithi in the purnimanta Magha fell on Thursday (the 7th January 1070 A. C.) and in the amanta Magha on Saturday (the 6th February 1070 A. C.). In both the cases it would have to be regarded as irregular.

31. Amodā plates of Prithvīdēva I (No. 76, p. 401)—Lines 27-28—Gba(Phā)lguna-kri-shņa-saptamyām Ravi-dinē; l. 41—Chēd-īsa(śa)sya Sam 831, 'In the year 831, on Sunday, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' This date regularly corresponds, for the current year 831 (i. e., the expired Saka year 831+169=1000), to Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A. C. On that day, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrnimānta Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

In the expired year 831, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Thursday, the 16th January 1080 A. C.

32. Shēorinārāyan statue inscription (No. 110, p. 582)—Line 5—Kalachuri-samvatsarēn 89811 Asvini(Āśvina) su di 2 Sōma-dinē. This date regularly corresponds, for the current year 898 (i.e., the expired Saka year 898+170=1068), to Monday, the 9th September 1146 A. C. On that day, the second tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the expired year 898, on the other hand, the tithi fell on Sunday, the 28th September 1147 A. C.

33. Koni stone inscription of Prithvideva II (No. 90, p. 463)—Line 25—Rābu-mukha-sthē bhānau, 'When the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu'; l. 28—Sam(m)vat 900, 'In the year 900.' In the current year 900, there was a solar eclipse in the pūrņimānta Vaiśākha (on

the 20th April 1148 A. C.), but none at all in the expired year.

34. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (No. 116, p. 596)—Line 9—Samvata(t) 965 Bhādrapadē va di 10, Mriga-ri(ri)kshē Sādma(ma)-dinē, 'In the year 965, on Monday, the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, the nakshatra being Mriga.' This date corresponds, for the current year 965 (or the expired Saka year 965+170=1135), to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A.C. On that day, the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrnimānta Bhādrapada commenced 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise and the nakshatra Mriga ended 14 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. Though the tithi was not current at sunrise on Monday, it is coupled with that week-day probably because it was current at the time when the transaction recorded in the plate was made.

If the year is applied as expired, the tithi would fall on Saturday (the 2nd August

1214 A. C.).

A careful examination of these 34 later dates of the Kalachuri era will show hat—

(1) All of them can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.; for, though the first twenty-seven dates can also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., that epoch will not at all do for the remaining seven dates 28-34.

(2) The dates 6, 19 and 22 clearly show that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the Kalachuri year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. Kielhorn's earlier view that the Kalachuri year was Bhādrapadādi is, therefore, wholly untenable.

(3) The dates 8, 15 and 18 indicate that the month Aśvina stood at the close, and not in the beginning, of the Kalachuri year. Kielhorn's final view that the Kalachuri year

was Aśvinādi is clearly disproved by these three dates.

(4) From the date 18 it appears that the Kalachuri year commenced some time after Aśvina śu. di. 15, while the dates 2 and 7 plainly indicate that the year began before Kārttika śu. di. 15. Between these two limits the only tithi which suggests itself for the commencement of the Kalachuri year is Kārttika śu. di. 1. This conjecture may be said to be corroborated by the date 28, though its testimony is somewhat weakened by a slight error in the specification of the week-day.

(5) Among the later dates examined above, there are only seven, viz., 1, 9, 25, 26, 30, 31 and 34, which fell in the dark fortnight. Six of these, viz., 1, 9, 25, 26, 31 and 34 work out satisfactorily only with the pārnimānta scheme of lunar months and only one, viz. 30, with the amānta scheme. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year generally ended on the full-moon day.

Among these 34 dates there are only three, viz., Nos. 24, 25 and 28, which are slightly irregular. The others work out quite satisfactorily with the epoch of 247-48 A.C. The following dates have been omitted for the reason stated in each case:—(1) The Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 56), because the year of the date is manifestly wrong. See below, pp. 301-02. (2) The Ghoṭiā plates of Pṛithvidēva II (No. 92), because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect. See below, p. 479. (3) The Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II (No. 99), because the last figure of the date is uncertain. See below, p. 529. (4) The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasinha (No. 64), because its evidence is not conclusive; the date can be taken as recorded either in a current or in an expired year. See below, p. 332, n. 2. All these dates have, however, been fully discussed in the introductory articles of these inscriptions. I have omitted one more date, viz., K. 928, Māgha-vadi 10, Monday, though it regularly corresponds, for the expired year 928, to Monday, the 27th December 1176 A.C.; for, it is known only from a statement o Cuaningham. See his A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 111 and Indian Eras, p. 61.

(6) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 27:7, which is in accordance with the general usage of quoting expired years, noticed in the case of the other Indian eras.

The uniform agreement of these 34 later dates of the Kalachuri era clearly establishes that the era commenced on the pūrņimānta Kārttika su. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C.

Now, this conclusion conflicts with the result already obtained from an examination of the available five early dates of the era which contained the necessary details for computation, viz., that the era commenced on the amānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C. It may be noted in this connection that the two types of dates do not come from the same part of the country. The earlier dates come from Gujarat and Maharashtra, while the later ones are obtained from North India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. It seems to me that the only way in which we can reconcile these two epochs of the era is to suppose that when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones. The commencement of the era came consequently to be antedated by one year. Again, though the year continued to be Kārttikādi, its months bacame pūrņimānta in accordance with the general usage prevailing in North India.

The Kalachuri-Chēdi era, therefore, originally commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1

(the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ERA

We shall next turn to the question, 'What historical event does this era commemorate?'
For a correct answer to this question we must take the following points into consideration.

(1) Though in some later records, the years of the era are specified as Chēdi-samvat or Chēd-īšasya samvat and Kalachuri-samvat, it by no means follows that the era was known by either of these names from early times; for, in the early records of the Māhārājās of Khandesh, the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas, the years of the era are introduced simply by the word samvat. The name Chēdi-samvat, Chēdidishṭa (or Chd-īšasya samvat) and Kalachuri-samvat occur in only nine records,² eight of which come from Chhattisgarh. The earliest of them belongs to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. C. The reason why this era came to be known by these names in Chhattisgarh is not far to seek. Before the advent of the Kalachuris, the general custom prevailing in Chhattisgarh, as in several other parts of India, was to date events in the regnal years of the ruling king.³ When the Kalachuris established themselves in Chhattisgarh, they introduced there the era which they had been using in their home province of Dāhala for several centuries. It, therefore, came to be designated as Kalachuri-samvat. The other name Chēdi-samvat or Chēd-īšasya samvat was also appropriate; for, the Imperial family to which the Tummāṇa branch owed allegiance was then ruling over the Chēdi country.

A mistake of the opposite type seems to have occurred in recording the date Saka 1322 of No. 107. The correct date was expired Saka 1323, but the writer seems to have taken it as current and so put down Saka 1322, evidently as an expired year. Three other instances of the same type (viz., expired Saka years erroneously regarded as current ones) were noticed by Kielhorn during his examination of the dates of the Saka era in inscriptions. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 268.

² The phrase Chēd-starya sani occurs in the date 831 of No. 76, Chēdi-sanivat in the dates 919 and 933 of Nos. 98 and 100, and Chēdi-dishṭa in the date 902 of No. 58 (which is in verse). The expression Kalachuri-sanivatsara is noticed in the dates 885, 893, 896, 898 and 910 of Nos. 122, 87, 88, 110 and 95 respectively. Of these, only the date 902 comes from the country, north of the Narmadā.

³ See, for instances, the dates of the records of the kings of Sarabhapura and those of the Sōmavarisii dynasty. The only early record from Chhattisgarh which is dated in any era is the Āraṅg plate of Bhīmasēna. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. It contains the date 182 of the Gupta era. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the contemporary ruler of Tripuri is invariably referred to as Chēd-īśa, Chedi-narēndra or Chaidya (the lord of Chēdi) in the records from Chhattisgarh.1 These names of the era do not, therefore, indicate that the era was started by the Kalachuris or that it originated in the Chedi country.

The other name Traikūtaka, which is sometimes used to designate the era, is due to a wrong interpretation of an expression occurring in the Kanheri plate, dated K. 243, as already pointed out by Dr. Fleet.2

Like several other eras, the era of 249-50 A. C. also had no special name in the beginning. Its years were introduced by the simple word sam or samvat.

(2) The earliest records dated in this era come from Central India, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nagpur, Nasik and Khandesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the ninth century A. C., i. e., until after its introduction in the Chēdi country by the Kalachuris. We have already seen that the theories that the records of Kanishka and his successors, the so-called Kushanaputras, the Maghas of Kauśāmbī and the Uchchakalpas of Central India are dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era are untenable.3 The era must, therefore, have originated south of the Narmada.

These considerations point to Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra as the original home of the era. Let us next consider the political condition in circa 250 A. C. in this part of the country which led to its foundation.

The Puranas say that when the kingdom of the Andhras will come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants.4 Among these latter are mentioned ten Abhīra kings who are said to have ruled for 67 years. Scholars are not unanimous as to when the kingdom of the Andhras came to an end. The duration of the Andhra or Sātavāhana rule is variously given by the Purāṇas, viz., as 460 years by the Matsya, 411 by the Vayu and 456 by the Brahmanda, the Vishnu and the Bhagavata.5 The date of the commencement of their rule is also uncertain. Inscriptions afford, however, some basis for calculation. It is well known that there was an interruption in the Sātavāhana rule over Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Saka Satrap Bhūmaka established himself in Gujarat and Nahapāna in Maharashtra. The Sātavāhanas, who were ousted from this part of the country, seem to have retired to Vidarbha.6 They attempted to reconquer their lost territory during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarņi. This Sātavāhana king is said to have exterminated the Kshaharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged.7 The decisive battle seems to have been fought in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign; for, soon after

¹ See line 19 of No. 77, 1.5 of No. 93 and 1.18 of No. 98. Cunningham's view that Chhattisgarh was Eastern Chēdi is erroneous.

^{*} J. R. A. S. for 1905, p. 567.

³ See above, pp. viii ff.; also Ep. Ind. XXIII, pp. 171 ff. As for the theory that the era was started by Vamataksha of the Kushāṇaputra dynasty (Ind. Cul., Vol. VIII, pp. 191 ff.), it is in the first place not clear that there was such a dynasty; for, the expression Kushānaputra occurs only in one record, viz., that of Vamataksha himself and may simply mean 'a scion of the Kushāṇa family'.

⁴ Cf. Andhrāṇām samsthitē rājyē teshām bhrity-ānvayā nripāḥ i sapt :aiv =Āndhrā bhavishyanti daś = Ābhīrās=tathā nripāh 11 D. K. A., p. 45.

⁵ Ibid., p. 43 and n. 33.

⁶ Gautamīputra calls himself Bēnākaṭaka-svāmī in his Nāsik cave inscription (Lūders' List, No. 1125). That Benākata was a district of ancient Vidarbha is shown by the Tirodi plates of the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff. See also J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

⁷ See the expression Khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa describing Gautamīputra in 1.6 of the Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' List, No. 1123; Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60.

the victory he donated a field to the Buddhist monks living in the caves near Nasik.¹ The Kshaharāta Satrap defeated by Gautamīputra is not named, but he was probably Nahapāna himself; for we know of no successor of the latter. Besides, Gautamīputra is known to have called back and restruck Kshatrapa coins in order to proclaim the establishment of his rule. The Jogaltembhi hoard, discovered in 1906, contained hundreds of coins of this type. But among them there was not a single coin of any successor of Nahapāna, which shows that Gautamīputra came immediately after Nahapāna.²

Now, the last known date of Nahapāna is 46, which it seems best to refer to the Saka era. It is thus equivalent to circa 124 A. C. Supposing that Nahapāna suffered a defeat in this very year, 124 A. C. becomes the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign. Gautamīputra may, therefore, have come to the throne in circa 107 A. C. The Purāṇas name the successors of Gautamīputra and give their reign-periods as follows:—

Gautamiputra	200	21	years,	circa	107-127	A. C.
Puļumāvi II	18/8	28	22	,,	128-155	123
Sātakarņi	W/AT	29		37	156-184	35
Sivaśrī Puļumāvi III	BIT	7	"	22	185-191	33
Sivaskanda	1	3	22	**	192-194	***
Yajñaśri		29	22	,,	195-223	Taplica
Vijaya	modell	6	22	***	224-229	33
Chandaśri Santikarna	1974	10	33	allogoli .	230-239	233
Pulumāvi IV	10.45	7	22	29	240-246	33

The find of potin coins at Tarhāļā in the Akola District of Berar plainly indicates that all these kings3 continued to hold Maharashtra to the end of the Sātavāhana age. The reign-periods mentioned in the Puranas are not, however, absolutely trustworthy. In the first place, there are many variants, and even if we take the readings supported by the best MSS., their statements are in some cases contradicted by contemporary inscriptions. The Puranas, for instance, assign a reign-period of only 21 years to Gautamiputra, but from a Nasik cave inscription4 he is known to have reigned for at least 24 years. There may, therefore, be similar discrepancies in other reign-periods also. Besides, it is not certain that the battle between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna was fought in the Saka year 46 and not later. Notwithstanding these circumstances which render the accuracy of the dates doubtful, we may say that the Sātavāhanas continued to rule in Maharashtra till the middle of the 3rd century A. C. The Puranas say that the successors of the Andhras (i. e., the Satavahanas) were the Abhiras. And it is worthy of note that we do find an inscription of the reign of the Abhīra king Iśvarasēna, the son of the Abhīra Sivadatta, at Nasik.5 Its characters and the predominance of Sanskrit in its language suggest that Iśvarasēna flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, all of whose records are in Prakrit. Iśvarasēna's father Sivadatta bears no princely title. This indicates that Isvarasēna was the

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

² See P. H. A. I. (fourth ed.), p. 490.

² J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 83 ff. The hoard contained coins of Sātakarni (probably identical with Gautamīputra), Puļumāvi, Sivašrī-Puļumāvi, Skanda (probably identical with Sivaskanda), Yajnašrī, Vijaya, Karna, probably the same as Chandašrī-Sāntikarna, and Puļuhāmavi (probably identical with Puļumāvi IV). Some of the coins with legend Sātakania can, on palæographic grounds, be referred to a Sītakarni later than Gautamīputra. They were probably issued by the (Vāsishthīputra) Sātakarni who according to a MS. of the Vājuparāna succeeded Puļumāvi and ruled for 29 years. D. K. A., p. 42.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 75.

⁵ No. 1.

founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. Perhaps, he was previously a military officer of the Sātavāhanas.¹ From the Gunda inscription² we know of another Ābhīra Sēnāpati named Rudrabhūti, the son of the commander Bāhaka, who was in the service of the Western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha I in 181 A. C. Iśvarasēna may have held a similar office under the last Sātavāhana king Puļumāvi IV. In that case his military power and the influence he commanded may have helped him in usurping the throne after Pulumāvi IV.

Several scholars identify this Iśvarasēna with Iśvaradatta whose silver coins dated in the first and second regnal years have been discovered at several places in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana. About the exact period in which he flourished, there has, however, been a great divergence of opinion.3 Pandit Bhagvanlal placed him in the gap of the years 171-176, for which no coins of the Western Kshatrapas were available in his time. Later on, Prof. Rapson showed that the gap did not exist, as he discovered coins of the dates from 171 to 176. Rapson himself assigned him to the gap between the years 158 and 161, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that that gap too was virtually non-existent, as he found a coin dated 160 in the Sarvāniā hoard. Iśvaradatta may, of course, have been an Abhīra, though his coins do not say so explicitly; for, the Nasik inscription shows that the Abhīras bore names ending in datta as well as in sēna. But it is doubtful if he was identical with Isvarasena, the founder of the Abhīra dynasty; for, his coins are dated only in the first and second years of his reign4 and are found only in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana.5 This plainly indicates that he had a meteoric rise in that part of the country, but was promptly subdued by the Western Kshatrapas. If he later on retired to Maharashtra and established himself there, his coins dated in subsequent years should have been found there; for, the Nāsik inscription shows that Iśvarasēna continued to hold Maharashtra at least till the ninth regnal year.

Prof. Rapson, who placed Isvaradatta in the gap of Saka 159-160, suggested that the era of 249-50 A. C. might have marked the consolidation of the Abhira kingdom during one of the successors of Isvardatta rather than its first beginnings. But the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kushāṇa era, for instance, owed its use to the continuation of Kanishka's regnal dates by his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudēva. The same may have happened in the case of the era of 249-50 A. C. It seems to have commenced with the reign of the Ābhīra Isvarasēna, and was apparently continued by his successors, of whom as many as nine reigned according to the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas unfortunately do not name these Ābhīra kings, but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. Judging by the extent of the use of their era, their kingdom seems to have comprised parts of Central India as well as Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nasik and Khandesh.

It has been suggested that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical, Ābhīra being a racial name, and Traikūṭaka, a regional one. The names of the princes belonging to these two dynasties end in either datta or sēna, which lends colour to this identification.

¹ It may be noted that the Puranas call the Abhiras Andhrabhrityas or servants of the Andhras (i.e., of the Sātavāhanas).

² Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 157; J. R. A. S. for 1890, p. 650.

³ See above, pp. vii ff.

⁴ The legend on his coins is Rājāš Mahākshatrapasa Isvaradattasa varsbē prathamē (or dvitiyē).

^{*} Bomb. Gaz., Vol. XVI, p. 624. Sarvāṇiā, where also the coins of Israradatta were found, is in the former Bānswārā State in Rajputana. The Sonpur (Chhindwara District, Madhya Pradesh) hoard apparently did not contain any coins of Isvaradatta. J. R. A. S. B., Vol. III, Num. Suppl., pp. 95 ff.

⁴ C. A. D., p. clxii.

But the Chandravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman,1 which may be referred to the fourth century A.C., mentions the Abhīras separately from the Traikūṭakas. This suggests that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were not identical. The Abhiras, who probably had their stronghold in Khandesh,2 held imperial sway, while the Traikūtakas, who rose to power in the Nasik District, may have been a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Abhīras. As stated before, the Purāṇas assign a period of only 67 years to the reign of ten Abhīra kings. This is abnormally low. Perhaps the expression sapta-shashti satān=īha,3 stating the period of Abhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the Vāyupurāna, is a mistake for sapta-shashtim satañ-ch-èha.4 In that case the Abhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till 415 A. C. After the fall of the Abhīra dynasty the Traikūtakas attained imperial position. As shown elsewhere, Mahārāja Indradatta, the first known Traikūtaka king, seems to have flourished in the period circa 415-440 A. C.5 He and his successors continued the era started by the Abhīra Iśvarasēna, as it had by that time become 'the habitual and well-estabalished reckoning of the country.' The history of other Indian eras shows that once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha, for instance, continued to be used long after him though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. It is, therefore, not surprising that the era of the Abhīras also remained current in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra long after the downfall of the Abhīra dynasty.

LOCALITY OF THE ERA

The earliest date of the era is K. 9, which belongs to the reign of the founder, the Abhīra king Iśvarasēna. The next three dates, viz., K. 67, 107 and 117 come from Khandesh and are furnished by the grants of a feudatory family which plainly owed allegiance to the contemporary Abhīra Emperors. We have then the dates K. 102 and 167, the first from Kānākhērā near Sānchī and the second from the former Barwāni State, which belong to the reigns of the Saka king Śrīdharavarman and Subandhu of Māhishmatī respectively and clearly show that the era had spread beyond the Narmadā in the North. The three following dates K. 207, 241 and 245 belong to the Traikūṭakas who succeeded the Abhīras in Gujarat, Konkan and the Nasik District. Following upon these is the date K. 292 of No. 11. It belongs to the reign of Mabārāja Saṅgamasimha, who seems to have occupied Central Gujarat after the fall of the Traikūṭakas. The next date K. 322 of No. 120 comes from the Nagpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and belongs to the reign of Svāmirāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja.

Of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who succeeded the Traikūṭakas in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, we have the next three dates, viz., K. 347, 360 and 361 of Nos. 12, 14 and 15, one of which belong to Gujarat and the other two to the Nāsik District of Maharashtra. The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings who held Gujarat north of the Kīm after the fall of the Kalachuris furnish the next eight dates, viz., K. 380, 385, 391 392 (in two grants) 427, 456, 460 and 486 (in two grants) of Nos. 16-20, 121 and 21-24. Contemporaneously with these, we have two dates, viz., K. 404 and 406 of Nos. 25 and 26, belonging to the

¹ A. R. A. S. M. (1929), p. 50.

^{*} Abhīra kings were ruling at Bhambhāgiri (Bhāmēr in the Pimpalner tālukā of West Khandesh) till the time of the Later Yādava king Sitihaņa. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 203.

³ D. K. A., p. 46, n. 37.

⁴ For a similar expression, see pañcha varsha-satān=īha (ibid., p. 47), which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'. Ibid., p. 72, n. 15.

⁵ See below, p. xlii.

Sēndrakas, who held Southern Gujarat and Khandesh as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas, and four more, viz., K. 421, 436, 443 and 490 of Nos. 27-30, furnished by the records of a feudatory Chālukya family which was at first ruling over the Nasik District, but later on supplanted the Sendrakas in Southern Gujarat. Finally, the Harischandriyas, whom the Western Chālukyas placed in charge of Konkan and the Nasik District, furnish only one date, viz., K. 461 of No. 31.

After K. 461 (709-10 A. C.) we have no dates of this era from Konkan or Maharashtra. Even before this date we find that the era was yielding ground to its rival, the Saka era. The Western Chālukyas and their feudatories, the Sēndrakas, who came from the Kanarese country, were using the Saka era in their home province. When they conquered and established themselves in Gujarat and Maharashtra, they continued to use the Kalachuri era evidently because it had become the habitual reckoning of that part of the country, but they gradually introduced there the Saka era which was current in their home province. The Sendraka prince Allasakti, for instance, issued two charters in 656 A. C. Both of them were granted in Gujarat, but while one of them (No. 26) which records the gift of a village in Gujarāt is dated in the year 406 of the Kalachuri era, the other which registers the donation of another village situated in Khandesh bears the date 577 of the Saka era.1 Allasakti's son Jayasakti also, who was ruling over Khandesh, dates his Mundkhēdē plates in the Saka era.2 The Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas generally used the Kalachuri era in dating their land-grants in Gujarat. But Mangalarāja, who succeeded Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, is known to have issued a charter, dated in the year 653 of the Saka era.3 The charter is not forthcoming now, but in view of another record of the same prince from the Thana District4 it may be conjectured that it registered a grant of land in North Konkan.

In the Nasik District and Gujarat the Kalachuri era lingered a little longer. The latest date of that era from the Nasik District is K. 461 (710-11 A. C.).5 The Saka era, which had already penetrated into Southern Maharashtra before 687 A.C., the date of the Jejuri plates of Vinayaditya,6 soon ousted the Kalachuri era from Northern Maharashtra also. In Gujarat the era was current for at least 30 years more till 740 A. C.; for, the Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin are dated K. 490 (740 A. C.). After Pulakeśin's death, the country to the north of the Kim was occupied by the Chāhamānas, who, coming as they did from the north, had a predilection for the Vikrama era. Their Hansot grant found in Gujarat is dated V. 814 (756 A.C.).7 Southern Gujarat was held by a feudatory Rāshtrakūta family which for the first time introduced the Saka era in that part of the country. Their earliest grant from Gujarat is dated Saka 679 (757 A. C.).8 After the middle of the 8th century A.C. we have no date of the Kalachuri era from Konkan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, the provinces where it had originated five centuries before.

When the Kalachuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kalanjara and Tripuri, they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier

¹ See the Nagad plates, dated Saka 577, edited by G. H. Khare in the Sanisodbaka (Dhulia), Vol. VIII.

They are dated in Saka 602. See A. R. B. I. S. M. (S. 1834), pp. 169-171.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁴ This charter is dated \$. 613 and records the grant of some villages in the Thana District of the Bombay

State. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

8 If my reading and interpretation of the date of the Ellora plates are correct, that record would furnish a later date, viz., K. 463 from the Aurangabad District of the Hyderabad State.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX., pp. 63 ff.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 197-

⁸ See the Antroli-Chharoli plates of Karka II, S. 679. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 106.

kingdom and made it current throughout their dominions.1 Unfortunately, the earliest records of this era found at Saugor and Chhoti-Deori are undated. The first date of the Kalachuri era obtained from North India is K. 593 (841-42 A. C.) of No. 37, furnished by a record from Kārītalāi in the Jabalpur District. It is followed by twenty dates ranging from K. 724 to K. 963. Most of them are from the inscriptions of the Imperial Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. Among these, seven dates, viz., K. 724, 772, 789, 800, 812, 823 (?) and 961 (or 962) of Nos. 44, 47, 1 (App.), 51, 53, 56 and 70 respectively, come from the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh; two dates, viz., K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 958 of No. 71, are furnished by the former States of Nagod and Panna; two more dates, viz., K. 793 of No. 48 and K. 810 of No. 52, are obtained from Uttar Pradesh and the remaining six, viz., 529 (?), 902, 907, 918, 926 and 928 of Nos. 2 (App.), 58, 60, 63, 64 and 66 respectively, are supplied by the Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugor Districts of Madhya Pradesh. Two dates, viz., K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 944 of No. 67, belong to the feudatories of the Kalachuris, viz., Kirtivarman and Malayasimha, who were holding parts of the former Rewa State. The territory round Rewa passed into the possession of the Chandella Trailokyamalla (or Trailokyavarman) in circa K. 962. The Chandellas were using the Vikrama era in their own records, but in the Dhureti plates which record a transaction made in the beginning of Trailokyamalla's rule in the Chedi country the Kalachuri era, not the Vikrama samvat, is used for the purpose of dating.

K. 963 (1212 A. C.) is the last date of the Kalachuri era which comes from North India. With the contraction of Kalachuri power during the reigns of the weak successors of Yasahkarna, the era gradually lost ground to its rival, viz., the Vikrama samvat which was current in the adjoining provinces ruled by the Paramāras, the Chandēllas and the Gāhaḍavālas. The gradual encroachment made by the Vikrama era is illustrated by two dates, V. 1216 (1159 A. C.) of No. 62 and V. 1253 (1195 A. C.) of No. 68. Both of them come from the northern parts of the Rewa State, and mention the contemporary Kalachuri Suzerains Narasimha and Vijayasimha. But instead of being dated in the era of the Imperial family, they refer themselves to the Vikrama samvat. With the downfall of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, the era vanished from North India.

As stated above, the earlier North-Indian dates of the era are not forthcoming, but speaking generally, in the period 750 to 1215 A. C. the era was current some time or other in that portion of India which would be bounded by straight lines drawn from Saugor to Allahabad, then to Banaras, from there through Bandhogarh to the Narmadā and then along the bank of the river to the western boundary of the Jabalpur District.

When a branch of the Kalachuri family established itself at Tummāṇa towards the close of the ninth century A. C., it introduced the era in Dakshiṇa Kōsala. But here too, as in the other parts of India, the earlier dates of the era are not available. The first date which comes from Chhattisgarh is K. 821 (1069 A. C.) of No. 75. This is followed by 24 other dates ranging from K. 831 to K. 969. They are furnished by the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and their feudatories, ruling in Chhattisgarh including the former States of Kawardhā and Kānkēr. Down to 1220 A. C. the era was current in that portion of South India which stretched from the eastern boundary of the Balaghat, Bhandara and Chanda districts in the west to that of the Raigarh District in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the northern part of the Bastar District in the south.² After 1220

¹ The branch of the Kalachuris which established itself in the country of Sarayūpāra does not, however, appear to have used the Kalachuri era.

² Two copper-plate inscriptions, dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified era, have been found at Soro in the Balasore District and Paţiākellä in the Cuttack District of Orissa respectively (Ep. Ind., Vol.

A.C. the era began to lose ground in this part of the country also. The later records of the Kalachuris themselves came to be dated in the Vikrama samvat. The earliest of such dates is V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) of No. 107, which belongs to the reign of the later Kalachuri king Brahmadeva, who ruled at Raipur and Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalāṭi) in the Raipur District. As the memory of the Kalachuri era soon faded from the public mind, it was found necessary to change the Kalachuri date 900 of No. 93 to 1207 of the Vikrama samvat.

SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE CALCULATED DATES

Jovian years—Only three Kalachuri dates, viz., K. 322 of No. 120, K. 800 of No. 51, and K. 966 of No. 117 cite Jupiter's years. The first of these is of the twelve-year cycle, and the other two, of the sixty-year cycle. The first date is regular, but suggests a new epoch of the era, viz., 250-51 A. C. The second date works out regularly according to the northern luni-solar system; for, the cyclic year Khara was current during the Kalachuri year 800. The third date has quoted the cyclic year Isvara incorrectly; for, according to the northern mean-sign system, the Jovian year had ended more than a year before the commencement of the cited Kalachuri year.

Intercalary months—Only one date, K. 958 of No. 71 cites an intercalary month, viz., Āshāḍha which is specified as prathama Āshāḍha. It works out quite regularly. In two other cases also, viz., K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 928 of No. 66, the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, though it is not so specified. Prof. Kielhorn has noticed several similar cases of the Vikrama and Śaka dates in which the months were intercalary, though they were not so indicated by the wording of the dates.²

Irregular tithis—The only cases of irregular tithis noticed among the dates of the Kalachuri era which contain the necessary details for verification are five, viz., K. 772 of No. 47, K. 823 of No. 56, K. 885 of No 122, K. 963 of No. 72 and K. 965 of No. 101. The first of these shows deviation of only one day in the specification of the week-day, which is not rare in inscriptional dates. In the second case the numerals of the date have been wrongly written as appears plain from other evidence. The irregularities in the remaining three cases can be clearly attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Besides these, there is one more date, viz., K. 1000 of No. 92, in which the mistake is of the copyist who transcribed the record on the present plates from others which had probably suffered damage by corrosion.

Current tithis—In ten dates (viz., K. 460 of No. 22, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 486 of No. 23, K. 885 of No 122, K. 890 of No. 86, K. 897 of No. 123, K. 905 of No. 94, K. 907 of No. 60, K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 965 of No. 116) the tithi is joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and not, as is usual, with the week-day on which it ended. In the first and third of these cases the reason is obvious; for, they are cases of sankrantis which occurred during the particular tithis, though the latter were not current at sunrise. The second case is similar to that of Saka 996 (in the Bijāpur stone inscription of the Western

(Continued from the last page.)

XXIII, pp. 197 ff., and Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff). They refer themselves to the reign of Mahārāja Sambhuyaśas, the ruler of Tōsalī. These dates have been referred to the Kalachuri era on the evidence of palæography. Apart from these doubtful cases, no records of this era have been found in Orissa. On the other hand, the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna, dated in the year 182, and the Ganjām plates of Saśānka, dated in the year 300, expressly refer themselves to the Gupta era, which clearly shows that the Gupta era was current in Chhattisgarh and Ganjām in the sixth and seventh centuries A. C. As for the early forms of the test letters noticed in the aforementioned records, they can be satisfactorily accounted for, as these records fall in the period \$80-603 A. C. if their dates are referred to the Gupta era.

¹ In two other records edited here (viz., Nos. 107 and 108) the cyclic years are correctly cited according to the northern luni-solar system, but these records are dated not in the Kalachuri, but in the Vikrama and Saka eras.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 411; Vol. XXV, p. 271.

Chālukya Somēśvara II) which Prof. Kielhorn has taken to be regular. In the seventh and eighth cases the tithis which commenced within about two hours after mean sunrise have been cited probably because they were current almost throughout the day. The sixth and ninth are śrāddha-tithis, and it is well-known that for the performance of a śrāddha the particular tithi is required to be current in the afternoon. In the remaining cases the tithi may have been cited, because it was current at the time of the transaction.

Special names of tithis—The third tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha is called akshaya-tritīyā in the date K. 905 of No. 94. Several grants dated in this era were made on the full-moon tithi of Kārttika, but only in two records (viz., Nos. 11 and 30) the tithi is called Mahā-Kārttikā. The eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha is called Rath-āshṭamī in No. 88. This tithi goes now by the name of Bhīshm-āshṭamī, the preceding tithi being called Ratha-saptamī. The latter is correctly named in No. 121. Appendix, No. 4 mentions a yugādi as a holy tithi on which Gōsaladēvī, the mother of the king Vijaya-simha, bathed in the Narmadā, but it is not further specified.

Nakshatras—No early record of the era mentions any nakshatra. The first inscription in which a nakshatra is referred to is No. 83. It states that the moon was in conjunction with the nakshatra Röhini at the time of her eclipse on the Kārttika paurņimā in K 880. Nakshatras are correctly quoted in three other records, viz., Hasta in K. 928 of No. 66, Mriga in the date K. 965 of No. 116 and Chitrā in K. 966 of No. 117. There is no

mention of karanas, yogas or lagnas anywhere in the records of this era.

Eclipses—Lunar eclipses are quoted in six dates, viz., K. 456 of No 21; K. 880 of No. 83; K. 890 of No. 86; K. 900 of No. 91; K. 918 of No. 63 and K. 969 of No. 102. Of these, the lunar eclipse of K. 880 is noteworthy; for, it was predicted by an astrologer in opposition to others who held a divergent opinion at the court of Ratnadeva II. When his prediction came true, he was rewarded with the grant of a village. Solar eclipses are cited in seven dates, viz., K. 322 of No. 120; K. 404 of No. 25; K. 885 of No. 122; K. 896 of No. 89; K. 900 of No. 90; K. 926 of No. 64 and K. 966 of No. 117. All these eclipses, except that in K. 885, occurred on the days and in the years mentioned and were visible in India. As regards the eclipse in K. 885, there is probably a mistake in the specification of the month in which it occurred.

Sankrāntis—Three early dates, viz., K. 436 of No. 28, K. 460 of No. 22 and K. 486 of No. 24, mention sankrāntis. The first of these—the Vishuva or Mēsha-sankranti—took place about seven hours before the commencement of the tithi with which it is coupled.² The other two sankrāntis, viz., the Tulā and the Karkaṭaka, occurred during the respective tithis. Among later dates, only three, viz., K. 821 of No. 75, K. 823 of No. 56, and K. 965 of No. 101, record grants made on the occasion of sankrāntis. In the first of these, the sankrānti was the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara; in the second, it is not specified, but as it is said to have occurred on the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, it must have been Mīna. This sankrānti does not work out regularly. There is apparently some mistake in the numerals of the year which should be 827. The third sankrānti was again Makara, but it is not coupled with any tithi or week-day and, therefore, does not admit of verification.³

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 294.

² For a similar case, see the date S. 996. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

The Jabalpur copper-plate inscription of Yasahkarna (No. 57) also recorded a grant made on the occasion of the Uttarayana-sankranti, but the details of the date, which occurred on the second plate, now lost, are uncertain. For a conjectural restoration of it, see below, p. 30z. No. 74 also mentions the Uttarayana-sankranti which occurred during the stated tithi, but its date belongs not to the Kalachuri era, but to the Vikrama era.

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE ABHIRAS

The Ābhīras were an ancient race which, according to the Mahābhārata, Harivamša and the Purāṇas, had spread in the western provinces of India from the Panjab in the north to Maharashtra in the south. They are, in many passages, conjoined with the Sūdras, with whom they appear to be conterminous in the north-western parts of India.¹ They spoke a language which, according to Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa², was called Apabhramśa. The Mahābhārata³ and the Vāyupurāṇa⁴ call them Mlēchehbas. This term, according to Patañjali, signifies those who could not pronounce the Āryan language correctly.⁵ Like the Sūdras, therefore, the Ābhīras were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country who were gradually admitted to the Hindu fold.

The Mahābhārata mentions three divisions of the Abhīras dwelling in the northwest of India, viz., those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvati, fishermen and mountaineers.6 In another passage the epic states that the tirtha Vinasana lay in the country of the Abhīras as the sacred river Sarasvatī disappeared at the place through hatred of the Sūdras and the Abhīras living there.7 Elsewhere, Pañchanada, the land of the five rivers, is described as the stronghold of the Abhīras.8 We are told that while Arjuna was encamped in that fertile country together with the women of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas, whom he was escorting from Dvārakā to Hastināpura after the internecine fight amongst the Yadavas, he was attacked by the Abhīras. All these references indicate the eastern part of the Panjab between the Satlaj and the Yamuna as the original home-land of the Abhiras. From there they appear to have spread beyond Mathura in the east and to Saurashtra, Gujarat and Maharashtra in the south. Ptolemy mentions Abiria, which was evidently the country of the Abhīras. It was situated above Pattalene on the Sindhu and probably corresponds to the central portion of Sindh above the delta of that river.9 According to the Vishnupurana, the Sudras and the Abhiras inhabited the provinces of Saurāshtra, Avanti (Western Malwa), Sūra (Mathurā), Arbuda (Aravali) and Marubhūmi (Marwad).10 The Bribatsambitā of Varāhamihira mentions the Ābhīra country with Könkana among the janapadas of the south.11 Parāsara, cited in the commentary of the Bribatsanibita, also groups the Sudra-Abhira country with Saurashtra, Mahārāshtra, Sindhu-Sauvīra and other countries of the south-west,12 The Vāyu and Mārkandēya Purāņas mention in one passage that the Abhīras dwelt in the north-west region, but in another passage they place them in the south together with the

¹ See MBH., Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10; Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1; Parāśara cited in BS., Vol.I, p. 288; VSHP., amśa II, ad. 3, v. 16.

² Kāvyādarśa, ch. I, v. 36. Namisādhu, a commentator of Rudraţa's Kāvyālankāra, also mentions Ābhīra as one of the three varieties of Apabhramśa. See Kāvyālankāra, II, 12. According to Bharata's Nātya-fāstra (XVIII, 44), the language of the Ābhīras was called Śābarī.

3 MBH. Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, v. 63.

4 VP., ad. 37, v. 263.

⁵ Mahābhāshya, (ed. by Kielhorn), Vol. I, p. z. The Mlēchchhas were not necessarily foreigners. Pāṇini in his Dhātupātha gives \(\sqrt{mlēchchh} \) in the sense of 'indistinct speech'. The word occurs in a Brāhmaṇa passage cited in the Mahābhāshya, loc. cit.

⁶ Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

7 Salyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1.

8 Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, vv. 45 ff. Also VSHP., amśa V, ad. 38, v. 12.

9 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 524.

10 VSHP., amśa IV, ad. 24, v. 68.

11 BS., Vol. I, p. 288.

12 Loc. cit.

inhabitants of Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha, Aśmaka, Kuntala and others.¹ In a third passage the Mārkandēyapurāna groups the Ābhīras with the people of Bhṛigu-kachchha, Kōṅkaṇa, Mahārāshṭra, Karṇāta, the country on the banks of the Vēṇī (Wainga-ṅgā), Nāsikya and others.² These passages seem to point to the modern district of Khandesh as their stronghold in the south. Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that district of the Bombay State.

From ancient times the Abhīras have followed the profession of cowherds. Their settlement was called ghōsha,3 The Harivanisa describes how Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, was brought up, since his birth, in a ghosha or settlement of cowherds.4 From certain similarities between the early lives of Krishna and Christ, such as the worship of the boy-god, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son and the massacre of innocents, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar inferred that the Abhīras must have brought these stories with them when they migrated to India in the first century of the Christian era.5 This theory has since been shown to be untenable. The Harivanisa nowhere states that the cowherds among whom Krishna was brought up belonged to the Abhira race. The main incident of Krishna's early life, viz., his killing of Kamsa, was well-known long before the time of Patañjali (circa 150 B. C.); for, we learn from the Mahābhāshya that it was dramatised and represented on the stage.6 Moreover, Patañjali specifically mentions the Abhīras. While discussing the nature of the compound Sadr-Abhīram, he mentions the prima facie view that Abhīra is a sub-caste under Sūdra and ultimately states his siddbanta that it is an altogether different caste.7 The discussion makes it plain that if the Abhīras were foreigners, they must have migrated to India long before the second century B. C., in which we find them not only admitted to the Hindu fold but given a definite place in the caste system.

The status of the Ābhīras seems to have undergone changes in the course of ages. We have seen that in the time of Patañjali they were generally associated with the Sūdras, but were relegated to a different caste. According to the Manusmriti, the son of a Brāhmaṇa from an Ambashṭha woman belongs to the Ābhīra caste. Another smriti, cited by Kaiyaṭa, states that the woman should be of the Ugra caste. These are, of course, theories of Brahmanical writers. In practical life the Ābhīras generally resembled the Sūdras. The Kāsikā, a well-known commentary on Pāṇini's Asbṭādbyāyī, says that the Ābhīras were Mahāśūdras, i. e., superior Sūdras¹o and this view is adopted in the Amarakōša. As

¹ MP., ad. 57, vv. 35 and 47; VP., ad. 45, vv. 115 and 126.

^{*} MP., ad. 58, vv. 21 ff.

³ Cf. Ghösha Abbīrapalli syāt in AK., II, 2, 20.

⁴ Cf. HV., Vishnuparvan, ad. 7, vv. 28 ff.

b Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc. pp. 37 ff.

⁶ Mahābhāshya, Vol. II, p. 36.

⁷ Cf. सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोद्वंन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम्, गोबलीवर्वम्, तृणोलपमिति न सिष्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि ॥ Mabābbāsbya. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, p. 36.

⁸ MS., ad. X., v. 15. The children of a Brāhmaņa father and a Vaisya mother belong to the Ambashtha caste.

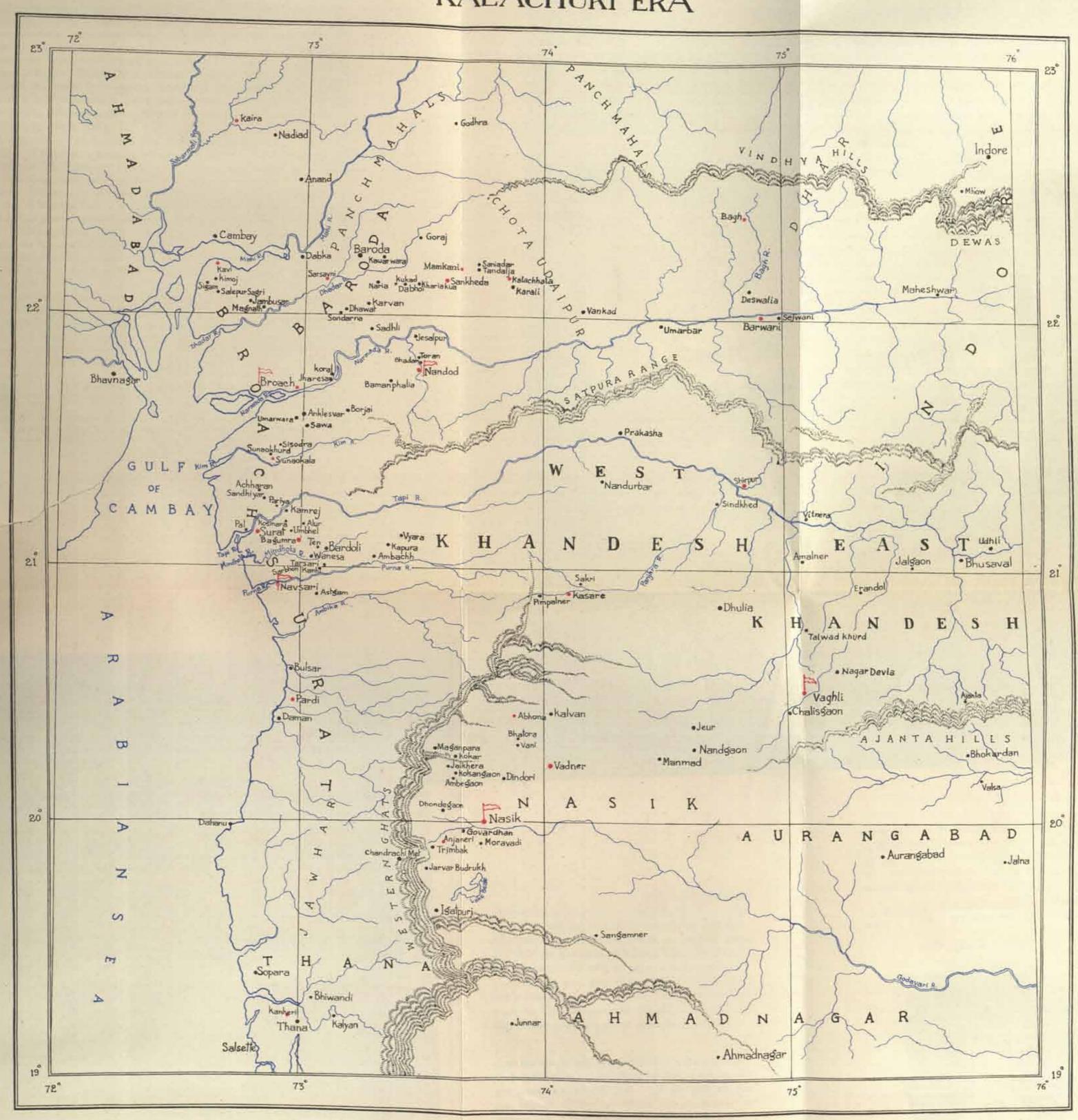
See Kaiyata on the passage cited in n. 7, above. The children of a Sūdra woman from a Kshatriya belong to the Ugra caste.

¹⁰ The Mabātūdras are mentioned in Kātyāyana's Vārttika as well as in Patanjali's Mahābbāsbya on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, but their identification with the Abhīras is for the first time given by the Kāšikā on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4. Mahātūdra is mentioned in the Kaušika-sūtra (XVII, 16) also, in connection with the coronation of a king. A commentator explains the term as Sūdrānāni bal-ādbikritab, 'a commander of the Sūdra army'. The paddhati of Kēšava also explains Mahāšūdra as 'a royal officer' (Rājakāyo mahāšūdrab). J. A. O. S., Vol. XIV, pp. 46 and 317.

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

OFTHE

KALACHURI ERA

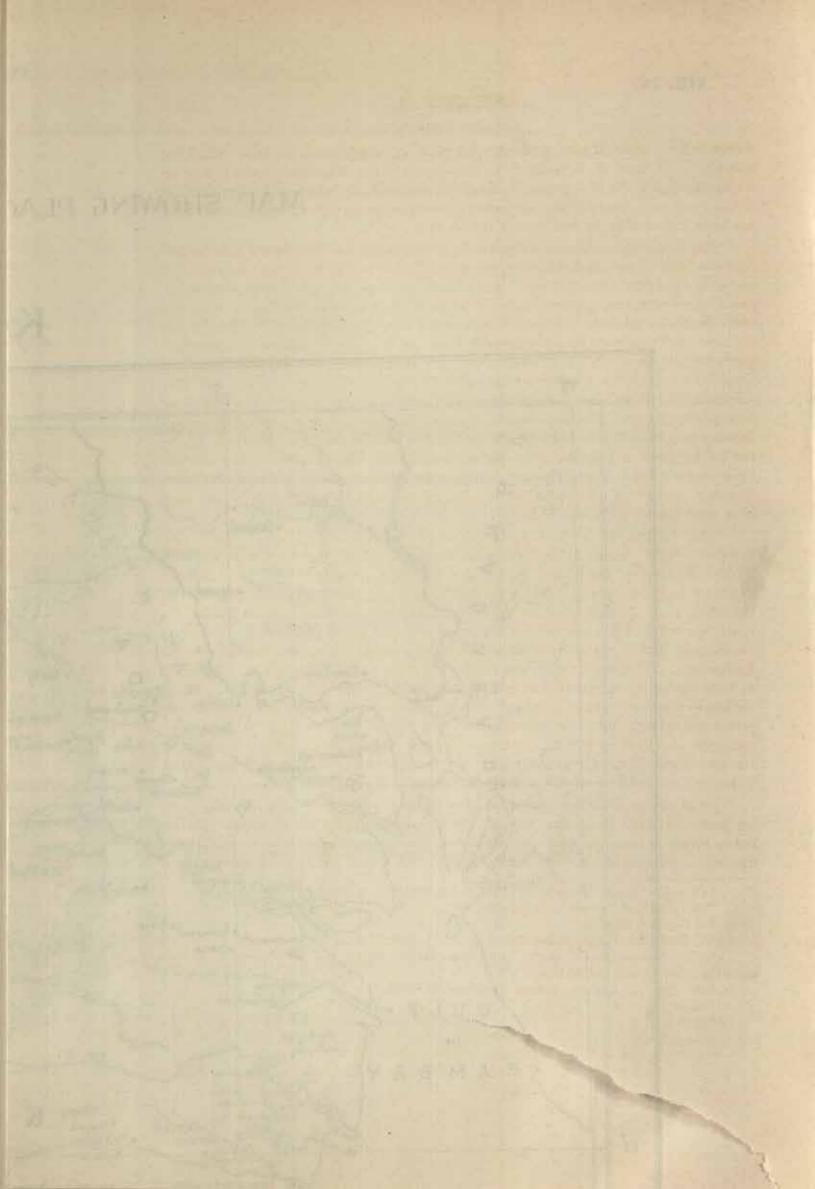


Scale - 1,111,579 or 0.912 Inch to 16 Miles.

Miles 10 50 60 40 Miles.

INDEX

Capitals.



shown below, some Abhīras attained royal position, which seems to have raised the status of their caste. Kshīrasvāmin, a commentator of the Amarakōśa, remarks that an Ābhīra belongs to the Vaiśya caste.¹ This view was probably based on the fact that the Ābhīras generally followed the profession of cattle-breeding, which, from ancient times, has been regarded as the privilege of the Vaiśyas.

The Mahābhārata states that there were Abhīra gaṇas dwelling in the north-west.² Like the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas mentioned by Alexander's historians, they also had probably a republican constitution. In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Ābhīras are grouped with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas and others who submitted and paid tribute to the great Gupta Emperor.³ These tribes are mentioned separately from the kings of Āryāvarta (i. e., North India) whom Samudragupta forcibly uprooted. It is well-known that the Mālavas and the Yaudhēyas had republican organisations, as coins mentioning their gaṇas have been discovered.⁴ The inference, therefore, seems justifiable that like them the Ābhīras too had a republican form of government. When the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas and Kushāṇas invaded the north-western parts of India, the Ābhīras, like the Mālavas, Yaudhēyas, Sibis and others, migrated to the south and settled in Rajputana, Sindh and Maharashtra.⁵ They seem to have continued to hold their own in North India down to the Gupta age. We have, however, no further information about them as no inscriptions or coins of this tribe have been found in North India.

The Ābhīras did not exclusively follow the profession of cowherds. Some took to other callings. Even now in the states of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh there are some Ābhīra Brāhmaṇas. In Khandesh, which is still their stronghold, they have adopted various professions such as those of goldsmiths and carpenters. On their migration to the south, some Ābhīras seem to have occupied high political position under the Kshatrapa rulers of Western India. A stone inscription found at Gunda in Saurashtra mentions an Ābhīra general named Rudrabhūti, who served under the western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha. This inscription is dated Saka 102 (180 A. C.). Iśvaradatta, who seems to have ousted the Western Kshatrapas, though for a very brief period, may have been an Ābhīra as supposed by some scholars. Other Ābhīras may have held similar positions of power and vantage under the Sātavāhanas. The Purāṇas say that the Ābhīras who succeeded the Andhras (i. e., the Sātavāhanas) in the Deccan were Andhrabhṛityas, i. e., servants of the Andhras. One of them, Iśvarasēna, seems to have usurped power after Pulumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

From the Nasik cave inscription, which is the only early record of the Abhīra dynasty, we learn that this Iśvarasēna was an Abhīra and bore the title of Rājan.⁹ As his father Sivadatta bears no royal title, Iśvarasēna was plainly the founder of the Abhīra dynasty. As shown before, ¹⁰ he flourished about 250 A. C. and was probably the originator

¹ Cf. Vaisya-bbēda w=Ābbirō gav-ādy-upajīvī in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on AK., II, 6, 13.

² Sudr-Abbīra-ganās=cb=aiva in Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 8.

⁴ V. Smith, I. M. C., pp. 173 and 182.

⁵ MBH. (Vanaparvan, ad. 188, vv. 35 ff.) states that the Abhiras will rise to power in the same age as the Sakas, Yavanas and Bāhlīkas.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 157; Bhavnagar Inscriptions, Pl. XVII.

⁷ Above, pp. iv. ff.

^{*} D.K.A. p. 45.

⁹ No. 1, Il. 1-2.

¹⁶ Above, p. xxiv.

of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era. Like his predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, he also used a metronymic and called himself Māḍharīputra. This clearly indicates that he took pride in tracing his descent on the mother's side from a Vedic sage. Though the Ābhīras themselves spoke an Apabhrarisa or corrupt language, they, unlike the Sātavāhanas, seem to have patronised Sanskrit. It is worthy of note that the Nasik cave inscription of Iśvarasēna's reign is written in a language which is predominantly Sanskrit. It is, of course, not an official document, but it clearly shows that Sanskrit was slowly asserting itself under the rule of the Ābhīras.

Judging by the extent of his era, Iśvarasēna appears to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashatra. He was followed by nine other kings, whose names have, unfortunately, not come down to us. The Abhīras seem to have ruled for 167 years² and were supplanted by their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, in circa

415 A.C.

As stated above, Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras. Petty princes of the Ābhīra dynasty appear to have continued to rule in Khandesh till the 13th century A. C. A stone inscription at Āmbē in the Hyderabad State records that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava king Simhaṇa, exterminated Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, who belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty. Bhambhāgiri is probably identical with Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner tālukā of the West Khandesh District. Near Bhāmēr is a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers and also some old caves locally known as 'Rājā's houses.' This fort was probably known as Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakshmīdēva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri, and a similar statement occurs about Simhaṇa in the Uddari stone inscription. This plainly indicates that the whole family of Lakshmīdēva was exterminated, and his kingdom was annexed by the Yādava king Simhaṇa.

Another king named Kāmapāla, who was vanquished by Kṛishṇa, the grandson and successor of Simhaṇa, probably belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his defeat is said to have delighted the cowherds, who may have been oppressed by him. The Tāsgaon plates of Kṛishṇa's reign intimate that Kṛishṇa's feudatory Kēśava obtained a victory over a chief of the cowherds, who may have been identical with the aforementioned Kāmapāla. He also may have been ruling in some part of Khandesh. After the thirteenth

century we do not hear of the Abhira kings.

Judging by their names, both Iśvarasēna and his father Sivadatta were followers of the Hindu religion and devotees of Siva. But like their predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, the Abhīras seem to have extended their patronage to the followers of other faiths also. That Buddhism was flourishing during their rule is clearly indicated by the Nasik cave inscription of Iśvarasēna's reign. Even foreigners like the Sakas embraced it and made munificent donations for the benefit of the Buddhist monks. Several guilds were

¹ Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra mentions the Ābhīra Köṭṭarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother. The commentator Yaśödhara says that he was ruling at Köṭṭa in Gujarat. Köṭṭarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been a successor of Iśvarasēna.

^{*} See above, p. xxvi.

³ S. M. H. D., Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ Bom. Gaz., Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

⁵ A. R. A. S. M. (1929), pp. 142 ff. See also Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 202 fl. 6.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 210.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 204, n. 4. An earlier king of the same dynasty was perhaps Krishna mentioned in the Balsane stone inscription, dated S. 1106 (1184-85 A.C.). B. I. S. M. Q., Vol. XXII, p. 71.

flourishing in their kingdom, in which people invested large amounts for making permanent endowments. This indicates that peace, order and a general sense of security prevailed in the country during their rule.

FEUDATORIES OF THE ABHIRAS

Mahārājas of Valkha—Until recently we had no knowledge of any feudatories of the Ābhīras. This was due to the circumstance that certain grants¹ which originally belonged to Khandesh and were dated in the Kalachuri era were relegated to North India and were supposed to be dated in the Gupta era as they were discovered at Indore. The close similarity which these grants bear in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating to a fragmentary grant found at Sirpur² in the West Khandesh District leaves no doubt that they also originally came from Khandesh.³ These grants give the following genealogy:—

Mahārāja Svāmidāsa (Year 67) Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa (Year 107) Mahārāja Rudradāsa (Year 117)

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes inter se is not known. All of them are described as parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which clearly shows that they acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power. The dates of their grants must plainly be referred to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era founded by the Ābhīra Iśvarasēna. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records correspond to 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 A. C. respectively. These princes were, therefore, probably feudatories of the Ābhīra Emperors.

These princes ruled from Valkha which is probably identical with Vāghli, now a small village, 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District. 4 Most of the places mentioned in their grants can be identified in the vicinity of Vāghli. 5

No copper-plates or stone inscriptions of any successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajanṭā⁶ we find similar names ending in dāsa which may have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription gives the following genealogy:—

(Name lost)
Dhṛitarāshṭra
Harisāmba
Saurisāmba
Upēndragupta
Kācha I

¹ Nos. 2 and 3.

² No. 4.

^{*} The grants were taken to Indore by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting copper-plates, Sanskrit manuscripts and other antiquities.

⁴ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has suggested that Valkha may be identical with Bāhaļ in the Chalisgaon tālukā of East Khandesh, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently discovered. J. N. S. I., Vol. VIII, p. 3.

⁵ See below, pp. 7 ff

For a fuller account of this inscription, see my edition of it in H. A. S. No. 15.

Kācha I
Bhikshudāsa
Nīladāsa
Kācha II
Kṛishṇadāsa

(Name lost) Ravisāmba

The elder son of Krishnadāsa, whose name is now illegible, was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and caused several stūpas and vihāras to be constructed. He also got the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX at Ajantā excavated, while Harishēna, 'the moon among princes' (kshitīndra-chandra), was protecting the earth.

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajantā cave XVII shows that the last of these princes was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēna, who flourished from circa 475 A. C. to 500 A. C. He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may, therefore, be placed in circa 275-300 A. C. He seems to have been placed in charge of a part of Khandesh by the contemporary Abhīra Emperor.

Some of these princes mentioned in this Ajanta inscription were evidently contemporaries of Svāmidāsa, Bhulunda and Rudradāsa, whose dates range from 316 A.C. to 366 A.C., but the latter names do not occur anywhere, in the genealogy of the Ajanta inscription. There were, therefore, two separate branches of the same family ruling in different parts of Khandesh. One of them was ruling at Valkha as shown above.² The capital of the other is not known.

After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes of Khandesh seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākāṭakas. A fragmentary verse in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā states that the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa raided or exacted tribute from Trikūṭa³ which comprised the territory round Nasik. Khandesh, which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūṭa, must have likewise submitted to the Vākāṭakas. This is also indicated by the manner in which the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa is mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII. Further, the Dašakumāracharita which, in its last uchehhvāsa, gives a narrative reflecting the last period of Vākāṭaka rule, viz., the reign of Harishēṇa's son, mentions the ruler of Rishīka (i. e., modern Khandesh) as a feudatory of the king of

¹ H. A. S., No. 14, p. 9.

D. C. Sircar has recently objected to the view mentioned above on the ground that the Parama-bhattāraka overlords of feudatory Mahārājas are unknown before the age of the Imperial Guptas. He would place these Mahārājas of Valkha in the Anūpa country and refer the dates of their grants, viz., the years 67, 107 and 117 to the Gupta era. H. C. I. P., Vol. II, p. 222, n. 3. It is difficult to accept this view. We have no other grants, made by feudatory princes of the Deccan in the pre-Gupta age, from which we could have drawn any conclusion about their titles and the manner in which they described their own feudatory status. The suggestion that these dates refer to the Gupta era is also not free from difficulties. The Guptas do not seem to have penetrated to the Anūpa country as early as G. 67 (386-87 A. C.). The earliest Gupta record found even in Eastern Malwa is dated G. 82. Anūpa, which lay farther west, could not have been included in the Gupta Empire fifteen years before. That these Mahārājas belonged to Khandesh is clearly indicated by the similarity of the names of two of them to those of some rulers of Khandesh, mentioned in the inscription in Ajantā cave XVII which belongs to the Vākāṭaka age.

³ H. A. S., No. 14 p. 11.

⁴ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ For this identification, see ibid. Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

Vidarbha. After the fall of the Vākāṭakas, this feudatory family of Khandesh was over-

thrown by the Kalachuris who occupied Northern Maharashtra in circa 550 A. C.

Iśvararāta—Another feudatory who probably owed allegiance to the Ābhīras was ruling in Central Gujarat. He is known from a fragmentary copper-plate grant discovered at Kalachhala near Chhota Udaipur in the Bombay State. Only the first plate of this grant, which originally must have consisted of two or three plates, has been found. It mentions one Iśvararāta, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount (Paramabhaṭṭāra-kapād-āmudhyāta). Iśvararāta, though he bears no royal title, was plainly a feudatory of some imperial power. He appears to have ruled over a fairly extensive territory; for, among the persons to whom he addressed his order are included such high officers of the State as Kumārāmātya and Uparika.¹ The extant portion of the grant contains no date, but its palæography and wording, which closely resemble those of the aforementioned grants from Khandesh, indicate that Iśvararāta flourished in the 4th century A. C. Like the Mahārājas of Valkha, he was probably a feudatory of the Ābhīras.

Iśvararāta's grant was made at Prachakāśā. This place may be identical with Prakāsha on the Tāpī in North Khandesh. The village Kupikā granted by the charter cannot now be traced, but Vańkikā, the headquarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be represented by the modern village Vānkad, about 20 miles from Chhota Udaipur. Iśvararāta, therefore, appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portion

of the Khandesh District.

No successor of Iśvararāta is known; but his family may have continued to hold Central Gujarat until it was ousted by Sarva Bhaṭṭāraka who appears to have risen to power in circa 400 A. C. As shown elsewhere,² the latter's coins, imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas, are found in abundance in Central Gujarat and Saurashtra.

The Kings of Māhishmatī—The Ābhīras appear to have soon extended their rule to Anūpa (the country around Māhishmatī) and Ākarāvanti (Malwa) also. It has been noticed that the potin coins of the Western Kshatrapas, which were intended for circulation in Malwa, suddenly come to an end in 240 Å. C.³ The reason for this contraction of Kshatrapa power is supposed to be the rise of the Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti. We have, however, no indication of the extension of the Vākāṭaka power north of the Narmadā in this early period,⁴ while we have evidence of the spread of the Ābhīra kingdom in the use of the Ābhīra era in the countries of Anūpa and Ākarāvantī in the fourth and fifth centuries A. C. The era must have been introduced there by the Ābhīras or their feudatories

One of these feudatories was Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Saka Srīdharavarman, the son of Saka Nanda, whose stone inscription, recording the excavation of a well, was found at Kānākhērā near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State. Though a Saka by extraction, Srīdharavarman did not probably belong to the house of Chashṭana; for unlike the Western Kshatrapas, he dated his record in the era of the Ābhīras, not in that of the Sakas. The title Mahādaṇdanāyaka prefixed to his name in the Kānākherā inscription indicates that he began his career as a military officer, probably of the contemporary Ābhīra king. Later, he may

¹ For Kumārāmātya and Uparika, see below, p. 36, notes 4 and 3 respectively.

² J. N. S. I., Vol. VI, pp. 14 ff. Dr. Altekar places Sarva Bhattaraka in the period 348-378 A. C. Ibid., pp. 18 ff.

³ C. A. D., Introd., p. cxxxiii; N. H. I. P., Vol. IV, p. 54-

⁴ I have shown elsewhere that the original home of the Väkāṭakas lay in South India. A. B. O. R. I., Vol. xxxii, pp. 1 ff. Pṛithivishēṇa, whose feudatory Vyāghra's inscriptions have been found at Nachna and Ganj in Vindhya Pradesh, was the second Vākāṭaka prince of that name who flourished in c. 470-490 A. C. ⁵ No. 5, pp. 13 ff., below.

have risen to the status of a feudatory. As the power of the Abhiras declined, he appears to have declared his independence and begun to date his records in his regnal years, though he did not, for some years, discard his previous military title or the Abhira era which had become well established in the country under his rule.

The Kānākhērā inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Srīdharavarman's reign. It contains another date at the end, the reading and interpretation of which are, unfortunately, not quite certain. As shown elsewhere, the correct reading of the date appears to be 102, which, being referred to the Abhīra era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A.C. Srīdharavarman seems, therefore, to have declared his independence in circa 339 A.C.

Another inscription⁴ of Sridharavarman has recently come to light at Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh. In this record Sridharavarman is seen to have discarded his previous military title and assumed instead the titles Rājan and Mahākshatrapa which, as in the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas, signified complete independence. He has also omitted therein all reference to the Abhīra era, perhaps because it recalled his previous submission to another power. The Eran inscription is dated in the 27th regnal year. It seems, therefore, to have been put up in 365 A.C. Srīdharavarman may have flourished from 339 A.C. to 368 A.C.

Neither of these two inscriptions mentions any capital of Sridharavarman. That he held the Vidisā-Ērikiņa territory is certain; for, his records have been found in that part of the country. It is, however, not unlikely that his rule extended farther west to the Anūpa country also, where the Abhīra era continued in use for at least 50 years more; for, no other ruler of his power and prestige is known to have flourished in Central India in that period. If this supposition is correct, Māhishmatī may have been his capital.⁵

The Eran record is incised on a pillar, called yashti, erected by Satyanāga, the Arakshika and Sēnāpati of Srīdharavarman, as a memorial to the Nāga soldiers who met with a hero's death in a battle fought at the adhishthāna of Erikina (modern Eran). In that record Satyanāga, who hailed from Maharashtra, expressed the hope that the yashti, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would inspire future generations of warlike people to perform similar heroic deeds; for, it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Unfortunately, no particulars of the battle in which these Nāga soldiers laid down their lives have been preserved in the inscription. Perhaps the enemy was the ruler of some neighbouring country like Mēkalā.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Sakas and the Murundas as border chiefs who submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor and solicited his charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories. The Saka chief is usually taken to be one of the Western Kshatrapas; but the kingdom of the Kshatrapas lay far in the west. Besides, their rule in Malwa seems to have come to an end about the middle of the third century A. C. with the rise of the Abhīras. The Saka king who submitted to Samudragupta must, therefore, be identified with Srīdharavarman. He may have paid homage to the Gupta Emperor some time after 365 A. C.,

¹ It is not known whether his father held any office under the Abhiras. No title is prefixed to his name, but as in the case of Isvararata, this negative evidence is not conclusive.

² Other instances of a similar type are the Sēnāpati Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, who retained his military title even after performing two Aśvamīdhas (Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 57), and the Mahāsēnāpati Śaka Māna who issued his coins mentioning the military title (J. N. S. I., Vol. XII, pp. 90 ff.).

See below, pp. 14 ff.

⁴ No. 119, pp. 605 ff., below.

This is a tentative suggestion which may be corroborated or modified by future discoveries.

^{*} C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 8.

when he heard reports of the latter's brilliant victories in North and South India. Later, Samudragupta, on some provocation, appears to have attacked the Saka king's territory and obtained a decisive victory over him in the battle of Erikina. He then annexed the territory round Erikina¹ which had strategic importance, and erected a monument there 'for augmenting his own fame.' He appears, however, to have allowed the Saka king to continue in possession of the rest of his kingdom as he did in the case of some republican tribes such as the Sanakānīkas and the Kharaparikas.² It is well known that it was Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II, who first conquered Eastern and Western Malwa in the course of his 'conquest of the whole earth', some time in the last decade of the 4th century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Guptas found in Malwa is the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. 82 (401-2 A. C.)

Srīdharavarman, though he belonged to the Saka race, was a follower of the Hindu religion. Both he and his father Nanda bear Hindu names. He was a devout worshipper of Kārttikēya and, like an orthodox Hindu, believed that he could secure permanent residence in heaven by means of charitable works like the excavation of a well. In both the records of his reign he is described as dharmavijayin or a righteous conqueror, which implies that he did not wage any war for self-aggrandizement. His liberal policy attracted able men from distant countries like Maharashtra. He trusted them and appointed them to important military posts. His inscriptions are written in a good Sanskrit kāvya style. They show that the revival of the classical language had already commenced before the age of the Guptas. Like the Western Kshatrapas and the Abhīras, the Sakas of Central India also appear to have given liberal patronage to Sanskrit poets at their court.

We do not know how long the Sakas continued to rule in Central India. They were probably overthrown when they suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandragupta II towards the close of the 4th century A. C. Thereafter, we have two copper-plate grants of Mahārāja Subandhu, both made at Māhishmatī, one of which was found somewhere in the former Barwāni State and the other in one of the famous Bāgh caves.

These grants of Subandhu bear close resemblance in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign-manual to the aforementioned grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. All of them probably belong to the same period. The era in which they are dated must therefore be identical. The date of the Bāgh cave plate is lost, but that of the Barwāni plate which is well preserved is the year 167. If this is referred to the Ābhīra era, it becomes equivalent to 416-17 A. C. Subandhu, therefore, flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century A. C.

Unlike the Mahārājas of Valkha, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in a general manner, which shows that he was an independent ruler. In 416-17 A. C. the Gupta power had, no doubt, reached its peak. Chandragupta II was dead at the time and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I; but there is no reason to suppose that the Gupta dominion

¹ Cf. wa-bbōga-nagar-Airikina-pradēfē in the Eraņ inscription of Samudragupta. C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 20. The battle of Erikiņa appears to have been fought towards the close of Samudragupta's reign. The inscription at Eran which mentions the monument which he erected there 'for augmenting his fame' is probably posthumous; for it uses the past tense in describing the Gupta Emperor. Besides, the description it gives of him indicates that he had already won all his major victories. He is said to have been of irresistible valour and to have overthrown the whole tribe of kings upon the earth. His enemies were terrified by his prowess even in their dreams. Again, it describes his queen as one who went about in the company of sons and grandsons. The description plainly shows that Samudragupta was considerably advanced in age when the monument was erected, and may have died before the inscription was put up.

That the Sanakānīkas and the Kharaparikas belonged to Central India is shown by some inscriptions. See C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 25 and I. C. P. B., p. 58.

had suffered any diminution at the beginning of the latter's reign. It may, therefore, be asked how Kumāragupta allowed Subandhu to enjoy independence just on the border of the Avanti province which was undoubtedly under Gupta rule at the time. The reason is not far to seek. The Anūpa country, where Subandhu was ruling, comprised the territory along both the banks of the Narmadā, now included in the Nemad Districts of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat as well as the adjoining territory. Just about this time there was rising the powerful State of the Traikūṭakas across the Narmadā.¹ According to the Purāṇas, the Ābhīra rule lasted for 167 years. The Ābhīras were succeeded by the Traikūṭakas, who soon extended their sway to Northern Maharashtra, Konkan and Gujarat. The kingdom of Māhishmatī may, therefore, have been allowed to continue as a buffer state between the dominions of the Traikūṭakas and the Guptas.

Subandhu's descendants may have continued to rule from Māhishmatī for some years more; but when the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna (circa 450-470 A. C.) extended his suzerainty to Malwa, he must have annexed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. Thereafter, the country was governed by a scion of the Vākāṭaka family. The narrative in the eighth chapter of the Datakumāracharita, which appears to have a historical basis,² shows that the last Vākāṭaka Emperor (probably Harishēṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhishmatī. Soon thereafter, the country was occupied by the Kalachuris in circa 525 A. C.

THE TRAIKUTAKAS

This royal dynasty derived its name from Trikūṭa or a three-peaked mountain or the district in which it was situated. This was evidently the home of the royal family. Several mountains named Trikūṭa situated in all the four directions of India are known from Sanskrit literature and lexicons. According to the Vishnu³ and Mārkandēya⁴ Purāṇas, Trikūṭa was the name of the southern ridge of the mythical Mēru mountain. It was, therefore, situated in the north. Hēmachandra⁵ and Mahēśvara,⁶ who in their lexicons give Suvēla as its synonym, evidently place it in Ceylon. An ancient commentator of Bhartṛihari's Vākyapadēya³ states that Trikūṭa was the name of a mountain in the Trikaliṅga or Andhra country. Finally, Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta⁶ or North Konkan, and his view receives confirmation from Kēśava's Kalpadrukōśa⁰ which gives it as a name of the Sahyādri range. In recent times, R. B. Hiralal, who identified the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris, has expressed the view that Trikūṭa is identical with the Sātpurā mountain which was so called on account of its three prominent peaks, viz,, the

¹ The earliest known Traikūṭaka king was Indradatta, who must have flourished about 415 A.C. as his son Dahrasēna's Pardi grant is dated in K. 207 (456-57 A.C.). Dahrasēna is known to have performed an Aframēdba sacrifice. See No. 8, l. 2.

See my article entitled 'Historical Data in Dandin's Dasakumāraibarita' in A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

a VSHP., arhśa II, adhyāya 2, v. 28.

⁴ MP., adhyāya 55, v. 6.

^{*} Swelah syat Trimukutas=Trikatas=Trikakuch=cha sah in Abbidbanachintamani, Bhumikanda, v. 96.

Viśvaprakāśa (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 39. According to Valmiki's Rāmāyaņa (Aranya-kāṇḍa, 2, 1) Rāvaņa's Lankā was situated on Trikūţa.

⁷ Commenting on the kārikā, Parvatādzāgamani labdhvā, etc., of the Vākyapadīa (Kānda II, v. 489), Punyarāja says, Parvatāt Trikūţ-aikadēļa-varti-Trikaling-aikadēļāt.

⁸ Raghwanifa, Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

Sabyāchalas=tu Mūrddbādris=Trikūṭas=Trikakuch=cha sab in Kalpadrukūša, Vol. I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 342, sl. 14. Trikakut which is given here as a synonym of Trikūṭa is mentioned by Pāṇini (V, 4, 147), but it cannot evidently be the Trikūṭa of North Konkan.

Amrakūta or Amarakantaka in the former Rewa State, Sālakūta in the Balaghat District and Madhukūta in the Chhindwara District.1 As shown below, the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in South Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Traikūţa, from which they derived their name, cannot, therefore, be located in the north, east, south or centre of India, but must be looked for in the west. Kālidāsa's description, which, as already stated, is supported by a lexicon, clearly indicates that it was situated in Aparanta or North Konkan. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested its identification with Junnar, in the Poona District, which is encircled by three ranges of hills.2 The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the mention of the Pürva-Trikūta vishaya (East Trikūta District) in the Anjaneri plates of Bhogaśakti,3 which shows that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts. A tax levied on the inhabitants of the eastern sub-division was assigned for the worship of the god Bhogesvara at Jayapura near Nasik. This clearly shows that Trikūṭa was probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west.4 This identification squares with the provenance of Traikūṭaka inscriptions and coins.

The earliest mention of the Traikūṭakas occurs in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman.5 This record includes Trēkūṭa (i. e., the Traikūṭakas) among the contemporaries of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, which shows that the Traikūṭakas were a power of some importance in the beginning of the fourth century A. C., to which period the Chandravalli inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds. The country of Trikūṭa had previously been included in the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Traikūtakas seem, therefore, to have risen into prominence on the decline of the Satavahana power in Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of the Traikūṭakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas which were current in Maharashtra. On the obverse, there is the king's face to the right as on Kshatrapa coins, but without any date, while on the reverse, inside a circle of dots and a circularly written legend, appear the usual Kshatrapa symbols, the chaitya, the sun and the moon.6 This close resemblance suggests, as Rapson has remarked,7 that the coins were intended for circulation in the districts which had previously been under the rules of the Kshatrapas.

Though the Traikūṭakas rose into prominence about the middle of the third century A. C., we have no Traikūtaka records during the first two centuries of their rule. On the other hand we find an Abhira record of about the middle of the third century A. C. in the Nasik District,8 which, as we have seen above, was the home province of the Traikūṭakas. The names of the two Abhīras, Sivadatta and his son Rājan Iśvarasēna, resemble those of the later Traikūṭaka kings, which end in either datta or sēna. Pandit Bhagvanlal, therefore, first propounded the theory that the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Abhīras.9 The Chandravalli inscription, however, mentions the Traikūṭas separately from the Abhīras, thus indicating that the two royal families, though contemporary, were not identical. The

¹ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. IX, pp. 283-84-

² Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, part i, p. 57-

⁸ No. 31, l. 38.

⁴ In this connection it may be noted that the Pāṇḍu Lēṇa hill near Nasik is called Triraśmi (threerayed) in the cave inscriptions there, and that the range of hills to the south of the Nasik District is still called Trimbak hill.

⁵ A. R. A. S. M. (1929), p. 50.

⁶ C. A. D., pp. 198-99.

⁷ Ibid., Introd., p. chx.

⁸ No. 1.

P. V. O. C., p. 222.

similarity of their names suggests some sort of connection between them. The Traikūṭakas were probably at first the feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they adopted in their records. On the decline of the Ābhīra power, they seem to have asserted their independence. None of the three Traikūṭaka kings, known from inscriptions and coins, seems to have assumed a higher title than Mahārāja. But two of them are known to have issued coins, while one of them, Dahrasēna, explicitly mentions in his copper-plate inscription that he had performed an Aivamēdha sacrifice. The later Traikūṭakas were, therefore, probably independent monarchs, though, as we shall see below, the last of them was ultimately defeated and forced to pay tribute by the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa.

The mention of Trikūta in the description of Raghu's digvijaya suggests that Kālidāsa, who flourished about 400 A.C. during the reign of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, knew of a Traikūtaka kingdom on the western coast. The three copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty edited here belong to a later date. From them and from coins, we get the

following genealogy of the Traikūṭakas:-

Mahārāja Indradatta

(son)

Mahārāja Dahrasēna (K. 207=456-57 A. C.)

Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (K. 241=490-91 A. C.)

The first of these, Indradatta, is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasena. He is therein given the title Mahārāja. As his son was ruling in the Kalachuri year 207

(=456-57 A. C.), he may be assigned to the period 415-440 A. C.

The second king Dahrasēna is known from his Pārdī plates and silver coins¹ found at Daman in South Gujarat,² Karhad in the Satara District,³ Kazad in the Indapur tālukā of the Poona District⁴ and some other places.⁵ Like his father, he calls himself Mahārāja both in the copper-plate inscription and coin-legends. The former supplies the additional information that he petformed an Aivamēdha sacrifice. On his coins he called himself paramavaishnava, 'a devout worshipper of Vishņu', and in his copper-plate inscription, Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. The Pārdī plates were issued from the victorious royal camp at Āmrakā, and record the donation of a village in the Antarmaṇḍalī vishaya, which, on the analogy of the Antar-Narmadā vishaya mentioned in inscription No. 11, seems to have comprised the territory on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī or modern Miṇḍhōlā river. The places mentioned in the grant can be identified in the country between the Pūrṇā and the Miṇḍhōlā in South Gujarat. As shown elsewhere, the date of the plates, the year 207, refers to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 456-57 A. C. Dahrasēna may, therefore, have reigned from circa 440 A. C. to 465 A. C.

Vyāghrasēna, the son and successor of Dahrasēna, is known from his Surat plates and silver coins found at Kazad in the Indapur tālukā and other places. His coins6, which

¹ The coins have the legend Maharaj-Andradatta-putra-paramavashnava-śra-Maharaja-Dahrasana representing Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishnava-śri-Mahārāja-Dahrasāna.

Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, part i, p. 58.

a J. B. B. R. A. S., 1862, p. 11.

⁴ C. A. D., p. clx, n. 2.

been very fully recorded'. Introd., C. A. D., p. clx. Some Traikūṭaka coins have been recently brought to light at Kamrej near Surat. A. B. I. A. for 1935, p. 34.

⁶ These coins have the legend Maharaja-Dahrasana-putra-parama-vashnava-ira-Maharaja-Vyaghrasana representing Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishnava-irī-Mahārāia-Vyāghrasēna. J. R. A. S. for 1905, pp. 806-7.

Vot. I, maxing p. 4594

resemble those of his father, are, however, rare and of one variety only. Like his father, he calls himself Mahārāja, and describes himself as paramavaishnava as well as Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara. His Surat plates were issued from the victorious Aniruddhapura. As no affix like vāsakāt is added to it, the place may have been the royal capital. The plates record the grant of a village in the Iksharaki ābāra. Iksharaki may be identical with Achehhāran, about 9 m. north of Surat. The date of the plates, the year 241, must be referred to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 490-91 A. C. Vyāghraśena may, therefore, be assigned to the period from circa 465 A. C. to 492 A. C.

One more inscription, consisting of a single plate, was found inside a Buddhist stupa at Kanhēri in North Konkan. It records the construction of a chaitya (i.e., the stūpa in which the inscription together with some relics was found) dedicated by a pilgrim from Sindh to the venerable Saradvatiputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. The inscription mentions only the increasingly victorious reign of the Traikūṭakas, but does not name any reigning king. It is dated in the year 245 (494-95 A. C.). As a period of as many as 36 years intervenes between the date of the Pardi plates of Dahrasena and that of the Surat plates of his son Vyaghrasena, it seems that the latter were probably issued towards the close of Vyaghrasēna's reign. The Traikūṭaka king during whose reign the Kanhēri plate was issued may, therefore, have been the successor of Vyaghrasēna. During his reign the Trikūṭa country was invaded by Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king who flourished in circa 475-500 A. C. In the inscription in the Ajantā cave XVI, Harishēņa is credited with a victory over Trikūţa,1 but it is not known if he supplanted the ruling dynasty. He was possibly content with exacting a tribute from it as he must have done from the other countries mentioned in the same inscription, viz., Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Lāṭa and Andhra.

After the Vākātakas, the Kalachuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of Krishnaraja, the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty, have been found in the islands of Bombay and Sāshtī as well as the districts of Nasik and Satara.2 Copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris recording grants of villages in South Gujarat and the Nasik District have also been discovered. In the Kalachuri inscriptions Sankaragaņa, the son of Krishņarāja, is described as the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas.3 Konkan also must, therefore, have been included in the Kalachuri Empire. But no grants of land made by the Kalachuris have yet been discovered in Konkan, which seems to have been ruled by a feudatory family. For about a century after the date of the Kanhēri plate, however, we have no definite information about the history of Konkan.4 From the Aihōle inscription5 of Pulakēśin II we learn that his father Kirtivarman was 'the night of destruction to the Mauryas', and that Pulakēśin himself stormed their capital Puri and probably annexed their kingdom. As the Traikūtakas vanish from history in the beginning of the sixth century A. C. and the Mauryas come on the scene within about fifty years, it has been conjectured that the Traikūtakas

¹ H. A. S., No. 14, p. 11. The passage mentions Trikūța and Lāṭa separately. Does this show that the Traikūṭaka kingdom was at that time divided into two parts?

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 13. The king Krishnaraja is there wrongly said to be of the Rashtraküta lineage.

³ No. 12, L' 15.

⁴ A stone inscription from Vada in the north of the Thana District mentions a Maurya king named Sukētuvarman ruling in Konkan. Bom. Gaz., Vol. XIV, pp. 372-373-

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 4-5.

themselves came in course of time to be known as the Mauryas.¹ But if the Traikūṭakas were descended from the imperial family of Magadha, it looks strange that they make no mention of their proud lineage in their records. It would appear, therefore, that when the Kalachuris conquered Konkan, they supplanted the Traikūṭakas by the Mauryas, who continued as their feudatories until both the royal families were ousted by Pulakēśin II. The downfall of the Traikūṭakas may thus be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century A. C.

The Traikūṭaka kingdom at its largest extent seems to have extended from the Kīm in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south, and to have comprised South Gujarat, North Konkan, and the Nasik, Poona and Satara Districts of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note that the Traikūṭakas maintained a fleet for the protection of their maritime provinces. During their regime Trikūṭa seems to have become famous as an emporium of salt. Their capital has not yet been definitely located. As observed already, Aniruddhapura seems to have been the capital at least during the reign of Vyāghrasēna. Dr. Hultzsch, on the authority of a statement of the lexicographer Yādava, identifies Aniruddhapura with Sūrpāraka, modern Sōpārā, in the Thana District. But Yādava merely states that the Aparānta country included Sūrpāraka.² Aniruddhapura, mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates, is probably identical with the victorious Aniruddhapurī, a Brāhmaṇa resident of which received a grant of land in the Surat District from the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. It would, therefore, appear that Aniruddhapura was situated somewhere in the Surat District, but its exact location cannot be fixed.

The Traikūṭakas were followers of Hinduism and devotees of the god Vishņu. Both their copper-plate grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the increase of religious merit of their parents and themselves. That Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom is shown by the Kaṇhēri plate which records the erection of a chaitya dedicated to Sāradvatīputra. The pilgrim who got it built came from the distant province of Sindh. This testifies to the peace and order which generally prevailed in the kingdom of the Traikūṭakas.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI

We have no definite information about the capital of the Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris. All their known copper-plate grants were issued from their camps fixed at different places such as Ujjayini and Vidiśā in Malwa and Ānandapura in Gujarat. It appears probable, however, that they ruled from Māhishmatī, modern Onkār Māndhātā,³ which from very early times has been famous as a holy city. Even in later times when it had ceased to be their capital, the memory of its past glory was fresh in the mind of the people; for Rājaśekhara in his Bālarāmāyaṇa⁴ and Murāri in his Anargharāghava⁵ mention it as the common or family capital of the Kalachuri kings. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the south as feudatories of the Chālukyas, mention with pride their title Māhishmatī-puravar-ēśvara 'the lord of Māhishmatī, the best of towns.'6

¹ C. A. D., p. clx. n. 1. ² See below, p. 27.

⁸ For the identification, see Fleet's article 'Mahishamandala and Māhishmati' in J. R. A. S. (1910), pp. 425 ff. Like Kālidāsa, Rājašēkhara also describes Māhishmatī as surrounded by the Narmadā. Some identify the city with Maheshvar in the former Indore State.

⁴ Scc यन्मेखला भवति मेकलशैलकन्या वीतेन्धनो वसति यत्र च चित्रभानुः । तामेष पाति कृतवीर्ययशोवतंसां माहिष्मतीं कलचुरेः कुलराजधानीम् ॥ Bālarāmāyaṇa, III, 35.

The mention of the Ārjunāyanas in the list of frontier tribes who submitted to Samudra-gupta¹ has been taken by some² to refer to the Kalachuris who trace their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya. The Ārjunāyanas were indeed an ancient tribe. Their coins bearing the tribal name in Sanskrit are known in several varieties and on the evidence of palæography are ascribed to 100 B. C. Prof. Rapson dates their rise as a political community as early as the fourth century B. C.³ They are included in the rājanyādī gaṇa (mentioned in Pāṇini, IV, 2, 53), which shows that their country was called Ārjunāyanaka. Varāhamihira places them in the northern division, and the provenance of their coins indicates that their homeland lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Āgrā.⁴ This shows, however, that they were distinct from the Kalachuris who dwelt in the valley of the Narmadā. Besides, according to the Kāŝikā⁵ on Pāṇini, II, 4, 66, the Ārjunāyanas were the descendants of Arjuna who belonged to the Bhārata clan, and were, therefore, different from the Kalachuris who claimed their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya.

Though the Early Kalachuris do not call themselves Haihayas in their grants, they soon came to be referred to by that name; for we learn from some inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas that Vinayāditya, the son of Vikramāditya I (680-697 A. C.), subjugated the Haihayas, and Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.) married two Haihaya princesses, Lōkamahādēvī and her younger sister Trailōkyamahādēvī. The Eastern Chālukya prince Vishņuvardhana IV (764-799 A. C.) similarly espoused a princess of the Haihaya lineage whose son Nriparudra is mentioned as Dūtaka in a grant of Vijayāditya II.8 These

Haihayas were evidently identical with the Early Kalachuris.

It is not known whether the Early Kalachuris were descended from Mahārāja Subandhu who ruled from Māhishmatī in an earlier age; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet been discovered. The Early Kalachuris rose into prominence on the downfall of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. After the year 245 of the Kanhēri plate9 incised during the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas, the next known date of the Kalachuri era is the year 292 furnished by the Sunao Kalagrant of Sangamasimha.10 He seems to have come to power after the Traikūtakas; for the phraseology of the formal part of his grant bears close resemblance to that of the Traikūṭaka records, especially the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna.11 Saṅgamasiṁha issued the plates from Bharukachchha. Sonavva, the village granted by him, is only two miles north of the Kim and 18 miles north of Surat. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Sangamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously included in the Traikūṭaka kingdom. But Sangamasimha, though he calls himself Mahārāja, was in reality a Mahāsāmanta (i. e., a great feudatory) of some other power. The only powerful contemporary dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalachuris. We have unfortunately no records of the Early Kalachuris who were the real founders of the Kalachuri Empire of the sixth century A.C. The earliest dated record of the Kalachuris is Sankara-

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 8.

² Ibid., Introd., p. 10.

⁸ C. H. I., Vol. I, p. 528.

⁴ A. C. A. I., p. lxxxii ff.

⁵ Patañjali in his Mahābhāshya gives a different illustration (viz., Auddālakāyana) to explain the rule.

^{*} Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 91 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 302.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 3.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 415.

⁹ No. 10.

¹⁰ No. 11.

¹¹ See below, p. 34.

gaņa's Ābhōṇa grant of K. 347 (596-97 A. C.). As shown below, Sankaragaṇa's son Buddharāja was defeated by Mangalēśa in circa 601 A. C. Sankaragaṇa can, therefore, be referred to circa 575-600 A.C., and his father Krishṇarāja, to circa 550-575 A.C. Sangamasimha, who made his grant in 541 A. C., was, therefore, probably a feudatory of Krishṇarāja's father whose name¹ unfortunately has not come down to us.

This Kalachuri prince must have found a favourable opportunity for the extension of his power in the political conditions of the second quarter of the sixth century A. C. The Vākāṭaka dynasty seems to have come to an end with Harishēṇa's son. In Central India the meteoric rise of Yaśōdharman was followed by confusion and chaos. In the west the Maitrakas, who had founded a kingdom at Valabhī about half a century before, were not yet powerful enough to pursue an aggressive policy. In the south, though Pulakēśin I is said to have performed an Aśvamēdha, his power was probably confined to the northern Kanarese districts. Krishṇarāja's father seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he supplanted the Traikūṭakas and divided their extensive kingdom among his feudatories. The Mauryas, as we have already seen, were placed in charge of Aparānta or North Konkan, while Gujarat or at least the central part of it was given in charge of Saṅgamasimha. We do not know whether Maharashtra including ancient Vidarbha was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom during his reign or during that of his son Krishṇarāja.

Krishnarāja seems to have still further extended the kingdom inherited from his father. His silver coins,² which are imitated from those of the Traikūṭakas, were at first intended for circulation in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Like the latter coins, they have on the obverse the bust of the king facing right, and on the reverse inside a circle of dots, runs the legend Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pāḍ-ānudhyāta-śrī-Krishnarājaḥ. In the middle, in place of the chaitya, the sun and the moon which figure on the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins, the king, who was a devotee of Siva, inserted the figure of the recumbent bull, Nandī, facing right. These coins, which in their weight³ and fabric, approximated to the Kshatrapa, Gupta and Traikūṭaka coins, were in circulation over a very wide country. They have been discovered in such distant parts as Rajputana⁴ and Malwa⁵ in the north, the districts of Satara⁶ and Nasik¹ in the south, the islands of Bombay⁶ and Sāshti⁰ in the west, and the districts Betul¹⁰ and Amaravati¹¹ of Madhya Pradesh in the east. As these coins were in circulation for at least a hundred and fifty years after the time of Krishṇarāja,¹² be-

3 The weight of these coins is about 30 grains.

Seven coins were brought to light during excavations at Besnagar. A. R. A. S. I. (1913-14), 214.

1 They were found near Karhad. Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 13.

7 They were discovered at Baglan near Nasik, loc. cit. p. 13.

Two coins were discovered at Mulgaon near Marole in Sashţi, loc. cit. p. 9.

11 A hoard of 1600 coins was found at Dhāmōri in the Amaravati District.

¹ In the place of the patronymic which occurs in the legend on Traikūṭaka coins, Kṛishṇarāja substituted mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāta 'he who meditates on the feet of his mother and father'. So his father's name does not appear even on his coins.

^{*} The legend on these coins was first correctly read by Fleet. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 68.

⁴ C. C. M. I., p. 8. Cunningham ascribed these coins to Krishnarāja Rāshṭrakūṭa (375-400 A.C.), but the Rāshṭrakūṭas were not then in power. See Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 27.

^{*} Lor. cit., p. 13. A hoard of 200 coins was discovered in Bombay proper. See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX (Extra Number) (1900), pp. 7 and 9.

¹⁰ Some coins of this type were discovered in 1937 at Pattan in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh.

¹² They are mentioned as Krishnarāja-rūpakas in the Anjaneri inscription of Bhögaśakti, dated K. 461 (No. 51).

ing used by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say if the Kalachuri Empire in the time of Krishnaraja comprised all these distant territories. But that Gujarat, Konkan, and Maharashtra including Vidarbha were in any case comprised in it, seems beyond all doubt.

Krishnarāja's suzerainty over Vidarbha is also indicated by the recently discovered Nagardhan plates of the reign of Svāmirāja.¹ They were issued by his brother Nannarāja from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan near Ramtek in the Nagpur District, which is well known in history as one of the early capitals of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The royal family to which Svāmirāja and Nannarāja belonged is not mentioned in the grant, but as similar names occur in some Rāshṭrakūṭa grants found in Vidarbha,² these princes probably belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. In the initial portion of this grant, Svāmirāja is described as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount.' The plates are dated in the year 322, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era and corresponds to 573-74 A. C. This is the only record of the Kalachuri era found in Vidarbha.³ The use of this era indicates that the unnamed suzerain of Svāmidāsa was some Kalachuri king, probably Kṛishṇarāja who flourished from circa 550 A. C. to 575 A. C.; for the era evidently spread to Vidarbha with the extension of the Kalachuri power.

The Nagardhan plates record two gifts—(i) one of 12 nivartanas of land in the village Chiñchapattikā, made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Anköllikā made by the ruling king at Prayāga. It is noteworthy that the seal of the plates has the figure of a goad as the emblem of the Corporation, with the

legend gana-dattib, meaning 'a gift of the Corporation.'

The descendants of Svämirāja probably ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. On the downfall of the Kalachuris, they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas, and like them, dated their records in the Saka era.

Kṛishṇarāja's son Saṅkaragaṇa is known from several records. His own Ābhōṇa plates4 were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī, and record the donation of land in a village situated in the northern part of the Hyderabad State. It is not known if Western Malwa was permanently annexed to the Kalachuri Empire; but that Saṅkaragaṇa first conquered it and held it for some time is indicated by the fact that the epithets, employed to describe him in the Ābhōṇa plates and repeated in subsequent Kalachuri charters, were borrowed from or suggested by Gupta records, with which the drafter must have been acquainted in Ujjayinī. It is noteworthy that no such epithets occur in the description of his father Kṛishṇarāja.

The Abhōṇa plates show that Saṅkaragaṇa ruled over a vast empire which extended from Malwa in the north to Maharashtra in the south. That it comprised Gujarat is shown by the Saṅkheḍā plate of the general Sāntilla, which mentions Nirihullaka as his governor in Central Gujarat.⁵ Saṅkaragaṇa is probably referred to as Gaṇa Saṅkara in the Mañjuṣrīmūlakalpa as shown by Dr. Jayaswal.⁶ His Ābhōṇa plates are dated in K. 347 (597 A. C.). His reign must have ended soon thereafter, as his son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalarāja in circa 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, be assigned approximately to the period 575-600 A. C.

1 No. 120.

2 See, e.g., the Multai plates of Nannaraja, dated S. 631 (709-10 A. C.).

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The earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas are dated in regnal years, while the later ones of the Rāshṭra-kūṭas are dated in the Śaka era.

⁴ No. 12.

⁵ No. 13.

a Imperial History of India, p. 30.

Soon after his accession, Buddharaja found himself involved in a fight on the southern frontier of his kingdom. Several Chālukya inscriptions mention his defeat by the Early Chālukya king Mangalēśa or Mangalarāja. We learn, for instance, from Mangalēśa's Mahākūṭa inscription1 (602 A.C.) that Mangalēśa, having set his heart on the conquest of the northern regions, defeated king Buddha and captured his whole treasure. The Nerur plates² add further details that this Buddharāja was the son of Sankaragaņa and was possessed of the power of elephants, horses and footsoldiers. Finally, the Aihōlē stone inscription of Pulakēśin II describes in a figurative language that Mangalēśa, 'in that house which was the battlefield, took in marriage the damsel viz., the Fortune of the Katachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers.'2 These references leave no doubt about the identity of Buddharaja. Mangalēśa obtained a decisive victory over him. Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away, leaving his whole treasure behind which was captured by Mangalesa. The latter could not, however, follow up the victory; for, just then Svāmirāja of the Chālikya family, a redoubtable warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and who was probably ruling in Rēvatīdvīpa4 (modern Rēdi) in South Konkan as a feudatory of the Chālukyas, rose in rebellion, seemingly at the instigation of Buddharaja. Mangaleśa had, therefore, to abandon his original plan of making an expedition of conquest in the north, and rushed to Konkan to chastise the rebellious chieftain. In the fight which ensued, he killed Svāmirāja and by way of thanksgiving made the grant of a village in South Konkan on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttika after observing a fast on the preceding day. The Nērur plates, in which this grant is recorded, are not dated, but the Mahākūṭa inscription, in which also the victory over Buddharaja is mentioned, is dated in the fifth regnal year, the cyclic year being Siddhartha. As Fleet has shown, the inscription was probably incised in 601-2 A. C. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharaja,5 which may, therefore, be dated approximately in 601 A. C.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18. R. G. Bhandarkar, who did not accept Fleet's reading of the date in l. 15 of the Mahākūṭa inscription, placed Maṅgalēśa's accession in 591 A. C. (E. H. D., p. 69). In the Mahākūṭa inscription the reading rājya-paūcbama-śrīvarsbē pravartamānē in l. 15 is clear. So the inscription belongs to the fifth year of Maṅgalēśa's reign. If we accept Bhandarkar's view that he came to the throne in 591 A.C., his fifth year would fall in 595-596 A.C. But the Ābhōṇa plates show that in 595-596 A.C. Śaṅkaragaṇa, not Buddharāja, was reigning. Fleet's view about the accession of Maṅgalēśa presents no chronological difficulty.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 8.

⁴ The Nërur plates, which mention the defeat and death of Svämirāja at the hands of Mangalēśa, do not explicitly say that he was ruling over Revatidvīpa, but they state that the event occurred after the defeat of Buddharāja. The Aihōlē inscription describes Mangalēśa's capture of the island of Revatī after the defeat of the Kalachuri king. Svämirāja was, therefore, probably the ruler of the island of Revatī, modern Rēdi. Nērur is only 16 miles south of Rēdi. The village Kundivāṭaka granted by the plates is probably identical with the modern Kudāl, about 3½ m. north-east of Nērur. After killing Svämirāja, Mangalēśa seems to have placed the island in charge of his relative Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was the ruler of the adjoining territory. See his Goa plates issued from the Revatīdvīpa in the twentieth year of his reign. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 365.

^{*}Fleet translates Kalatsūri-dhanam sva-griba-dēva-dronyām gatam in the Mahākūta inscription by 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been expended in the idol procession of the temple of our own god.' The sense, however, seems to be 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been deposited in the treasury (drona) of the temple of our own god.' Mangalēša seems to have assigned the ten villages mentioned in the inscription to the god Makutēšvaranātha, having acquired them with the wealth of the Kalachuri king as well as that donated by his father and eldest brother.

For some reason Mangalesa could not execute his original plan of making conquests in the north and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi. He seems to have been fully occupied in his own country in ensuring the succession of his son after himself and in thwarting the legitimate ambition of his nephew Pulakēśin II. These internal dissensions of the Chālukyas gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Only two grants of this king have come to light so far. Both of them are dated after his defeat by Mangalesa. The earlier of them, recorded in the Vadner plates1, was made in K. 360 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in Central India). The donated village was situated in the Nasik district. The later or Sarsavnī grant² was made in K. 361 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Anandapura (probably modern Vadnagar in North Gujarat). The village granted was situated in the Broach District. These grants are separated by the short interval of about two months and a half3, during which Buddharaja had to march from Vidisa to Anandapura. Again, the villages granted are not situated in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarat but in the Nasik and Broach Districts. It seems plain, therefore, that the grants were made during the victorious campaigns of Buddharaja, and that Malwa and Northern Gujarat were not permanently annexed to the Kalachuri empire. This surmise receives confirmation from Yuan Chwang's mention of Sīlāditya as a former king of Malwa.4 This king is evidently identical with Sīlāditya I-Dharmāditya, whose known dates range from G. 286 to G. 292 (i. e., from 605 A. C. to 611 A. C.). It will be noticed that they are subsequent to the date K. 347 (597 A.C.) of the Abhona plates issued by Sankaragana from his camp at Ujjayini. Again, within six years of the date of Buddharāja's Sarsavņī plates, we find Sīlāditya's brother Kharagraha I making two grants⁵ (dated G. 297) from his camp at Ujjayini. Malwa conquered by Sankaragana does not, therefore, seem to have remained under the sway of the Kalachuris for a long time. Buddharāja probably lost it to the king of Valabhi in the beginning of his reign when he suffered a defeat at the hands of Mangaleśa.

It has been suggested that Buddharāja was the Mālava king who, according to Bāṇa's account, marched on Kanauj when he heard of the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the mighty king of Thaneshvar, and killing his son-in-law, the young Maukhari prince Grahavarman, threw the latter's wife Rājyaśrī into prison 'like a brigand's wife with a pair of fetters kissing her feet.' Buddharāja's army was subsequently routed by Rājyavardhana, who captured thousands of elephants and horses as well as a large treasure. There are several difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The inscriptions of Harsha do not mention Buddharāja as an adversary of Rājyavardhana. On the other hand, they name Dēvagupta as the leader of the confederacy whom, together with all his allies, Rājyavardhana subdued and turned away like a wild horse. That in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, Malwa—probably the eastern part of it—was held by a king whose name ended in gupta seems certain; because Bāṇa mentions as Mālava princes the brothers Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta who were asked to attend on Rājyavardhana and Harsha.' Bühler, therefore, conjectured that the

¹ No. 14.

[&]quot; No. 15.

³ See p. 53, below.

⁴ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 242.

⁵ P. T. A. I. O. C. (1953), pp. 659 ff; Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol. I, pp. 7 ff.

⁵ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 406 ff.

⁷ Harshacharita (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 138.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 70. Bühler suggested, however, that the word Mālava perhaps referred to the country of Mālava in the Panjab, which was much nearer to Thaneshvar than Malwa in Central India.

Mālava king who killed Grahavarman was Dēvagupta, and Hoernle thought that the latter was a brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, and had usurped the throne of Malwa.1 It is not unlikely that Devagupta was responsible for the destruction of Grahavarman. He was probably ruling over Eastern Malwa with Vidiśā as his capital; for, according to Yuan Chwang's testimony, Western Malwa was then under the rule of Sīlāditya I-Dharmāditya. Buddharāja cannot, therefore, be identified with the Mālava king mentioned by Bāṇa. Besides, in 605 A. C. when the aforementioned events took place, Mangaleśa was still supreme in the south. Only four years before, Buddharāja had sustained a crushing defeat at his hands and though for some reason Mangalesa did not follow up the victory, the danger of his invasion could not have passed altogether. It is, therefore, doubtful if Buddharāja would have dared to carry his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

When Harsha swore to avenge the treacherous murder of his brother Rājyavardhana by Saśāńka, the king of Gauda, he must have proceeded to make political alliances to achieve his object. His two powerful foes were Saśāńka, the king of Gauda, and the king of Mālava. His alliance with Bhāskaravarman, the prince of Kāmarūpa (Assam), was obviously intended to hold the Gauda king in check on his eastern frontier. Unfortunately, Bāṇa's narrative comes to an abrupt close. It does not, therefore, tell us what measures Harsha adopted against the Mālava king, who, though defeated by Rājyavardhana, was not completely crushed. It is possible to conjecture that he sought the help of Buddharāja, who was the southern neighbour of the king of Malwa. Buddharāja's victorious campaigns in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarāt were evidently directed against Dēvagupta and Sīlāditya I. The latter may have been one of Devagupta's allies who are referred to in a general way in the inscriptions of Harsha. These expeditions were undertaken in 610 A. C. when, owing to the civil war in the Chālukyan kingdom, there was no danger of Buddharāja's territory being invaded by the Chālukyas. As we shall see later on, Harsha himself made war on the king of Valabhi probably after he had subdued the kings of the North.

The Vadnër and Sarsavni grants of Buddharāja indicate that notwithstanding the crushing defeat he sustained at the beginning of his career, Buddharaja retained his hold over the whole country from Gujarat to Maharashtra. With the accession of Pulakēśin II, however, matters took a different turn. After consolidating his position in the Kanarese country and subjugating his immediate southern neighbours, the Gangas and the Alupas, Pulakēśin seems to have turned his attention to the north. He stormed Purī, the capital of the Mauryas, which he captured after a hard-fought battle. He also became the lord of the three Mahārāshtras2, comprising the Marathi-speaking districts in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad. The Aihōlē inscription does not name his adversary, but there can be little doubt that he was Buddharāja. The record says that Pulakēśin used all the three royal powers (viz., energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object. Diplomacy seems, therefore, to have played as great a part as actual fight in the defeat of

Buddharāja, which may have taken place about 620 A. C.

History does not know the names of Buddharaja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhishmatī with more or less independence. It seems that one of them made a last effort to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but the attempt was not crowned with success, and the Haihayas were reduced to a state of servitude similar to that of the Aluvas (i. e., Alupas), Gangas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas. As this event is referred to in Vinayāditya's grant3 of Saka 609,

¹ J. R. A. S., (1903), p. 562.

¹ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 64. * Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6.

the defeat of the Haihayas must have occurred before 687 A. C. Thereafter, we do not hear of the Haihayas till the 8th century A. C., except in connection with the marriages of the princesses of the family with the scions of the Eastern and Western Chālukya dynasties. The Haihayas, therefore, seem to have remained loyal to their overlords, the Chālukyas, until the latter's overthrow by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas led to a change in the political fortune of the Haihayas or Kalachuris, to which we shall turn in a subsequent section.

THE EARLY GURJARAS

Several inscriptions2 of the Gurjaras, all of them on copper-plates, dated in the Kalachuri era have been discovered in Western India between the Kim and the Mahi. They range in dates from K. 380 to K. 486. This country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris till K. 361 at least; for, in that year Buddharāja made the grant of a village in the Broach District.3 After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II extended the northern limit of his empire to the Kim, adding to it the provinces of Konkan, the three Maharashtras and southern Gujarat. Just about that time Harsha, the mighty ruler of Kanauj, was making extensive conquests in the north, and countries far and near were submitting to him. It must have seemed very likely that he would soon press to the south. Pulakēśin, therefore, wisely decided to create a buffer state in Central Gujarat under Dadda II of the Gurjara race, who had probably acquired already some portion of it during the hostilities of the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas in the south. Dadda II on his part was only too glad to acknowledge the suzerainty and get the support of his powerful southern neighbour. The Aihole inscription4 tells us that the king of Lata, who was none other than this Dadda, as well as the Mālava and the Gurjara, being impressed by Pulakēśin's valour, became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave. The grants of Dada II are the earliest Gurjara records so far discovered in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown that both in their eulogistic and formal parts they were drafted on the model of the earlier Kalachuri grants, and from this he rightly conjectured that 'the family of these chiefs (i.e., the Gurjaras) rose to independence only after the time of the Katachchuri Buddharaja.'5

The Kairā grants of Dadda II mention two earlier princes of the dynasty, viz., his grandfather Dadda I and father Jayabhaṭa I alias Vitarāga. The former, who is styled Sāmanta, was only a feudal lord. As regards the suzerain to whom he owed allegiance, Fleet conjectured that he and also his son Jayabhaṭa I must have been vassals of the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja. As the known dates of Dadda II range from K. 380 to K. 392, he probably flourished from circa K. 370 to K. 395. His grandfather Dadda I must, therefore, be referred to the period from circa K. 320 to K. 345 or from 570 A. C. to 595 A. C. The contemporary Kalachuri emperors were Kṛishṇarāja and his son Saṅkaragaṇa, and not Buddharāja. It is again doubtful if Dadda I was at all ruling in Gujarat. From a copper-plate found at Saṅkhēḍā⁸ we learn that Nirihullaka was ruling over the lower Narmadā valley, later on the heart of the Gurjara kingdom, as a feudatory

¹ See above, p. xlv.

² Nos. 16-24.

³ No. 15, 1, 22.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 296.

⁶ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 315.

⁷ See above, pp. xlvi ff.

⁸ No. 13.

of the Kalachuri Sankaragana. Subsequently the country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris as shown by Buddharāja's Sarsavnī grant. The Gurjaras, therefore, came into possession of it after the Kalachuris. The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in northern characters, though their grants are written in the southern script. This clearly indicates their northern origin. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has shown that Dadda I was probably identical with the homonymous son of the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra from his Kshatriya wife Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratīhāra Bāuka¹ and who probably flourished about 575 A. C.² He was apparently ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Māṇḍavyapura (modern Māṇḍōr near Jodhpur), which he and his brothers are said to have conquered. The connection of the two families is also indicated by the similarities of some names noticed in them.³

No records of Dadda I have yet been discovered, but from the Kairā grants⁴ of his grandson we learn that he was a devotee of the Sun. We are again told that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, which seems to suggest that he raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain from his base in Rajputana. He may be referred to the period 570-595 A. C.

About his son and successor Jayabhaṭa I, we know very little. From the biruda Vitarāga, 'one whose passion has vanished', applied to him, he seems to have been a man of tranquil nature. He had two sons, Dadda II who succeeded him and Raṇagraha who was apparently placed by his brother in charge of the eastern part of his kingdom. Jayabhaṭa I may have flourished from circa 595 A. C. to 620 A. C.

Dadda II alias Prašāntarāga, 'one whose passion has subsided', is known from several inscriptions. He was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country. His Kairā plates (two sets) are dated in K. 380(629-30 A.C.) and K. 385 (634-35 A.C.), and record the grant of Sirīshapadraka (modern Sisōdrā, 11 miles from Anklēśvar in the Broach District) to certain Brāhmaṇas. Two other sets of plates, 5 issued on the same day in K. 392 (641-2 A.C.), register the grant of two fields in the village Kshīrasara in the vishaya (district) of Sangamakhēṭaka (modern Sankhēḍā prānt of the Baroda District). He is also mentioned in a fragmentary Sankhēḍā grant of his brother Raṇagraha, dated K. 391. As stated above, he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakēšin II soon after he carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmadā valley. On the seals of his plates he is styled Sāmanta or a feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the pañchamahā-fabda (the right to use the five great sounds). Like his grandfather, he was a devotee of the Sun.

Dadda II heads the genealogy in all later records. His descendants took pride in describing him as one 'who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhi when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadeva.' It has been recognized that Dadda II, the ruler of a petty state, a mere Samanta, could not have, unaided, given protection

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

² Majumdar places his father Harichandra in about 550 A. C.

^a Viz., two Nāgabhaṭas in the Māṇdor line and four Jayabhaṭas in the Gujarat line. It must, however, be noted that the Māṇdor line traces itself back to Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Rāma, while the Gujarat line claims to have descended from Karṇa, a hero of the Bhārata war. But both these Pauranic pedigrees were invented in later times—the former in the ninth and the latter in the seventh century A. C.

⁴ Nos. 16 and 17.

¹ Nos. 19 and 20.

⁶ No. 18. Three other grants purporting to have been issued by Dadda II are dated in S. 400, S. 414 and S. 417, but they are spurious. See Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 117 ff.

⁷ Below, p. 85. The expression occurs in Nos. 21, 22, and 24.

to the ruler of Valabhi against the armies of the most powerful ruler of the time with the resources of a vast empire at his command. Besides, it is noteworthy that Dadda himself is silent about this glorious achievement ascribed to him; for there is no mention of it even in his grants of K. 392 (641-42 A. C.), which were made towards the end of his reign and before which the event must certainly have happened. Scholars are, however, not agreed about the power that supported him. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dadda II was at the time a feudatory of the dynasty of Harichandra which bore hereditary enmity to the royal house of Thaneshvar.2 It is, however, doubtful if the Pratihāras of Māṇḍavyapura were then so powerful as to resist the victorious march of the mighty Emperor of North India. From the Aihōlē inscription3 and the account of Yuan Chwang,4 on the other hand, we learn that gathering troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries, Harsha advanced in person relying on his formidable elephant force. He was opposed by Pulakēśin II, the great king of Maharashtra. The battle was probably fought on the bank of the Narmada5 in the heart of the Gurjara kingdom. Harsha's huge elephants fell in the fight and turned the scales in favour of his enemy. In this war the Guriara Dadda was probably fighting on behalf of his liege lord Pulakesin II. Though he himself did not claim credit for the victory, his descendants who were less punctilious in this regard ascribed it solely to his arms.

One of the causes of this war may have been the protection that Dadda gave to the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by Harsha. Dr. Altekar⁶ points out that the war could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the seventh century A.C. when Harsha and Pulakēšin, both of whom aspired for the most enviable position of Chakravartin, were increasing their power and consolidating their position by conquering small kingdoms in the north and the south respectively. Pulakēšin's victory is mentioned in the Aihōlē inscription of 634 A.C., while the earlier Lōhaṇēr plates⁷ issued by him in 630 A. C. are altogether silent about it. The war seems, therefore, to have been fought between 630 A. C. and 634 A. C. The Valabhī ruler who sought Dadda's protection was Dhruvabhaṭa II alias Bālāditya, whose earliest grant is dated in G. 310 (629-30 A. C). From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that Harsha later⁸ made peace with the Valabhī ruler and cemented the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to him. As stated above, Dadda II probably flourished from 620 A. C. to 645 A. C.

Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhata II, who is known only from the grants of his successors. He is praised therein in general terms, altogether devoid of historical information. Soon after his accession, his country seems to have been invaded by the Valabhī ruler Dharasēna IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasēna II, who from his grants is known to have assumed the imperial titles Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēšvara

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal tentatively suggested that 'the protection given to the Valabhī king is perhaps referred to in the Khēḍā grants in the mention of 'strangers and suppliants and people in distress,' but further on he admitted that 'the phrase quoted is by no means decisive,' Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part i, p. 116.

² J. D. L., Vol. X, p. 12. ³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6.

^{40.} Y. C., Vol. II, p. 239.

⁵ In the Aihōlē inscription, after mentioning the defeat of Harsha, Ravikīrti describes the army of Pulakēšin II as encamped on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.

^{*} A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 302 ff.

⁷ S. M. H. D., Vol. I, pp. 1-8.

^{*}I do not agree with Dr. Altekar's view that 'Harsha's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakësin'. There seems to have been only one war during which the ruler of Valabhi fled to the court of Dadda. He was pursued by Harsha, who was defeated by Pulakësin and his feudatory Dadda II.

and Chakravartin, and appears to have been the most powerful ruler of the time. Dharasēna advanced to and occupied Broach, which was probably the Gurjara capital at the time.¹ From his victorious camp at Broach, Dharasēna issued two sets of plates² in the same year G. 330 (648 A. C.). The villages granted by him lay, however, in the Khēṭakāhāra vishaya (modern Kairā District) which was outside the Gurjara kingdom. It has, therefore, been suggested that Dharasēna IV was enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king.³ The argument does not, however, appear convincing; for though in ancient times kings sometimes made grants of land situated in the territory which they had recently conquered, they did not do so invariably—especially when the country was only raided and not permanently occupied.⁴ Again, the adjective 'victorious' prefixed to Dharasēna's camp in these grants indicates that he had gone to Bharukachehha in the course of a military campaign. Dharasēna seems to have soon retired to his country, perhaps after exacting a heavy tribute from Jayabhaṭa II.

Like his father, Jayabhaṭa II was probably a devotee of the Sun, though there is no express mention of it in Gurjara records. A temple of the Sun called Jayāditya situated at Kōṭipura near Kāpikā (modern Kāvī in the Jambusar tālukā of the Broach District) was probably built by him.⁵ It is known from a grant made several years later (in 827 A. C.) for its repairs by Gōvinda of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa branch.⁶ Jayabhaṭa II

may be referred to the period 645-665 A. C.

Jayabhaṭa was followed by Dadda III, who was the first Gurjara prince to become a devotee of Siva. Only one grant of his has been discovered so far, viz. that recorded on the Prince of Wales Museum plates, dated K. 427 (675 A. C.). He is also mentioned in the grants of his successors. He had the biruda Bābusahāya (one whose sole helper is his arm) and attained the pañchamahāśabda. He seems to have pursued a more vigorous policy than his predecessor; for, he is said to have obtained victories over the kings of the east and the west. The king of the west was probably the Valabhī ruler Sīlāditya III (circa 660-685 A. C.) who was his contemporary. It seems that soon after his accession Dadda made an incursion into the Valabhī kingdom in retaliation for the previous invasion by the Maitrakas. He seems to have attained some success as suggested by the aforementioned statement. This occurred some time before 675 A. C., the date of his Prince of Wales Museum plates.

During the reign of Dadda III the Gurjara kingdom was invaded by a ruler named Vajrața or Vajjada as stated in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. Like the earlier invasion of Harsha, this attack also was repelled with the help of the Chālukya suzerain. The whole army of Vajjada was annihilated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā by Jayasimha, a younger son of Pulakeśin II.8 This victory of the Chālukyas was regarded

¹ The Gurjara capital till the end of Dadda II's reign was Nändipura as all the four grants of his reign are issued from that city. The capital was shifted to Bharukachchha (Broach) sometime before K. 427 (675 A. C.), the date of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff and Vol. XV, pp. 339 ff.
 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 316; J. D. L., Vol. X, p. 18.

⁴ As instances we may point out that the Vadnër plates of Buddharāja, though issued from his victorious camp at Vidišā in Eastern Malwa, record the grant of a village in the Nasik District, and the Karhad plates of Krishna III, though issued from his victorious camp at Mēlpāṭi in North Arcot, record the grant of a village near Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State.

⁵ As shown above, Jayabhata I did not probably rule in Gujarat and Jayabhatas III and IV were devotees of Siva.

^{*} Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

⁷ No. 121.

⁸ Sec No. 28, IL 9-10,

as memorable as it was decisive; for, like the earlier one over Harsha, it is mentioned in many records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as the most glorious achievement of their enemies, the Early Chālukyas.1 The identification of Vajjada and the approximate date of this victory will be discussed later on.2 Dadda III flourished from circa 665 A. C. to 690 A. C.

Dadda III's son and successor Jayabhata III is known from two records.3 His Navsāri plates were issued from his camp at Kāyāvatāra (the modern Kārwān, about 15 m. south of Baroda). They record the grant of the village Samīpadraka near Kārwān on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in K. 456 (706 A. C.). The second set of plates, though discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik, registers the grant of a village near Nandipuri (Nandod in the former Rajpipla State) on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Libra in K. 460 (710 A. C.). The plates were issued from Bharukachchha.

In both the grants we find the old racial name Gurjara of the family discarded, and the claim made instead that the royal family was descended from Karna, evidently the hero of the Bhārata war.4 Like his father, Jayabhata III was a Saiva and won the pañchamahāsabda. His descendants give him a higher title Mahāsāmantādhipati 'the lord of the great feudatories', but it is not noticed in his own records. Jayabhata III probably flourished from circa

690 A. C. to 715 A. C.

The next prince Ahirola, the son of Jayabhata III, is known only from the grants of his son Jayabhata IV. He had the same titles as his father, and was, like him, a devotee of Siva. If the description given of him is not altogether conventional, he seems to have been a learned, pious and self-controlled prince. His reign was altogether uneventful and probably very short. He may be referred to the period 715-720 A. C.

Ahirōla's son and successor was Jayabhata IV. He is known from two copperplate records.5 The earlier one which is fragmentary was discovered at Kavi. It registers the grant of some land in favour of the god Aśramadeva installed at Kēmajju, not far from Kāvī in the Broach District. The grant was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer in K. 486 (736 A.C.). The second record, which was incised nearly three months and a half later in the same year, registers the grant of the village Mannatha in the same district to a Brāhmaṇa of the Hētāvuka sub-caste.

The description of Jayabhata IV in both these records is given generally in conventional terms. Like his father, he was a Saiva and Mahāsāmantādhipati. There is, however, one verse in a rather corrupt form which refers to an important historical event.6 We learn from it that Jayabhata, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhi the Tajikas who oppressed all people. This verse which occurs in the Kāvī plate also had been known for a long time; but several letters of it were lost by the breaking off of its right and left upper edges. Bühler, who edited the Kāvī plate, had, therefore, no complete text of the verse before him. One of his readings was also incorrect. His translation, 'who (i.e., Jayabhata) by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi,'7 was responsible for the conclusion, drawn by him and others who followed him, that this Jayabhata inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhi.

2 See below, pp. lx ff.

A Perupusia and this seed a

¹ See e.g. the Anjanavati plates of Govinda III, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 14.

^a The Kāvī plate dated K. 486 was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhata III, whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K. 456. But the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24), recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhata IV.

This is also noticed in the earlier Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

⁵ Nos. 23 and 24.

See below, pp. lxiv ff.

⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 115.

The correct reading of the verse which can now be restored with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows, on the other hand, that Jayabhaṭa went to the rescue of the king of Valabhī, when his capital was attacked by the Tājikas or Arabs, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy.

Jayabhaṭa IV may have come to the throne in circa 720 A. C. His Kāvī and Prince of Wales Museum grants are both dated in 736 A.C. The first encounter with the Arabs, in which Jayabhaṭa obtained a decisive victory, must, therefore, be placed between 720 A.C. and 735 A.C. The only period during this interval when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy was that of the governorship of Junaid. Al Bilādurī¹ tells us that after defeating Jaishiya and storming Kīraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marmad, Mandal, Dahanaj and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujain, Māliba and Baharīmad, and conquered Bailaimān and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhī.² Jayabhaṭa IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to the help of the king of Valabhī and defeated the Arabs. Now, Junaid was appointed Governer of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalif Hasham (724-743 A. C.). As he was succeeded about 726 A. C. by Tamīm,³ we may place the raid of Valabhī in circa 725 A. C. The contemporary king of Valabhī who was thus saved by Jayabhaṭa IV was probably Sīlāditya V.*

But the Arabs were not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhaṭa himself, and pressed forward as far as Navasārikā. At this point their further advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, who inflicted a crushing defeat on them some time before 740 A. C., the date of his Navsāri plates. The Gurjara kingdom was thereafter probably annexed by the Gujarat Chālukyas. After the overthrow of the latter by the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, the country to the north of the Kim was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family with its capital at Bharukachchha. The Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivaḍḍha, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa, were issued from Bharukachchha in V. 813 (756 A. C.).

The Gurjara kingdom seems to have been bounded by the Kim in the south and the Arabian sea in the west. Northward it followed the course of the Mahī up to the former Rewakantha Agency, from where the boundary line ran along the eastern limit of the Panch-Mahals District to Chhota-Udaipur in the east. Over this country the Gurjaras ruled almost continuously for six generations comprising about a hundred and twenty years. Their capital was at first Nāndīpurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State), as all the records of Dadda II are issued from it. After him it seems to have been shifted to the prosperous emporium Bharukachchha (Broach). Of the five later records—one of Dadda III, two of Jayabhaṭa III and two of Jayabhaṭa IV—one was issued from the royal camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwān) south of Baroda, and two from Bharukachchha (without the addition of a word like vāsakāt), while the place of issue in the case of the other two is not known. It is again noteworthy that the expeditions of Dharasēna IV, Sīlāditya III and later on of the Arabs were directed against Broach itself. It was, therefore, probably the later capital of the Gurjaras.

¹ E. D. H. I., Vol. I, p. 126.

² Prof. Hodivala has ingeniously suggested that Māliba against which Junaid sent an army may be Baliba (Valabhī).

⁸ E. D. H. I., Vol. I, p. 442.

⁴ He was ruling in G. 403 (722-23 A. C.). See I. N. I. Nos. 1369-70.

⁵ See No. 30, II. 25 ff.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.

The Gurjaras were staunch adherents of Hinduism. Nearly all their grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The earlier rulers down to Jayabhata II were worshippers of the Sun, while the later ones were, without exception, devotees of Siva.

THE SENDRAKAS OF GUJARAT

The Sēndrakas first appear on the political horizon of South India as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kadambas. The Gokak plates,1 dated in circa 532-33 A.C., mention the Sēndraka prince Indraņanda as a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja. He was ruling over the territory round Jamkhandi, about 80 miles south by east of Kolhapur. Some other records mention the Sendrakas in connection with the Kadambas. A copperplate inscription2 of the Kadamba king Harivarman records the royal grant of the village Marade at the request of Bhanusakti who is described therein as 'the ornament of the family of the Sendrakas.' Another Kadamba inscription3 mentions the Sendraka-vishaya or the home province of the Sēndrakas. After the fall of the Kadambas, the Sēndrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them became matrimonially connected. From the Chiplun plates of Pulakēśin II4 we learn that his maternal uncle Srīvallabha Sēnānanda was 'an ornament of the Sēndrakas.' He was probably ruling over South Konkan as a feudatory of Pulakēśin II as the latter sanctioned his grant of the village Amravāṭaka and some allotment at another village Avañchapāli in the Avarētika vishaya.5 These villages were evidently situated in the vicinity of Chiplun, the former being probably identical with Ambōli, 15 m. north of Chiplun. Another Sēndraka chief seems to have been appointed to govern some part of the Banavasi kingdom which had been conquered from the Kadambas; for, a later inscription of the time of Pulakeśin II's grandson Vinayāditya6 mentions the Mahārāja Pōgilli of the Sēndraka family ruling over the Nagarkhand District, which, as we know from other records, was comprised in the Banavāsi Twelve-thousand. Again, the Sēndraka feudatory Dēvaśakti is mentioned in a record of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I, found in Karnul District of the Madras State.7 The Sendrakas claimed to be of the Bhujagendra anvaya8 or Phanindra vamsa.9 They, therefore, belonged to the Naga race. Their modern representatives are the Sindes, whose crest contains the Naga emblem.

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II divided their extensive kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kim in the north to the Damanganga in the south was placed in charge of a Sendraka chief. The

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 31; J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 239.

³ Ep. Carn., Vol. V, p. 594-

Ep. Ind., Vol. III p. 50. For three other Sendraka inscriptions of the same period, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

⁵ Mr. Jackson suggested that Avaretika was identical with Aparanta. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX,

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 142.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 239. Astone inscription at Lakshmeshvar (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.) near the south-east corner of the Dharwar District mentions king Durgašakti, son of Kundašakti who was son of Vijayaśakti of the Sendraka family, as a contemporary of Satyāśraya, son of Raņaparākrama (who is obviously intended to be Pulakësin II, son of Kirtivarman I), but the inscription is spurious. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XXX, p. 218.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 106.

o S. M. H. D., Vol. I, pp. 21 and 82-83.

Sēndrakas ruled over this territory for three generations. They seem to have made numerous grants; for, Pandit Bhagvanlal once informed Dr. Bühler that he had in his possession several sets of Sēndraka plates from Southern Gujarat.¹ It is very unfortunate that they are not forthcoming now.

Only four grants² of the family have been published so far. Of these, three were made by Allasakti. The earliest of them was discovered at Kāsārē in West Khandesh. Before its publication it was thought that the rule of the Sēndrakas was confined to Southern Gujarāt. The Kāsārē plates of Allasakti³ which register his donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēṭa, modern Pimpalner,⁴ about 45 miles west of Dhulia, clearly show that the Sēndrakas held Khandesh also. The plates are dated in the year 404 of the Kalachuri era (653 A. C.). Another inscription of Allasakti was found at Bagumrā⁵ in the Surat District. It is dated in the Kalachuri year 406 (656 A. C.), and registers the grant of the village Balisa, the modern Wanesa in the Bārḍoli tālukā of the Surat District.

From these grants we learn that Bhānuśakti, who is called Nikumbha in the Kāsārē plates, was the founder of the family. As his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in 653 and 656 A. C., Bhānuśakti has to be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. C. He seems, therefore, to have been invested by Pulakēśin II with the government of Southern Gujarat and Khandesh after the defeat of the Kalachuri Buddharāja. In his grants he is said to have attained victory in the clash of many battles with the onslaught of four-tusked elephants. His son was Ādityaśakti, and the latter's son, Allaśakti. In his grants Allaśakti claims to have won the pañchamahāśabda and assumes the birudas Prithivivallabba and Nikumbha.

The Sēndrakas, though they were raised to power by the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, make no mention of their liege lords in their grants. From this Dr. Fleet inferred that the Bagumrā grant 'belongs to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance'. When Fleet wrote, this inference appeared quite justified; because in other inscriptions of that period such as the Navsāri and Surat plates of Sryāśraya Sīlāditya, the reigning sovereign was invariably mentioned. Since then several other grants of the period have come to light, e.g., the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti and the Mundakhēdē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, in which the reigning suzerain is not specifically mentioned, but which were made after the

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 267. Pandit Bhagvanlal is known to have bequeathed by his will all his coins and copper-plates to the British Museum (ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 297), but no Sēndraka grant can now be traced there.

^{*} Two of these, viz., the Nāgad plates of Allasakti and the Mundakhēdē plates of Allasakti's son Jaya-sakti bear dates of the Saka era, and are, therefore, not included in this Volume. The Nāgad plates dated in Saka 577 (656 A.C.) were issued from Allasakti's camp near Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwān in Gujarat) and record his grant of a village near Nāndīpuradvārī (modern Nandurbar in West Khandesh). (N. I. A., Vol. I, pp. 747-48). For an account of the Mundakhēdē plates, dated Saka 602 (681 A.C.), see below, p. lix, n. 2.

No. 25.

⁴ Some lines originally engraved on the second plate were cancelled and others incised over them. The statement refers to the later record.

⁵ No. 26.

⁶ His name is given as Nikumbhallaśakti by Bühler, but that Nikumbha was only a biruda is evident from the seal of the Kāsārē plates which has the legend Allaśakti. The same name occurs in 1.17 of the Kāsārē plates. Nikumbha is prefixed as a biruda to the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. See his Mundakhēdē plates, A. R. B. I. S. M. for Saka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁷ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 361.

⁸ Fleet pointed out that no paramount sovereign is mentioned in the Kairā plates of Vijayarāja (No. 34) which he referred to the same period. But the record is spurious.

re-establishment of Chālukya suzerainty even according to Fleet's view. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Sēndrakas, though there was undoubtedly much disturbance and disorder in the Chālukya dominion owing to Pallava invasions

in the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign.

After the issue of the Bagumrā plates, however, the Sēndrakas seem to have been ousted from Southern Gujarat; for within fifteen years from the date of that grant we find a subordinate branch of the Western Chālukyas established in the lower Tāpī valley. The next date of the Kalachuri era that comes from Gujarat, viz., K. 421, is furnished by the grant1 which the prince-regent Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya made on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. As we shall see later, it records the gift of a village situated within twenty miles of Balisa or Wanesa which was granted by the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. It is plain, therefore, that Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya was ruling over the same territory which was previously held by the Sēndrakas. The Sēndrakas then removed their seat of government to Khandesh, where we find Allasakti's son Jayasakti granting the village Sēṇāṇā by his Mundakhēḍē plates² dated Saka 602 (680 A. C.). The donated village is now represented by Saundane near the western border of the Khandesh District. The use of the Saka era in dating the record also shows that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalachuri era remained current for more than half a century afterwards.3

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II seems to have annexed Maharashtra to the country under his direct rule.4 In the AihōJē inscription5 he is called the lord of the three Mahārāshtras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages. Yuan Chwang, who travelled in South India during his reign, also mentions him as the king of Mo-hala-ch'a (Maharashtra).6 Pulakēśin seems to have placed the southern districts, viz., Satara, Panadharpur and perhaps also Sholapur under his younger brother Vishnuvardhana; for, the Satara plates7 of the latter prince record the grant of a village on the southern

1 No. 27. The Manor plates of Jayasraya Mangalarasa, which have been published recently, mention Saka 613 (691-92 A.C.) as the twenty-first year, evidently, of the reign of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 21. The dynastic change seems, therefore, to have occurred in 671 A.C. The Surat plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, dated K. 421 (670-71), seem to have been issued soon after Gujarat

came into the possession of Jayasimha.

3 The Navsāri plates, the last record of Gujarat dated in the Kalachuri era, were granted in K. 490

^{*} These plates have been edited twice in Marāṭhī, first in the Marāṭhī journal Prabhāta (Vol. I) of Dhulia and then in A. R. B. I. S. M. (Saka 1834), but unfortunately they are not forthcoming now. The plates were found in the possession of the Patel of Mundakhēdē, not far from Dhulia. They were issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, of the Sendraka family from Jayapuradvārī and record the grant of the village Sēṇāṇā in the vishaya of Kundalikāmala to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kallivana. I have elsewhere identified these places. Thus, Jayapuradvāri, which was so called probably because it was situated at the entrance to a defile, is modern Jeur, 6 m. north of Nandgaon, which lies at the entrance to the valley between the Sātmālā and Ajantā ranges. Kundalikāmala is Kundalgaon, 11 m. south-west of Jeur. Sēnāṇā, the donated village, is the modern Saundane near Kundalgaon. The grant, therefore, undoubtedly belongs to Khāndesh. The Nasik District was then under Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. See No. 28.

⁽⁷⁴⁰ A.C.). 4 The Nirpan grant of Nagavardhana mentions Dharasraya-Jayasimha as a younger brother of Pulakēšin apparently as the ruler of the Nasik District, but the grant is probably spurious; for, Dharāśraya-Jayasimha was Pulakēšin's son, not brother. See also Bomb. Gaz., Vol. 1, part ii, p. 358, n. 1.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

[.] O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 239.

^{*} Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 303.

bank of the Bhīmā. The districts in Northern Maharashtra together with the country near the western coast seem to have been under Pulakēśin's direct rule.¹ His second capital was probably Nasik. This city, as Fleet has shown,² answers to the description of Pulakēśin's capital given by the Chinese traveller.

Vikramāditya I, who succeeded Pulakēśin II, appointed his younger brother Dharāśraya-Jayasimha to govern South Gujarat, parts of North Konkan and the Nasik District. The Navasāri plates of Jayasimha's son Sryāsraya-Sīlāditya, which were evidently issued soon after this appointment, state explicitly that the prosperity of Jayasimha was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I.³ The Sēndrakas who were previously ruling over South Gujarat moved to Khandesh. This change seems to have occurred in 671 A. C.; for, the recently discovered Manor plates state that Saka 613 (691-92) was the twenty-first regnal year of Jayasimha.⁴

Jayasimha seems to have himself ruled over only the Nasik District. The Nasik plates dated in K. 436 (685 A. C.) record his grant of a village in that district. He placed his two sons in charge of the other parts of his kingdom, investing them with power to make grants of land in their own name. His elder son Yuvarāja Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, who ruled over South Gujarat, is known to have made two grants of land recorded in the Navsāri and Surat plates.5 These are dated in the Kalachuri era which was then current in Gujarat. His second son Jayasraya-Mangalarasa also made two land-grants recorded in the Manor and Balsar plates.6 These are dated in the Saka era which was apparently current in parts of North Konkan where Jayasraya-Mangalarasa was ruling. The Nasik plates state that with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmada.7 As we have already seen, this country was under the rule of the Gurjara princes who called themselves Sāmantas and evidently owed allegiance to the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems that some king named Vajjada invaded the country of the Gurjaras, evidently from the North. The Gurjara ruler sought the help of his suzarain, the Chalukya Emperor Vikramaditya I, who ordered Jayasimha to proceed to the north to the rescue of the Gurjara feudatory. He won a decisive victory which is placed on a par with Pulakeśin II's brilliant victory over Harsha and mentioned as one of the most glorious achievements of the Western Chālukyas in many records of their political successors, the Rāshṭrakūṭas.8

Before the discovery of Jayasimha's Nasik plates, no reference to this victory over Vajjada was known to occur in any record of the Western Chālukyas. Fleet, however, conjectured that this victory was identical with the one obtained by Vinayāditya over some paramount king of North India, which is mentioned in the records of his son and successor Vijayāditya. Thus from the Nerur plates of the latter, dated Saka 622 and 627, we

¹ The Löhaner plates, dated Saka 552 (630-31 A.C.) record Pulakesin II's grant of a village in the Baglan tälukä of the Nasik District. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, pp. 37 ff.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 115.

⁸ No. 27, L9. ⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ Nos. 27 and 29.

⁶ Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVIII pp. 17 ff. and J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁷ See No. 28, lines 9-13.

Bantivarman, the founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa power, is thus described काञ्चीशकेरलनराविषकोल-पाण्डधश्रीहर्षक खटाविभेदविषानदक्षम् । कार्णाटकं बलमनन्तमजेयमन्येभृत्यैः कियद्भिर्राप यः सहसा जिनाय ॥ See, e.g., Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 14. Vajraṭa, mentioned here, is plainly identical with the Vajjaḍa of the Nāsik plates.

Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 368.

The same view has been stated recently by Venkataramanayya, who identifies this paramount king with Vajrāyudha of Kanauj. Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XX, pp. 181 ff. I have examined it in detail in the same journal, Vol. XX, pp. 353 ff.

learn that Vinayaditya acquired the palidhvaja banner and all other insignia of sovereignty by vanquishing the lord of the whole Uttarapatha (North India).1 The Nasik plates, however, clearly show that the two victories were not identical. For, Jayasimha's victory was decisive; he is said to have completely exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the territory between the Mahī and the Narmadā. On the other hand, Vinayāditya did not emerge completely triumphant in his encounter with the lord paramount of North India; for, though with the help of his valiant son Vijayaditya, he won the palidbvaja banner, the signs of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna, the insignia of dhakka, elephants, etc., he was not altogether happy, as his son Vijayaditya was taken captive by the retreating hostile forces. Secondly, Jayasimha's success was attained sometime before K. 436 (685 A. C.), the date of the Nāsik plates, while Vinayaditya's battle with the emperor of the North was not fought till Saka 616 (694 A.C.) at least, since it is not referred to in his Harihar plates2 issued in that year. It is mentioned for the first time in the Nerur plates of his son Vijayaditya, dated Saka 622. The war seems to have been fought towards the end of Vinayaditya's reign; for, he died soon thereafter while his son was in captivity. There was anarchy in the kingdom, which Vijayaditya suppressed when he effected his escape.3 We may, therefore, date it in circa 695 A. C. Jayasimha was probably living at the time; for, only two years before this date his son Yuvarāja Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya made a grant in his name;4 but he was then probably too old to take the field. Vajjada is, therefore, not identical with the lord paramount of North India defeated by Vinayaditya.

Who was then this king Vajjada? The name is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraţa or Vajrabhaţa. As stated above, the Rāshṭrakūṭa records name the king as Vajraṭa, but they belong to a much later age. Besides, no name like Vajraṭa occurs in any genealogical list of the period.⁵ Even if we take the name to be Vajrabhaṭa, we get no better result. Similar names ending in bhaṭa no doubt occur in the dynastic lists of the Gurjara-Pratihāras⁶ and the Maitrakas of Valabhi,⁷ but there is no name in them corresponding to Vajjaḍa. The Vasantagadh inscription⁸ dated V. 682 indeed mentions one Vajrabhaṭa as a feudatory of Varmalāta; but he flourished too early for this invasion which, as we have seen, took place between K. 406 and K. 436 (656 A.C. and 685 A. C.); for his son Rajjila was on the throne in V. 682 (625 A. C.). The history of North India between the death of Harsha and the rise of Yaśōvarman is shrouded in obscurity. So the problem of the identity of Vajraṭa is likely to remain unsolved until more records bearing upon it come to light. But the conjecture may be hazarded that he was Silāditya III, the king of Valabhī (circa 660-685 A. C.).⁹ He was a very powerful ruler; for he assumed the imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramē-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 125 and 130.

² Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

^{*} Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 125. See the description of Vijayaditya in the Nerur plates.

⁴ That Jayasimha lived for some years after 693 A.C. is rendered probable by the fact that the name of his son Śryāśraya-Śilāditya is omitted in the grants of Mangalarāja and Pulakēśin. This is generally taken to indicate that he predeceased his father.

⁵ Two princes of this name are mentioned in I. N. I., Nos. 1657 and 1664, but they belong to much later periods.

⁶ For instance, Nāgabhaṭas I and II in the Imperial Pratīhāra Dynasty.

⁷ For instance, Dhruvabhața, the son-in-law of Harsha, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and Dērabhața mentioned in I. N. I., Nos. 1352 and 1353.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 191.

⁹ Silāditya III may have been provoked into launching this attack on the Gurjara kingdom by Dadda III's incursion into the Valabhī territory. See above, p. liv.

svara. From a copper-plate inscription1 recently published by Mr. A. S. Gadre, it seems that Silāditya III occupied the Gurjara country for some time during this very period; for the inscription records his grant of a field in the village Antika situated in the vishaya of Bharukachchha (modern Broach) to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at Sraddhikā, modern Sādhi, about 5 miles south by west of Padra in the Baroda District. The grant is dated in G. 357 (676-77 A. C.), i. e., only about 9 years before Jayasimha's Nasik grant which records his victory over Vajjada. Now, Bharukachchha was not only included in the country of the Gurjaras, but was their capital in this period. When a foreign ruler makes a grant in this district, it clearly indicates that the Gurjaras had lost their hold over that territory. The dates of the Gurjara kings also suggest that they had suffered reverses in this period. Between K. 392 (642 A. C.), the last known date of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga and K. 456 (706 A. C.), the next known date of his great-grandson Jayabhata III, there is a gap of 64 years. Two Gurjara princes Jayabhata II and Dadda III ruled in this period, but only one record of this period has been discovered.2 These were troublous times for the Gurjaras; for, their country was invaded twice by the Maitrakas of Valabhi, their powerful neighbours on the west. The first invader was Dharasena IV. This king, who assumed the imperial titles Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēšvara and Chakravartin, issued two grants from his victorious camp at Bharukachchha in G. 330 (649-50 A. C.).3 The villages granted lay, however, in the Khetaka vishaya outside the Gurjara kingdom. Dharasēna IV seems, therefore, to have only raided the Gurjara territory. He did not annex it to his kingdom. This invasion took place during the reign of Jayabhata II (circa 645-665 A. C.). Twenty-seven years later Sīlāditya III tried to emulate the achievement of his ancestor. He invaded the Gurjara kingdom and occupied the territory round Broach for some time as is indicated by his aforementioned grant of G. 357 (676-77 A. C.).4 Dadda III-Bāhusahāya then sought the aid of the Chālukya Emperor, by whose command Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, who was ruling over the adjoining territory, proceeded to the north and drove the enemy out of the Gurjara kingdom. It is noteworthy that the Navsāri plates of Javabhata III, son and successor of Dadda III, record his grant of land to a Brāhmana who also, like the donee of Sīlāditya III's grant, had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at the same village Sraddhikā. This clearly shows that the Gurjaras had recovered possession of the Bharukachchha vishaya before K. 456.

It may, however, be objected that Sīlāditya III is not known by the name Vajraṭa. This objection has not much force; for from the middle of the seventh century A. C. Sīlāditya became the conventional name of all kings of Valabhī. Sīlāditya III was followed by four other kings, all of whom were known by the same name Sīlāditya. As in the case of the Daddas and the Jayabhaṭas of the Gurjara dynasty, they must have had other personal names by which they were distinguished from one another. Some of the predecessors of Sīlāditya III had personal names in addition to those ending in āditya. See, e. g., the names of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya and Kharagraha II-Dharmāditya. Some of these names again ended in fa. The inference seems, therefore, justifiable that Vajraṭa was another name of Sīlāditya III. His defeat by Dharāśraya-Jayasimha may have occurred some time between 677 A. C. and 685 A. C.

¹ Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol. I, pp. 18 ff.

¹ See No. 121, pp. 617 ff., below.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff.; and XV, pp. 329 ff.

⁴ This is the only grant of land in the Broach District made by Śīlāditya III. He did not make four such grants as incorrectly stated by Gadre. Important Inscriptions etc., p. 18.

Two inscriptions of the time of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha have been found in Southern Gujarat. The earlier one, dated K. 421 (671 A. C.), records the grant of the village Āsatti-grāma, which Bühler has identified with Astgaon, 7 miles south-east of Navasāri.1 The second inscription,2 dated K. 443 (693 A. C.), which was found at Surat, registers the grant of a field in the village of Osumbhala, modern Umbhel, 7 miles south of Kamrej. Both these grants were made by the prince-regent Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya-the former from Navasārikā and the latter from his victorious camp at Kusumēśvara (modern Kōsmārā, 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl). That he was ruling on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha is indicated not only by his title Ywarāja, but also by the seal of the latter grant which bears the legend Srī-Dharāśraya. Jayasimha seems to have lived for a few years after K. 443; for, his son Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya apparently predeceased him, since his name is omitted in the later records of the dynasty.

Jayasimha's younger son Mangalarasa who succeeded him3 was ruling in North Konkan. He is known to have made two land grants. The Manor plates recently discovered in the Thana District, Bombay State, are dated in the Saka year 613 (691 A. C.). They mention the prince's name with the birndas, Vinayāditya, Prithivīvallabha, Yuddhamalla and Jayasraya, and record his grant of some villages and hamlets for the worship of the Sun-god and the repairs of his temple at Manapura, modern Manor in the Palghar tālukā of the Thana District. Another copper-plate grant of this prince was found at Balsar in the Surat District.4 It was made at Mangalapuri which was probably founded by Mangalarasa himself and was evidently his capital. This grant mentions the same birudas of Mangalarasa. It is dated in the Saka year 653 (731-32 A. C.). Mangalapuri has not been identified, but the dating of the record in the Saka era suggests that the grant must have been made outside Gujarat,5 probably in North Konkan where the Saka era was then current. The plates, though granted in Konkan, seem to have been taken over to Gujarat just as the Anjaneri plates of Jayabhata, issued in Central Gujarat, were found in the Nasik District and the Kāsāre plates of Allasakti, also issued in Gujarat, were discovered in West Khandesh. Besides, if the grant had been made in Gujarat, Navasārikā, which was the Chālukya capital in South Gujarat, would in all probability have been mentioned as the place of issue. Mangalarasa is also mentioned with only one biruda Jayāśraya in the Navsāri plates6 of his younger brother Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. From the description given therein it appears that Mangalarasa regained by the might of his arm the territory which had previously been lost. The name of the enemy from whom he wrested it has, however, not been specified.

It has been generally held that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin succeeded Mangalarasa in Southern Gujarat; for, in his Navsāri plates dated K. 490, he mentions himself as medi-

¹ No. 27.

² No. 28.

² If the date of the Kairā plates of the Chālukya Vijayarāja is referred to the Gupta era, Vijayarājā will have to be placed between Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya and Mangalarasa, but the plates are probably spurious. See below, pp. 168-69.

⁴ This record is known only from the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 5. The original plates have not been published. From Bhagvanlal's account it appears that the name of the donor is given therein as Mangalaraja.

⁵ It must, however, be admitted that the Nagad plates of Allasakti, though issued from his camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwān) in Gujarat, are dated in the Saka era. This was probably because the grant was of a village in Khandesh where the Saka era was current. The Mundakhēdē plates of Allasakti's son Jayasakti are likewise dated in the Saka era. District and the second state of the second

⁸ No. 30.

tating on his feet. But a careful study of the record shows that while the expression denoting succession which occurs as many as three times in that record is tat-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on his feet), that used to express Pulakēśin's relation to his brother is tat-pāda-pankāj-ārādhan-ānudhyāta¹ (meditating on the propitiation of his lotus-like feet). The difference in the two expressions is certainly striking and seems to suggest that Pulakēśin was ruling in Gujarat contemporaneously with his brother who was governing parts of North Konkan.

The Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin record his grant of a village in the ābāra and vishaya of Kārmaņēya (modern Kamrej, 10 m. north-east of Surat). They are dated in K. 490 (740 A. C.). Their historical importance lies in the graphic account they furnish of Pulakēśin's victory over the Tājikas or Arabs. The Arabs, we are told, had already conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshtra, Chāvōtaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings before they invaded the district of Navasārikā in the course of their campaign to conquer all the kings of the Dakshinapatha. We find this description fully corroborated by the account of Muhammadan chroniclers. Of the princes named above, Saindhava is generally identified with the king of Sindh. From Futu-hu-l Buldan2 of Al Biladuri also we know that during the Khalifat of Walid I, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, crossed the Sindhu and defeated and killed Dāhir, the king of Sindh. Sulaimān, the successor of Walid I, called back Muhammad. Jaisingh, son of Dāhir, took advantage of this opportunity to regain his territory; but when Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh during the Khalifat of Hasham (724-743 A. C.), he again pursued a vigorous policy and defeated and killed Jaisingh.3 It appears, however, from the Ghumli plates recently discovered, that the Saindhava king defeated by the Arab army was probably Pushyadeva (circa 734-754 A. C.), the founder of the Saindhava feudatory family which ruled in North Saurashtra.4 Kachchella is the king of Cutch. One of the Arab raids during the governorship of Junaid was directed against Kiraj which Elliot identified with Cutch.5 Saurāshtra was under the Maitrakas of Valabhī. Though their territory was invaded by the Arabs, they repelled the attack with the help of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata IV.6 Perhaps in a later raid the Arabs were more successful. The Chavotaka king was plainly of the Chāpa dynasty which was ruling at Bhilmal. This can be inferred from the statement in the Brahmagupta-siddhanta that the astronomer Brahmagupta, the Bhillamalakāchārya or the teacher residing at Bhilmal, wrote the Siddhānta in the Saka year 550 (628 A. C.) under Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty.7 From Al Bilāduri's work also we learn that Junaid raided Bailaman which is probably identical with Bhilmal. The Maurya king was probably Dhavala who is known from the Kanaswa inscription of his friend Sivagana,8 dated V. 795 (738-39 A. C.). He was probably ruling over the country corresponding to modern Mewad.9 Finally, the Gurjara king was probably

¹ This expression clearly shows that pād-ānudbyāta which occurs frequently in Sanskrit inscriptions means 'meditating on the feet of' and not 'blessed or favoured by the feet of' as suggested by some scholars. See my note on the expression in Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XX, pp. 288 ff.

^{*} E. D. H. I., Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

¹ Loc. cit., p. 125.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 189.

B. D. H. I., p. 391.

⁶ See above, p. lv.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 55 ff.

Dhavala is probably identical with Dhavalappadeva whose inscription dated G. 407 was found at Dabok in Mewad (A. B. O. R. I., Vol. X, p. 31, n. 1).

Jayabhata IV whose kingdom the Arabs must have overrun before they advanced as far as Navsāri.

The Navsāri plates record that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin inflicted a defeat on the invading Arab army. This raid is evidently later than that which was directed against Broach during the governorship of Junaid; for, as we have seen, the latter must have taken place in circa 725 A. C., as Junaid was succeeded by Tamīn about 726 A. C. The raid against Navsāri is not recorded by Muslim chroniclers probably because the Arabs this time sustained a crushing defeat. The graphic and detailed description of the fight, which for its vigour is unsurpassed in inscriptional literature, suggests that it must have been composed soon after the fight. Again, the wording of the eulogistic part of the grant shows that it must have been drafted after the annexation of the Gurjara principality. We may, therefore, date the Arab raid about 739 A. C.

The Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi, whose name has not been specifically mentioned, but who must have been Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.), was so much pleased with Pulakēśin's heroism that he conferred on him the four titles Dakshināpathasādhāra (the Pillar of Dakshināpatha), Chalukkikulālankāra (the Ornament of the Chālukya family) Prithivīvallabha (the dear Lord of the Earth) and Anivartakānivartayitri (the Repeller of the unrepellable). Pulakēśin seems to have annexed the territory to the north of the Kīm after this Arab raid.

Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas. Within eighteen years after the date of the Navsāri plates we find a Rāshṭra-kūṭa family established in the Surat District. The Antroli-Chharoli plates³ of the Rāshṭra-kūṭa prince Karka II, dated Saka 679 (757 A. C.), record the grant of the village Sthāvara-pallikā (the modern Chharoli in the Surat District). The country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family⁴ which owed allegiance to the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty of Jābālipura (modern Jālōr).5

The country under the rule of the Gujarat Chālukyas originally extended along the western coast from the Kīm in the north to the Thana District in the South. Eastward it stretched up to the Ghāṭs. This kingdom was extended by Pulakēśin who annexed the Gurjara territory to it.⁶ Mangalapurī, not yet identified, was the capital of Mangalarasa,

Al Biladuri, however, has recorded that in the days of Tamim, the successor of Junaid, the Musal-mans retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions. E. D. H. I., Vol. I, p. 126.

² The eulogistic portion of the record on the Navsāri plates contains some expressions which are known to occur only in Gurjara grants; see below, p. 280.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 106.

⁴ See the Hansot plates of the Chahamana Bhartrivaddha, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁵ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 398.

a marriage pandal at Kheṭaka (modern Kairā) that a Chālukya princess was abducted by the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. See Ep.Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 243. The princess is supposed to be the daughter of either Maṅgalarasa or Pulakeśin. This view is open to several objections. If the Ellora plates of Dantidurga are dated in Saka 663, they would show that the marriage must have taken place in any case not later than 720 A.C. Kairā was not then included in the dominion of the Gujarat Chālukyas. Besides, it is doubtful if khēṭaka-maṇḍapa in that passage refers to any place-name at all. It appears there as an adjective of raṇē and means '(in the battle) in which there was a pandal made by the shields (of the fighting men)'. Even if Kheṭaka is taken as a place-name, it cannot refer to Kaira: for (i) it was not included in the kingdom of the Gujarat Chālukyas; and (ii) it was far away from the principality of Indra II. It is doubtful if he was then powerful enough to penetrate so far to the north. Besides, there were other places of that name in the dominion of the Chālukya Emperor where the incident could have happened. See my article on Dantidurga in J. M. S. G. U., Vol. I, p. 36, n. 22.

while Navasārikā, modern Navsāri in the Surat District, was the capital of Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. The grant of K. 421 was made by Sryāśraya Sīlāditya while residing at Navasāri. This was also probably the place of issue in the case of Pulakēśirāja's Navsāri plates, though there is no specific mention to that effect.

The Gujarat Chālukyas were patrons of Hinduism. They were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara. All their known grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and such other rites.

THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

Two sets of Anjaneri plates¹ recently discovered have brought to light a new feudatory family which ruled over Northern Konkan and the Nasik District in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. This family claimed descent from Hariśchandra, doubtless the famous legendary king of the solar race. Svāmichandra, who heads the genealogical list in both the Anjaneri grants, rose to power during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The Anjaneri plates inform us that the Chālukya Emperor loved him as his own son, and it was doubtless by his favour that he became the ruler of 'the entire Konkan country consisting of fourteen thousand villages.' As one of the Anjaneri grants of his grandson Bhōgaśakti is dated in 710-11 A. C., Svāmichandra must have flourished about 660 A. C. Vikramāditya I seems to have appointed him first to rule over Konkan.² Svāmichandra's descendants continued to mention gratefully this favour of Vikramāditya I, though they made no reference to the contemporary Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi.³

Three generations of this family are known from the Anjaneri plates—Svāmi-chandra, his son Simhavarman and the latter's son Bhōgaśakti alias Prithivichandra (the Moon on the earth) who made the two grants. The name of the last prince recalls similar names of Sēndraka princes which also end in śakti. The question, therefore, arises if these princes belonged to the same clan as the Sēndrakas. It must, however, be noted that as Bhōgaśakti traced his descent from Hariśchandra, he could not have belonged to the Sēndraka family which claimed connection with the Nāga race. The lion seal of the Anjaneri plates and the use of small circles to embellish the tops and corners of the letters incised on them indicate some sort of connection with the Kadambas; for we find these peculiarities in the Bannahalli plates of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of this family edited here, that which is dated K. 461 (710-11 A. C.) records the grant of eight villages and certain rights, dues and taxes

¹ Nos. 31 and 32.

The Sanjān plates, edited by Mr. Jackson in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 40 ff., purport to record the grant of Buddhavarasarāja, a younger brother of Pulakēšin II, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Pausha. The plates are not dated, but as the genealogy of the Imperial family is carried down to Vikramāditya I, they purport to belong to his reign. The only year during the period from 645 A. C. to 680 A.C. in which there was a solar eclipse in the amānta Pausha was 660 A.C. Buddhavarasa may, therefore be regarded as a predecessor of Svāmichandra in Northern Konkan; but the plates are probably spurious; because (1) though Buddhavarasarāja claims to be a Chālukya, the emblem on his seal is the figure of a lion and not that of a boar; (2) the grant is very incorrectly written and contains two long expressions borrowed verbatim from II. 10-11 of the Bagumrā grant of Allašakti. The record seems to have been fabricated with the help of Chālukya and Sēndraka grants, and the seal was formed on the model of that of Bhōgaśakti's grants. Prof. Sten Konow also, who has re-edited the grant in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff., regards the plates as spurious.

² In 671 A.C. Vikramaditya I appears to have transferred Thana and some other districts of North Konkan to Dharaśraya-Jayasiniha. See above, p. lx.

in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa who was named Bhōgēśvara evidently after the donor, and was installed in a temple at Jayapura, modern Jarwar Budrukh near Anjaneri in the Nasik District. In the eulogistic portion of the record Bhōgaśakti is said to have brought by his valour the whole territory of his dominion under his sway. As we have seen above, a similar statement is also made about the Chālukya prince Maṅgalarasa who flourished in the same period. This suggests that the two families had experienced a disaster from which they recovered by the valour of Bhōgaśakti and Maṅgalarasa respectively. This was probably at the time of Vinayāditya's death (696 A. C.) when owing to the captivity of his son Vijayāditya there was anarchy in the kingdom.¹ The devastation which the country suffered is reflected in the second set of the Anjaneri plates. From it we learn that Bhōgaśakti granted certain rights, privileges and exemptions to the merchants of Samagiripaṭṭana when he resettled the town and the neighbouring villages some time after their devastation.

The successor of Bhōgaśakti was probably overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga; for, from the Ellorā plates the latter appears to have occupied the Nasik District some time before 715 A. C.²

Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti, is said to have ruled over the whole Kōňkaṇa country consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The country under his sway probably extended along the western coast from the southern limit of the Thana District in the north to the river Vāsishṭhī in the south. Some time after Jayasimha's death in circa 695, Bhōgaśaktī seems to have extended his sway to the Nasik District above the Ghāṭs. The capital of this country was probably Purī as it is said to be the chief city of the Kōňkaṇa of fourteen thousand villages. This city, as we have seen, was also the capital of the Mauryas. It has not yet been definitely located, but may be identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State.³

THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

Until recently there was a perfect blank in the history of the Kalachuris for more than two centuries after the overthrow of Buddharāja. Kōkalla I (circa 850-885 A. C.), mentioned at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁴ and the Banaras plates of Karṇa,⁵ was believed to be the founder of the Tripurī branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The discovery of two lithic records, one at Saugor,⁶ the headquarters of the Saugor District, and the other at Kārītalāi⁷ in the Murwārā tahsīl of the Jabalpur District, has carried back the genealogy of the Tripurī branch by a few generations. The Saugor inscription was put up during the reign of Sankaragaṇa who meditated on the feet of

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 111.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff. As shown elsewhere, I read the date of this grant as K. 463 and take it as equivalent to 715 A.C. If the date is read as 663 and referred to the Saka era, it would be equivalent to 741 A.C.

³ P. I. H. C., (1940), pp. 86 ff.

⁴ No. 45.

⁵ No. 48.

^{*}No. 35. This inscription has been known for a long time. It was listed by Hiralal in the first edition (published in 1916) of his Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar, but he gave no account of it then. In the second edition also of that work he gave no detailed description of its contents. He, however, called it the oldest Kalachuri record and referred it to the ninth century A. C. He doubtfully read in it the name Vägharäja in place of Vämaräja. The contents of the record were for the first time discussed by the present writer in his article entitled 'Vämadeva, An Early Kalachuri King', published in A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas, pp, 152 ff.

⁷ No. 42.

Vāmarājadēva. Both Sankaragaņa and Vāmarājadēva are mentioned in this record with the imperial titles Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēšvara. This Vāmarājadēva is plainly identical with Vāmadēva who is invariably mentioned with the same imperial titles in the beginning of the formal portion of all official records of the Later Kalachuris of Tripuri and on whose feet they are described as meditating.1 Vāmarāja2 was held in such a veneration by all Kalachuri kings of Tripuri probably because he was the founder of the northern Kalachuri power.3

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? The aforementioned Saugor inscription is the earliest record which names him. It is not dated; but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the middle of the eighth century A.C. Though this inscription states that Sankaragana, during whose reign it was put up, meditated on the feet of Vāmarāja, it would be rash to assert that the latter was his immediate predecessor; for, we find the expression Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta repeated in connection with the names of as many as five other kings. But it would not perhaps be wrong to refer Vamaraja to the end of the

seventh century A.C.4

We have seen above how after the overthrow of Buddharaja, the Kalachuris had to remain in obscurity and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukya Emperors. But their stubborn spirit and the memory of their past achievements did not allow them to remain in a subordinate position for a long time. As the Chālukyas were then supreme in the south, the Kalachuris turned their attention to the north where they found a favourable field for the expansion of their power in the latter half of the seventh century A.C. After the death of Harsha, his extensive kingdom crumbled to pieces. In the consequent confusion and scramble for power, Vāmarāja seems to have found the opportunity he was seeking. He overran Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and established himself at Kālanjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad.5 From very ancient times this fort has been sacred to Siva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in North India.6 In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., it was in the occupation of Udayana of the Somavamsi dynasty.7 The subsequent history of the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their

4 As shown below, he was probably identical with the unnamed brother of Lakshmanaraja mentioned in the beginning of the Kahla plates, who lived towards the close of the 7th century A. C.

8 See Padmapurāņa, Svargakhanda, adhyāya 39, v. 54.

¹ Kielhorn has shown that the expression Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādbirāja-Paramēšvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta occurs in connection with five Kalachuri kings, viz., Karņa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasimha, Jayasiriha and Vijayasiriha. For the different interpretations of this expression, see my article on Vāmadēva mentioned above, p. lxvii, n. 6.

In subsequent records, his name has been contracted into Vāmadēva.

³ The expression Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta occurs also in connection with the name of the Chandella king Trailökyamalla or Trailökyavarman in the Dhureti plates of his reign (No. 72) and also in a record of his feudatory Kumārapāladēva of Karkarēdi. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 230 ff. But this is plainly due to the ignorance of the drafters of the records, who blindly copied the expression from earlier inscriptions. It may be noted in this connection that the ancestors of Kumarapaladeva were feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records (Nos. 65 and 68) actually use this expression in connection with the name of the contemporary Kalachuri suzerains.

⁸ The fort of Chitrakūṭa near Kāmtā in Bundelkhaṇḍ may also have been occupied by Vāmarāja. The Kanarese poet Pampa says that it was situated in the Chedi country. J. R. A. S. for 1882, p. 19. In some Rāshtrakūta records, its name is coupled with Kālañjara and the two are described as important outposts of the Rāshtrakūtas. See, e. g., Ep. Ind, Vol. IV, p. 284.

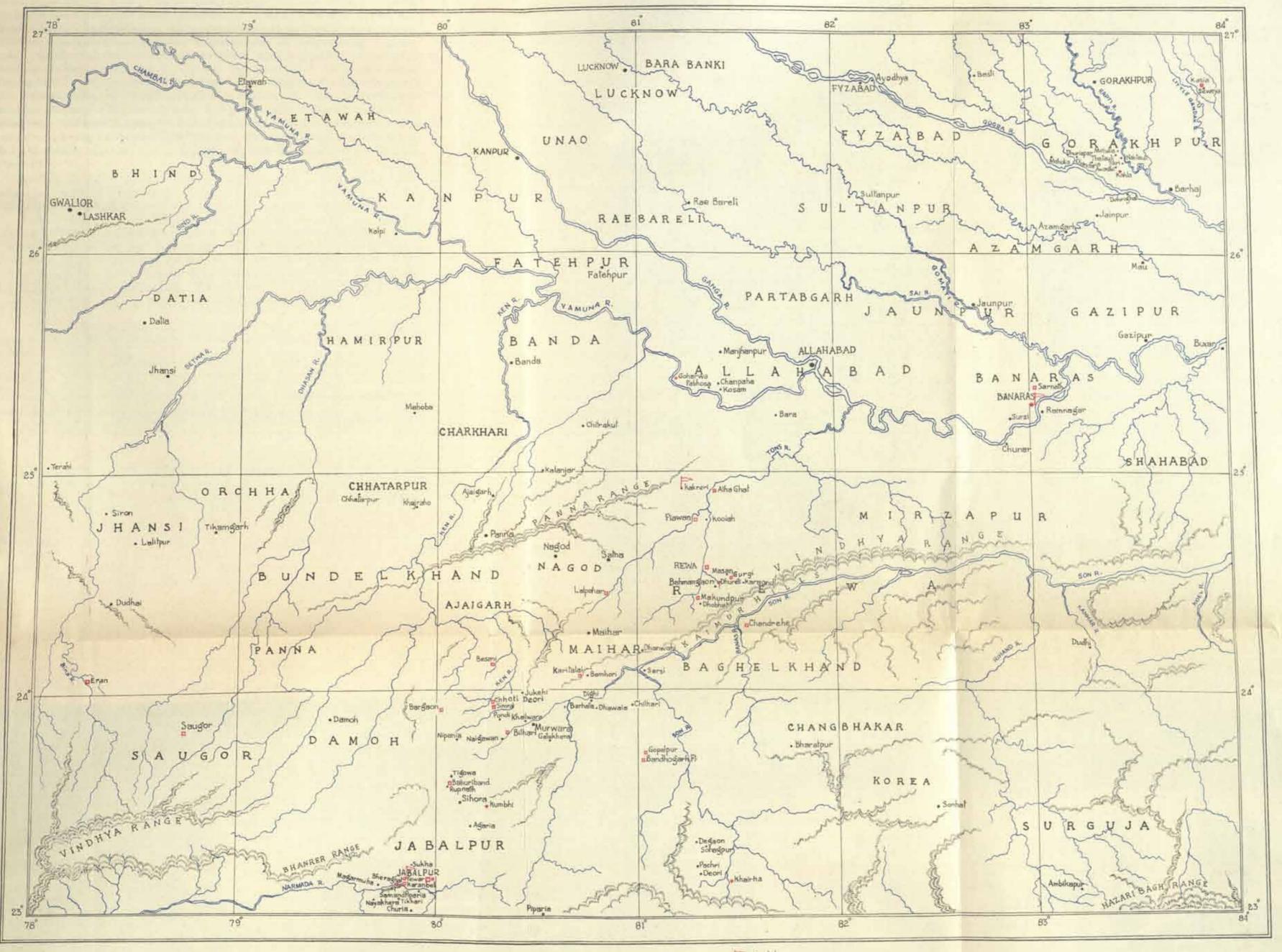
⁷ A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Vishņu has been found at Kālanjara. C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 40 and Plate IX. His descendants moved to Chhattisgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 116. ff.

VOL. IV.

2

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN LATER INSCRIPTIONS

KALACHURI ERA

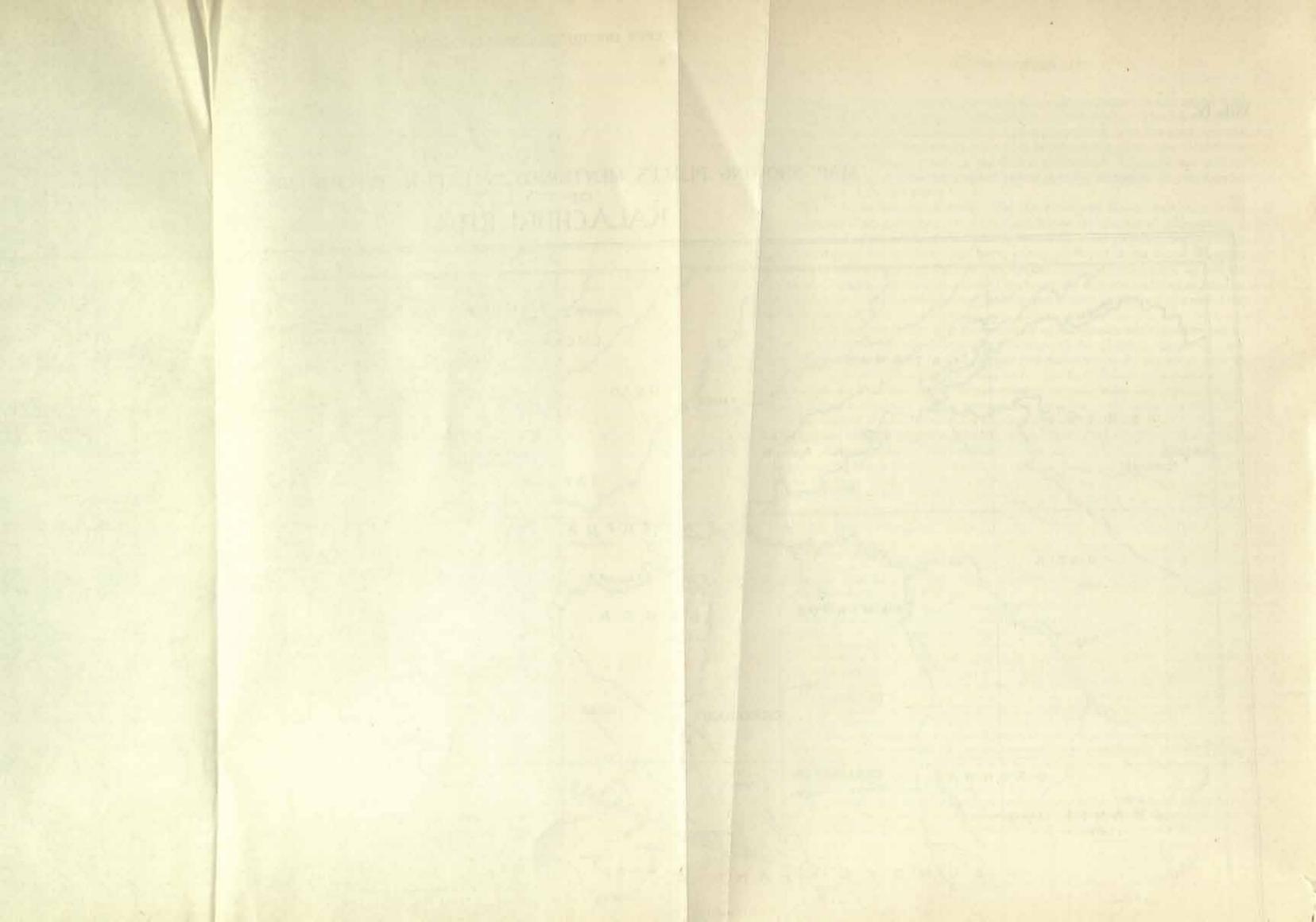


Scale 1.353.680 0.75 Inch to 16 Miles.

Capitals.

• Find-spots of Copper-plates.

• Find-spots of Stone-inscriptions.



possession up to the end of the eighth century A.C. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratīhāras, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Chandēllas and Muhammadans, but the Kalachuris occupation of the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kalachuryas of South India mention with pride in their records the title Kālaājarapuravarādbīśvara, the lord of Kālaājara, the best of cities. This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālaājara.

The Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva⁶ state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara, from where he raided and conquered Ayōmukha (modern Partapgarh and Rai Bareli Districts, U. P.). We are further informed that after having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in turn, conquered Śvētapada. As shown below, this Lakshmaṇarāja is identical with Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription. Like the former, the latter also had a uterine brother. Besides, he is said to have first occupied a fort (Kālañjara) and later on established himself at Saivaya⁷ which may be identical with Śvētapada.⁸ As shown below, Lakshmaṇarāja I's great-grandson Lakshmaṇarāja II alias Rājaputra flourished about 775 A.C. Lakshmaṇarāja I can, therefore, be placed in circa 700 A.C. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālañjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahla plates. His name is, again, lost in the Kasiā stone inscription, but in view of what is said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. As his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I was probably ruling in 700 A.C., Vāmarāja may have flourished from circa 675 A.C. to 700 A.C.

The Kasiā inscription names two ancestors of Lakshmaņarāja I, viz., his grandfather Sańkaragaṇa and his father Nannarāja. Sańkaragaṇa may have flourished from 625 A.C. to 650 A.C., and Nannarāja, from 650 A.C. to 675 A.C. It is not stated where they were ruling, but if Vāmarāja was the first prince who conquered and established himself at Kalañjara, his father and grandfather might have been reigning at Māhishmatī, the old Kalachuri capital. In that case, Sańkaragaṇa may have been a son of Buddharāja (circa 600-625 A.C.) who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. In India a grandson is often named after his grandfather. So Sańkaragaṇa of the Kasiā inscription may have been named after Buddharāja's father Sańkaragaṇa. The connection of the Earlier and the Later Kalachuris may, therefore, be stated in the following genealogical table9:—

¹ The Barah plate of Bhōjadēva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A.C., the Kālañjara mandala was ruled over by Śarvavarman, who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18.

² In the tenth century, the Pratihäras seem to have lost both Chitrakūţa and Kālañjara which were occupied by the Rāshṭrakūṭas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāshṭrakūṭas till the time of Kṛishṇa III. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 284.

⁸ According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (ibid., Vol. I, pp. 127-28), the fort of Kālañjara was occupied by the Chandellas during the reign of Yaśövarman (circa 930-950 A.C.).

⁴ It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Ibak in April 1203 A.C., but was soon recovered by the Chandellas.

⁵ See, e. g., Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 24-

⁶ No. 74, 1. 5.

⁷ No. 75, Il. 15 and 16.

⁸ Śvētapada was wrongly identified by R. D. Banerji with the northern part of the Nasik District (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 70). The correct reading in 1.25 of the Kalvan plates of Yaśōvarman is Śvētapata meaning Śvētāmbara. Śvētapada may be identical with Svētapatha or Sētapatha mentioned in Sānchī inscriptions, No. 89 and No. 475 respectively (M. S., Vol. I, p. 299), but the country has not been identified. Saivaya seems to be the Sanskritised form of Prakrit Seavaa derived from Śvētapada.

The identification of Vămarăja with the elder brother of Lakshmanarăja I, mentioned in the Kasia and Kahla inscriptions, on which the table is based, is probable, though not quite certain.

Krishnarāja
(son)
Sankaragaņa
(son)
Buddharāja
(son?)
Sankaragaņa
(son)
Nannarāja
(sons)

Vāmarāja (Founder of the Chēdi Branch)

Lakshmaṇarāja (Founder of the Sarayūpāra Branch)

Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumtī in the north to the Narmadā in the south, and comprising the modern Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Saugor and Jabalpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the central portion of Uttar Pradesh. He assumed the Imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēšvara. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events in his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chēdi country. As Pargiter has shown, Chēdi was originally the name of the country along the south bank of the Yamunā from the Chambal on the north-west to the Kārvī (which flows north-east of Chitrakūta) on the south-east. Its limits southward were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In later times, Chēdi came to signify the modern province of Baghelkhand, which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris almost till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, modern Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabalpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend Tipuri (Sanskrit, Tripurī) in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C. Varāhamihira places the city in the south-eastern division, and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagarī, the capital of the Chēdi country. The surrounding country called Traipura is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Matsyapurāṇa. The Tripurī-vishaya (the district of Tripurī) is described, in the Betul plates of Sankshōbha, as situated in the Dabhālā (i.e. Dāhala) country, which was under the rule

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIV, pp. 249 ff.

Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 31, v. 60, mentions that a king of Tripuri was defeated by Sahadēva.

³ A. C. A. I., Introd., p. cxl.

⁴ Bribatsanibitā, adhyāya 14, v. 9.

⁵ Hēmachandra, Abhidhānachintāmaņi, IV, v. 41.

⁸ Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 31, v. 60.

⁷ Matsyapurāņa (Anand. Sk. series), adhyāya 114, v. 53.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 287.

of the Parivrājaka kings down to 528 A.C. at least. It is, however, not known who was holding that country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Šankaragaņa I of Tripurī. We do not know even the names of the princes who ruled in this period. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play *Udāttarāghava*, was one of them. He is described by Rājaśēkhara as a Karachuli (i.e., Kalachuri) poet. Another Sanskrit poet, Bhīmaṭa, whom Rājaśēkhara mentions as the lord of Kālanjara, perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājaśēkhara tells us that he composed five Sanskrit plays, of which Svapnadaśānana was judged to be the best.

Sańkaragana I is the next known Kalachuri prince. Only two records of his reign have so far been discovered. The one discovered at Saugor registers some religious or charitable work done by a woman for the spiritual merit of her father and mother. In this record Sańkaragana is mentioned with the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājā-dbirāja and Paramēśvara, which show that he must have been ruling over a fairly large territory. The second inscription is incised on the pillar of a temple at Chhōṭi Dēori, about a hundred miles to the east of Saugor. It records the donation of a granary in two villages in the neighbourhood, apparently to the god Siva enshrined in the temple. This record also is not dated; but on palæographic grounds it can be referred to the same age as the aforementioned Saugor stone inscription, viz., about the middle of the eighth century A.C.

The names of the successors of this Sankaragana are not known until we come to Lakshmanarāja I of the Kārītalāi stone inscription dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). In the century that intervened between the reigns of these two kings, several important events took place in the political history of North India. In the second half of the eighth century A.C., the Pratīhāras and the Pālas were contending for supremacy at Kanauj; but they were both vanquished by the Rāshtrakūta kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. The Sañjān plates2 of Amoghavarsha I tell us that Govinda III, after defeating Nagabhata II and Chandragupta, both of whom were evidently rulers of Central India, marched to the foot of the Himālayas, where Dharmapāla and his protégé Chakrāyudha, the king of Kanauj, submitted to him. Then he returned to the bank of the Narmada, and acquiring Malava, Kōsala, Kalinga, Vēngī, Dāhala and Odraka countries, made his servants rule them. This suggests that Govinda III raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes, or after deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their territories. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates3 of Karka, dated Saka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Malwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vanga. In some other records of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūtas, we find references to battles fought by them with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in Ujjayinī. Malwa was, therefore, made a protectorate, and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas was established in Gujarat to check the advance of the Pratihāras. In the case of the Kalachuris also, he followed a similar policy. He did not, of course, supplant the ruling prince, but he made him acknowledge his suzerainty.4 The subordinate position of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanaraja I is indicated by the Kārītalāi inscription5 of his reign, which, even in its present fragmentary condi-

¹ Jalhana's Süktimuktāvali (Gaekwad's Or. Series), p. 46.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

³ Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 158.

⁴ The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsha I states that Govinda III fettered the prince of the fort Chitrakūṭa. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 103. This fort was probably in the occupation of the Kalachuris at that time.

⁵ No. 37.

tion, clearly shows that it eulogized the achievements, not of Lakshmanaraja, but of his suzerain's father Gövinda III. It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning Kalachuri king is relegated to the margin. Later on, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, from time to time, entered into matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris of Tripurī² and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.

The Kārītalāi inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja I is dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). We may, therefore, place the Kalachuri king from circa 825 A.C. to 850 A.C.

Lakshmanarāja I was probably succeeded by Kōkalla I, who may have been his son. No inscription of this king has yet been found; but we get some account of him in two later records, the Bilhāri stone inscription³ and the Banaras plates of Karna.⁴ Kōkalla made some matrimonial alliances which increased his power and prestige. He himself married a Chandēlla princess named Naṭṭādēvī.⁵ From the Cambay plates we learn that the king Akālavarsha (i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II) married the daughter of Kōkalla, an ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrārjuna.⁶ She became his chief queen and bore him a son named Jagattuṅga. This latter prince also, as we shall see later, married two Kalachuri princesses.

The Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates describe the help that Kōkalla rendered to a number of his contemporaries. The former says that Kōkalladēva, after having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇa-rāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north. The statement evidently means that Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. The Banaras plates state that Kokalla's hand gave freedom from fear to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Srī-Harsha, the lord of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Saṅkaragaṇa. That this is no empty boast is shown by the records of the other dynasties also.

Kṛishṇarāja who is figuratively called Kōkalla's pillar of victory in the south is none other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Krishna II-Akālavarsha. He is identical with the Vallabharāja who received protection from Kōkalla; for, Vallabha or Śrī-vallabha was a title assumed by many Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. The Arabs called the Rāshṭrakūṭas by the name of Balharā, which is admittedly a corrupt form of Vallabharāja. As already shown, Kṛishṇa II was the son-in-law of Kōkalla. He must have sought his father-in-law's help when he was engaged in a conflict with the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-88 A.C.). We find references to these hostilities in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Thus

¹ In line 9 it mentions the routing of Nagabhata (II), evidently by Govinda III.

² The aforementioned Kārītalāi inscription indicates that the Rāshtrakūta Emperor Amōghavarsha used to visit the place to pay his respects to a saintly person there. Though Amōghavarsha I was forty-two years old at the time of this Kārītalāi inscription, it is doubtful if his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Kōkalla's daughter at the time; for, the son is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. The inscription does not state when Amōghavarsha had gone to Kārītalāi. Perhaps, one of the objects of his visit was to seek Kōkalla I's help when he was deposed by his kinsman in the early part of his reign.

^{*} No. 45.

⁴ No. 48.

⁵ No. 48, L. 10.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 38.

⁷ No. 45, l. 8.

⁸ No. 48, II. 8-9.

⁹ See the discussion of this matter by Fleet in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff. The Bagumrā plates of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa refer to a Vallabha-nṛipa who can be none other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛishṇa II.

¹⁰ Ind., Ant., Vol. XII, p. 218.

the Ederu plates of Amma1 tell us that Vijayāditya frightened Krishna and Sankila and burnt their city completely. The Pīṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva2 states that Vijayāditya III burnt Chakrakūṭa and terrified Sankila, residing in Kiranapura and joined by Krishna. The Maliapundi inscription of Ammaraja II3 gives the further detail that this Sankila was the lord of the excellent Dāhala (country). He was, therefore, a Kalachuri prince and is evidently identical with Sankuka4 (called also Sankaragana in the Kardā plates), the son of Kōkalla, whose younger sister was married to Krishna II. Success seems at first to have attended the arms of Vijayaditya; for, he is said to have burnt Chakrakūța and also Kiranapura where Krishna II and Sankila were then encamped. The former of these two places has been identified with the central portion of the Bastar District5 and the latter with a place of that name in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh.6 Pāndaranga, the general of Vijayāditya, pressed as far as Achalapura in Berar, which he is said to have stormed and burnt.? Later, on however, Krishna II won notable successes as implied in the Kalachuri records. The Eastern Chālukyas themselves admit in their records that on the death of Vijayaditya III, their country was overrun by the forces of a kinsman of the Ratta king8 and that the diadem of Chālukya-Bhīma I, the successor of Vijayaditya III, was struck at by Vallabha.9 These wars must have been waged during the period 880-890 A.C. Sańkila or Sańkaragana, though described in some Chalukya records as the lord of the Dahala country, was probably the crown prince at the time and was sent by his father to help his son-in-law in his wars with the Eastern Chālukyas.10

Another son of Kōkalla I, named Arjuna, seems to have helped Kṛishṇa II's son Jagattunga with a large army probably during his wars with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras on the

northern frontier of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom.11

The identification of Bhōja, the second prince helped by Kōkalla I, is more difficult. Kielhorn was of opinion that this Bhōja was the first prince of that name in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, who flourished from circa 835 to 885 A.C. Some scholars have, however, latterly advanced the view that the protégé of Kōkalla I was Bhōja II, the son and successor of Mahēndrapāla and grandson of Bhōja I. According to these scholars, there was a war of succession after the death of Mahēndrapāla. Kōkalla espoused the

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 39. Fleet and Hultzsch rendered Sankila by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 226.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 233.

³ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 51.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

⁸ Altekar, Rāshtrakūtas, etc., p. 95.

⁷ A. R. S. I. E. (1923), pp. 61 and 98. Achalapura was probably the capital of a feudatory Räshtra-kūţa family which at this time owed allegiance to the Imperial Räśhţrakūţas of Mānyakhēţa. See also below, p. lxxxiii.

^{*} S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 40. The inscription has the word dāyāda (meaning 'an agnate') referring to this kinsman. He seems, therefore, to have been a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince, perhaps of the Gujarat branch. It is noteworthy that the Masulipatam grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I mentions his defeat of a king of Lāṭa who was an ally of Krishnavallabha. A. R. S. I. E. (1914), p. 84. If dāyāda was used in a wider sense, it might refer to Śaṅkaragaṇa.

⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 231.

¹⁰ Perhaps Sankaragana had ascended the Kalachuri throne before these wars came to a close.

¹¹ See v. 16 of Cambay plates of Gövinda IV. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 38. The verse occurs also in the Sangli plates of the same king. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 250.

¹² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 253.

¹³ See, e. g., Altekar, Rāshtraksītas, etc., p. 101; Banerji, Haibayas of Tripuri, etc., p. 4; Tripathi, History of Kanauj, pp. 255-56.

cause of Bhoja II and succeeded in placing him on the throne of Kanauj. This prince, however, ruled only for a short time; for, we find Mahipāla I succeeding him within two or three years of his accession.1 It is, therefore, doubtful if Kōkalla's achievement in this case would at all be glorified by his successors as the erection of a column of victory in the north. Besides, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that there was a war of succession. Bhōja II is known only from one record, namely, the Asiatic Society of Bengal plate (dated V. 988) of Vināyakapāla, who is described therein as meditating on his feet. If Vināyakapāla is identical with Mahīpala, as is generally held,2 it looks strange that he should reverentially mention his predecessor Bhoia II, whom he is said to have dethroned. Besides, it is doubtful if Kōkalla I was living at the time of this supposed war of succession. As we have seen, he was fairly advanced in age in 880 A.C., as his son Sankaragana was then sufficiently grown up to take the field against Vijayāditya III. It is, therefore, doubtful if he lived to meddle in the matter of succession to the Pratihāra throne thirty years later. As shown below,3 his grandson Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of Mahipāla, and he was preceded by two other princes on the Chēdi throne. Kōkalla, therefore, seems to have died some time during the reign of the Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla. The Bhōja whom he rendered help must consequently be identified with Bhōja I.

When did Bhōja I require the help of the Kalachuri king? This must plainly have been in the early part of his reign when he had to contend against the mighty Dēvapāla of Bengal (circa 810-855 A.C.). We know that Rāmabhadra, the father of Bhōja, was a weak king. That he lost a large part of his kingdom is clear from the Barah plate of Bhōja I, which confirms a grant in the Kālañjara mandala which had been interrupted during the reign of Rāmabhadra, evidently due to the inroads of Dēvapāla. According to the Monghyr plates, the elephants of this Pāla king reached the Vindhyas and his cavalry

¹ The last known date of Mahēndrapāla is V. 964 (907-8 A.C.), mentioned in the Sīyadōnī stone inscription. He may, therefore, have closed his reign about 910 A.C. The earliest known date of Mahīpāla is Ś. 836 (914 A.C.), furnished by the Haddālā plates. So Bhōja II could have reigned only for two or three years.

² This identification is open to doubt; for, Mahīpāla nowhere in his inscriptions mentions Bhōja as his predecessor. It is more likely that Mahëndrapāla had three sons Mahīpāla, Bhōja II and Vināyakapāla, who succeeded him one after another. As Mahāmahōpādhyāya G. S. Ojha has pointed out, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap. Besides, it seems clear from Āryakshēmīśvara's Chandakaufika that Mahīpāla bore the name of Kārttikēya; for, the poet refers to his patron as Mahīpāla in the prologue of his play and as Kārttikēya in the last verse of the fifth Act. Mahīpāla is, therefore, not likely to have been known also by the name of Vināyakapāla or Hērambapāla. On the other hand, Vināyakapāla seems to have been a younger brother of Mahīpāla, as Gaņēśa was of Kārttikēya. The only possible objection to this view is that unless we identify Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāla (or Hērambapāla), the statement in the Sīyadōṇī inscription that Dēvapāla meditated on the feet of Mahīpāla would conflict with that in the Khajuraho inscription of Dhanga that Devapala was the son of Herambapala. Ojha tries to solve this difficulty by taking the two Devapalas as distinct persons. He says that Devapala who is called Hayapati (lord of horses) in the Khajuraho inscription could not have been a Pratihara prince as Hayapati was never the accepted title of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. We have, however, to remember that according to the testimony of the Arab writer Sulaiman, the Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry, and in contemporary records Bhōja is described as having an army of excellent and controllable horses (sad-vasya-vāb-ānvitab); Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 184. The Kudlur plates of the Ganga king Mārasimha state that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III crowned Mārasimha king before proceeding to the north to conquer Asvapati who was proud of his horses (A. R. A. S. M. for 1921, p. 23). This passage also seems to use Airapati as a title of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Perhaps the word sinu, used in the Khajuraho inscription to state the relation of Devapala to Herambapala, is employed in the wider sense of a nephew, just as tāta (father) sometimes denotes 'an uncle'.

³ See below, p. lxxviii.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18.

roamed in the Kāmbōja country.1 The Bādal pillar inscription states that Dēvapāla humbled the arrogance of the lord of the Gurjaras.2 Bhōja seems to have ultimately succeeded in retrieving his position towards the end of Devapala's reign.3 Like Guṇāmbhōdhi of the Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri family,4 Kōkalla I apparently rendered help to the Gurjara Pratihāra king in these wars. The relations between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Pratiharas seem to have been more or less amicable during the reign of the Rashtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I, since much of the latter's time and energy was spent in quelling internal rebellions and in fighting with his eastern neighbours, the Chālukyas of Vēngī, as well as with his kinsmen who were probably the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat.5 Notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance with Amöghavarsha I, therefore, Kökalla I could render help to Bhoja I in strengthening his position in the north. It is also not unlikely that the help he gave to the mighty king of Kanauj has been exaggerated in the aforementioned inscriptions of his descendants.

After the conclusion of his war with the Pāla king, Kōkalla seems to have entered into a matrimonial alliance with him. From the Bhagalpur grant of Narayanapala, we learn that his father Vigrahapāla, the son of Jayapāla, married a princess named Lajjā who had adorned the family of the Haihayas.6 The inscription does not name any ancestors of Lajjā; but in view of Kōkalla's policy of making matrimonial alliances, it is not unlikely that she was his daughter or some near relative.

Srī-Harsha and the lord of Chitrakūta, who also are said to have received protection from Kökalla, are usually taken to be identical. Kielhorn identified this Harsha with the homonymous prince of the Chandella dynasty;7 but it is doubtful if his rule had at this time extended in the north as far as Chitrakūṭa. From the Khajuraho inscription dated V. 1011 (954 A.C.), we learn that it was Yaśovarman, the son of Harsha, who first annexed the hill of Kālanjara.8 Chitrakūṭa, which lies 25 miles north-east of Kālanjara, seems then to have been, like the latter, held by the Gurjaras. It has, therefore, been suggested that the Harsha who received protection from Kökalla was the Guhila prince of that name whose rule might have extended to Chitrakūta (modern Chitor in Mewad).9 According to the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya, this Harsha conquered the kings of the north and presented horses to Bhoja who can be none other than the great Pratihara Emperor. The identification, therefore, appears quite plausible in view of the alliance of both this Harsha and Kökalla with Bhōja I.

Finally, Sańkaragana was identified by Kielhorn with Kökalla's own son. There is, however, no point in saying that Kōkalla gave protection from fear to his own son. Sankaragana is more likely to be the homonymous prince of the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri dynasty which had settled in the Görakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The Kahla plates of Södhadeva state that this Sankaragana was the father of Guṇāmbhōdhi. The same record tells us further that Guṇāmbhōdhi took away

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 305.

² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 163.

In the Gwalior prasasti Bhōja is said to have remarried Lakshmi, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was evidently Dēvapāla. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 109 and 113, n. 4-

⁴ See the Kahla plates of Södhadeva (No. 74). This record states that Gunambhödhi deprived the Gauda king of his royal fortune.

Altekar, Rāshtrakūtas etc., p. 77.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 305.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 301.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 127-28.

⁹ Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XIII, p. 486.

the fortune of the Gauda king, for which he received some territory from Bhōja. His father Sankaragaṇa may, therefore, have received some help from Kōkalla I during the early part of the latter's reign.

The Amödā plates¹ of Prīthvīdēva I, dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.), state that Kōkalla, an ancestor of Prīthvīdēva I, forcibly dispossessed the rulers of Karņāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Kōňkaṇa and Sākambharī, the Turushkas and a descendant of Raghu, of treasures, horses and elephants, and erected a column of victory on the earth.¹ As shown below, this Kōkalla was probably the first king of that name who ruled at Tripurī; but it is doubtful how far the description of his conquests contained in this record, dated nearly two centuries after him, can be taken to be correct; for, we have no corroboration of it in other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or even of Tripurī. Besides, we find that Kōkalla I formed alliances with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, who are probably referred to here as the lord of Karṇāṭa and a descendant of Raghu respectively. His hostility with these kings is, therefore, not likely.

Kökalla I was succeeded by his son, who is called Mugdhatunga in the Bilhāri inscription and Prasiddhadhavala in the Banaras grant. Both these appear to be birudas rather than personal names. The former of them was evidently suggested by his association with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who were fond of names ending in tunga. The personal name of Kōkalla's son and successor was probably Sankaragaṇa. As we have already seen, the Maliapuṇḍi inscription calls Sankila (i.e., Sankaragaṇa) the lord of the excellent Dāhala country.² The Karḍā plates state that Sankaragaṇa was the lord of Chēdi.³ There is no doubt, therefore, that Sankaragaṇa ascended the Kalachuri throne; but no prince of this name is mentioned as Kōkalla I's successor either in the Bilhāri inscription or in the Banaras grant—the two records which are our main authorities for the early history of the Tripuri branch. Sankaragaṇa must, therefore, be identified with Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavala. A third biruda of his, viz., Raṇavigraha is mentioned in some Rāshṭrakūṭa records⁴, and is also known from a subhāshita of Rājaśēkhara cited in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhaṇa.⁵

The Bilhāri inscription states that Mugdhatunga conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.⁶ This statement is corroborated by a Prakrit gāthā about Prasiddhadhavala, cited in the Banaras grant. It states that Prasiddhadhavala took possession of Pālī, thinking that there would be born in his family (many) men eminent on account of their greatness in this world.⁷ This apparently means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. Several inscriptions⁸ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty state that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Trīpurī, and that he made his younger brothers the lords of mandalas in the neighbourhood. If this Kōkalla is identified with

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¹ No. 76, II. 6-8.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 51.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ The Cambay and Sangli plates of Gövinda IV state that Lakshmi, the wife of the Räshtraküta prince Jagattunga, was the daughter of Ranavigraha (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 38 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 250), while the Kardā plates say that she was the daughter of Sankaragana, the lord of Chēdi (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 264). Ranavigraha was, therefore, a biruda of Sankaragana.

⁵ Cf. Nadināni Mēkala-sutā nripānāni Raņavigrahah I Kavīnāni cha Surānandah Chēdi-mandala-mandanam II Sūktimuktāvali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 47.

⁸ No. 45, l. 10.

⁷ No. 48, L 13.

^{*} See, e.g., No. 76, IL 8-9; No. 77, IL 5-6 etc.

Kōkalla I, it becomes clear that Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavala conquered Pāli from the lord of Kōsala and placed one of his brothers in charge of it. This Kōsala is probably Dakshina or Southern Kōsala, comprising modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country on the east. There is still a village named Pāli in the Bilaspur District, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur, which was no doubt situated in Dakshina Kōsala. There is even now an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli, which testifies to its past importance. The surrounding territory was evidently called the country of Pāli, which was wrested by Mugdhatunga from the lord of Kōsala. The latter, as shown below, must have been a prince of the Bāṇa dynasty, probably Vikramāditya I, called also Jayamēru, the son of Malladéva, who built the aforementioned temple of Siva and has left an inscription incised over the door of its garbhagriba. As he flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.C., his date squares with that of Sankaragana II alias Mugdhatunga who probably reigned from 890 A.C. to 910 A.C.

Sankaragana II had a son named Bālaharsha, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Lakshmī and Gōvindāmbā, both of whom married the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, the son of Sankaragaṇa's brother-in-law Kṛishṇa II. Jagattuṅga had, from Lakshmī, a son named Indra III, who succeeded Kṛishṇa II,³ and from Gōvindāmbā, another named Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, who also later on sat on the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne.⁴ Some Rāshṭrakūṭa records⁵ further mention Sankaragaṇa's brother Arjuna, who must have been ruling over a manḍala of the Chēdi kingdom. The latter's son Ammaṇadēva had a daughter named Vijāmbā, who married Indra III and bore him two sons, Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV, both of whom succeeded their father, one after the other.

Sankaragana II was followed by his son Bālaharsha. He is mentioned only in the Banaras plates, which give him a merely conventional praise. The Bilhāri inscription omits his name probably because he was a collateral. Bālaharsha sounds like a biruda, but we have now no means of knowing the personal name of this prince.

Bālaharsha had probably a very short reign (circa 910-915 A.C.). He seems to have died sonless; for, he was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I. No inscriptions of this prince also have yet been discovered; but from the records of other dynasties and especially from a play of his court-poet Rājaśēkhara, we have more information about him than about any other early member of the Tripurī house.

The Bilhāri inscription states that Yuvarājadēva I fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauda, sported with the ladies of Karnāta, applied the ornamental mark to the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, and was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kalinga. This implies that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Karnatak, Gujarat, Kashmir and Orissa, and married beautiful and accomplished ladies from these provinces. Curious as it might seem, the foregoing description in the Bilhāri inscription is corroborated by a passage in the Sanskrit play Viddhaśālabhañjikā of Rājaśēkhara, which was staged at Tripurī. Yuvarājadēva I himself is the hero of this play. From the fourth Act of it, we learn that the king had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pānchāla, Avanti, Jālandhara

¹ Below, p. 418.

² The known dates of his son Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.) to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.). Vikramāditya I may, therefore, be referred to the period 870—895 A.C.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 38; Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 250.

^{*} No. 45, Il. 10-11.

and Kērala.¹ In another Act of the same play, he is called *Ujjayinī-bhujanga*, which suggests his victorious raid on Malwa.² Even in an inscription of his enemies, Yuvarājadēva I is described as one who had planted his foot on the heads of famous kings.³ There is not, therefore, much exaggeration in what the Bilhāri inscription says of him—"Up to the Kailāsa mountain, where Pārvatī is constantly engaged in sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (of the south) and then up to the western ocean, the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies."⁴ Yuvarājadēva assumed imperial titles. He is called *Paramēṣvara* in the Bilhāri inscription and *Chakravartin* in the aforementioned play of Rājaśēkhara. Another title *Trikalingādhipati*³ which indicates his supremacy in the north-east Deccan is known from the same play of Rājaśēkhara.

Yuvarājadēva married Nōhalā, who became his chief queen. She belonged to the Chaulukya lineage and was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman. We have no information about the country where these princes were ruling. Perhaps Avanivarman was related to the king Avantivarman mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. As the latter is said to have donated certain places such as Ranipadra (modern Ranōd in Madhya Bharat) to the Saiva ascetic whom he invited to his country, it is plain that he was ruling in Central India. If Avanivarman, the father of Nōhalā, was related to Avantivarman, he also might have been ruling somewhere in the same part of the country.

The Kardā plates? of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Karka II state that Yuvarājadēva gave his daughter Kandakadēvī in marriage to Baddiga alias Amōghavarsha III, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakhēṭa. Baddiga was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Gōvinda IV. As he was reigning from circa 935 A.C. to 939 A.C., his father-in-law Yuvarājadēva I might have flourished in the period 915-945 A.C.

Yuvarājadēva was a patron of men of letters. Rājaśēkhara, a well-known Sanskrit poet, flourished in his court. In his early days Rājaśēkhara was attracted by the more prosperous court of Kanauj, where he wrote his two Sanskrit plays Bālarāmāyaṇa and Bālabhārata (or Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava) and the Prakrit drama Karpūramañjarī during the reigns of the Gurjara Pratīhāra Emperors Mahēndrapāla I and his son Mahīpāla. But as the glory of the latter prince declined owing to the invasion of his kingdom by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III and later on due to the raids of Yuvarājadēva I, Rājaśēkhara seems to have returned to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālajalada and others, in the train of the victorious Kalachuri king. There he composed his third Sanskrit play Viddhasālabhañjikā and the rhetorical work Kāvyamīmāmsā.8 As already stated, the former was staged at

¹ Viddbaśālabbañjikā ed. by Arte, p. 113.

² Ibid., p. 12. The same title of *Ujjēnībbujanga* was borne by two captains of the Ganga prince Mārasimha, vig., Sudrakayya and Gōggiyamma who also apparently had raided Malwa during the expedition of their master Mārasimha. Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, p. 9.

³ Cf. Vikbyāta-kshitipāla-mauli-rachanā-vinyasta-pādāmbujam......Chēdirājam, in verse 28 of the Khajuraho inscription of Yašōvarman. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 127.

⁴ No. 40, Il. 11-12.

Mr. Arte's edition of the Viddhasālabhañjikā has Triling-ādhipatē on p. 39, but it is evidently a mistake for Trikaling-ādhipatē. As shown below, the same title was borne by several later Kalachuri kings.

[&]quot;It is not, however, known if Avantivarman belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty. The Unā plates dated Vikrama Sarivat 956 (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff.) were issued by a Chālukya prince named Avanivarman II. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I; but he cannot be identified with Nohalā's father, because his father and grandfather were Balavarman and Avanivarman I respectively.

⁷ Ind., Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 263 ff.

^{*} K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, pp. 359 ff.

the Kalachuri court and contains a poetic account of certain political events of Yuvarājadēva I's reign, to which we may now turn. Its plot may be summarised as follows:—

"The king Vidyādharamalla alias Karpūravarsha of Tripurī receives at his court Virapāla alias Chandamahāsēna, the lord of Kuntala, who has been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives and falls in love with his daughter Kuvalayamālā. His minister Bhāgurāyaṇa, however, comes to know from astrologers that the king who would marry Mrigānkāvalī, the daughter of the king Chandravarman of Lata, would be the sovereign of the whole world. He, therefore, contrives to bring about the marriage of his lord Karpūravarsha with Mrigānkāvalī. Chandravarman, her father, has no son, and so, since her childhood he has brought her up as a boy under the name Mrigānkavarman. None but Bhāgurāyaṇa knows of this secret. He manages to have the pretended crown prince of Lata brought to Tripuri to stay at the Kalachuri court. Karpūravarsha's chief queen Madanasundari, who, though related to Chandravarman, is shown to be ignorant of the personation, used to dress occasionally the pretended boy in a female garb. When the king sees her once in a dream, he falls in love with her. The queen, in order to play a practical joke on the king, induces him to marry a sister of the pretended boy. This sister is none other than Mrigankāvalī herself, though the queen, who is ignorant of her real sex, takes her to be Mrigānkavarman in a female garb. The king agrees and the marriage is performed. In the meanwhile, news comes from Chandravarman that a son has been born to him. He, therefore, requests his niece, the queen of Karpūravarsha, to bestow his daughter Mṛigānkāvalī, whom he has brought up as a son, on a worthy consort. The queen realizes her mistake when it is too late. To make the best of the situation, however, she bestows both Mrigānkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā, the Kuntala princess, on the king. Just then comes a messenger bearing the following letter from the king's General Sri-Vatsa:-

"Through the power of Your Majesty who is an ornament of the Karachulis, through the clear intellect of the great minister Bhāgurāyaṇa as well as through the execution of Your Majesty's orders by insignificant soldiers like myself, all the mighty kings of the east, the west and the north have already been subdued. Only those of the south did not submit. Vīrapāla, the lord of Kuntala, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his kinsmen, sought Your Majesty's protection. As Your Majesty ordered, we placed him at our head and encamped on the bank of the Payöshṇi."

The General then describes how his forces fought with a confederacy of several kings, viz., those of Karnāṭa, Simhala, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Āndhra, Kuntala, Kōṅkaṇa and others, defeated them and placed Vīrapāla on the throne. Finally, Bhāgurāyaṇa declares that the Karachuli king reigns supreme over the whole country 'from the milky ocean in the north to the sea filled with the water of the Tāmraparṇī in the south, from the western ocean, which receives the Narmadā, to the eastern sea, the shore of which is sanctified by the fall of the Gaṅgā.'

The Viddhaśālabhañjikā is a drama of harem-intrigue. The plot summarised above resembles in some respects those of the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa, and the Priyadaršikā and the Ratnāvalī of Harsha. Still it is likely to have a historical basis. The play was staged at Tripurī before the court of Yuvarājadēva, who is none other than the first Kalachuri king of that name. He is also identical with the hero of the play, Vidyādharamalla, whose alternative name Karpūravarsha recalls Kēyūravarsha, the biruda of Yuvarājadēva I. Besides, Vidyādharamalla is called Karachuli-tilaka, an ornament of the Karachulis (i.e., Kalachuris) and is represented as ruling at Nripurī which is plainly a mistake for Tripurī. He is again called Trilingādhipati. This title corresponds to Trikalingādhipati assumed by

several later Kalachuri kings. Like the Pārijātamafijarī of Madana¹ and the Karņasundarī of Bilhaṇa, the Viddhaśālabhafijikā also seems to have been based on historical events in the career of the contemporary king. From the analysis of the play given above, it will be noticed that it mentions the following events:—

(1) Yuvarājadēva married the daughter of Chandravarman, the king of Lāṭa, and

this matrimonial alliance apparently strengthened his position.

(2) He espoused the cause of Virapāla, the king of Kuntala, who had been dethroned by his kinsmen, and sent an army which fought with a confederacy of kings on the bank

of the Pavoshni, defeated it and placed Virapala on the throne of Kuntala.

It is not possible to say definitely if the first of these was a historical event. It is not stated to which royal family Chandravarman of Lāṭa belonged. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa, Rājaśēkhara represents a Chaulukya king as ruling over Lāṭa and attending the svayamvara of Sīṭā (Act III, verse 57). From the description of the several kings who attended the svayamvara, which is full of anachronisms, it is plain that Rājaśēkhara is referring to the state of affairs in his own times. So Chandravarman of Lāṭa may have been intended to be represented as a prince of the Chaulukya dynasty. From some inscriptions² and literary references³ we know that a Chaulukya chief named Bārappa was ruling over Lāṭa in the third quarter of the roth century A.C. He was the son of Nimbārka. Earlier members of this line are not known. Perhaps Chandravarman was intended to represent the predecessor of Nimbārka. He would, in that case, be a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I. This must, of course, remain a conjecture until positive evidence of the earlier rule of this family in Lāṭa becomes available.

The second event described in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā seems to have a foundation in fact. Virapāla whose cause was espoused by Yuvarājadēva I is called the king of Kuntala. Kuntala was the name of the country between the Bhīmā and the Vēdavatī, comprising the Southern Maratha Country as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Madras and Mysore States. In many records the Rāshṭrakūṭas are referred to as the kings of Kuntala. Vīrapāla was, therefore, apparently a claimant for the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. His claim seems to have been superseded, and so he sought Yuvarājadēva's help to gain

his kingdom.

Was there such a war of succession about this time in the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas? The Karhad⁴ and Deoli⁵ plates of Kṛishṇa III tell us that Gōvinda IV, whose known dates range from 930 A.C. to 933 A.C., was the source of the sportive pleasures of love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and when his health was undermined, he ultimately met with death. From some other records, however, we learn that Amōghavarsha III, the uncle of Gōvinda IV, fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV which resulted in the king's death. The Prince of Wales Museum plates of the Silāhāra prince Chhadvaidēva say that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV, who was acting unjustly. There was thus a civil war in the Rāshṭra-

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.

² See the Surat plates of Kirtirāja, dated Saka 940 (Vinna Oriental Journal, Vol. VII, p. 88); also the Surat plates of Trilöchanapāla, dated Saka 972 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.). As Bārappa was the grandfather of Kirtirāja, he may be placed about 960 A.C.

Bărappa is called the king of Lața in Hemachandra's Dvyāirayakāvya, and the general of Tailapa, the sovereign of Tilingana, in the Prabandhachintāmaņi and the Rāsamālā. In the Sukritasankārtana (Canto II, v. 5), however, he is said to have been the general of the lord of Kānyakubja.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 194.

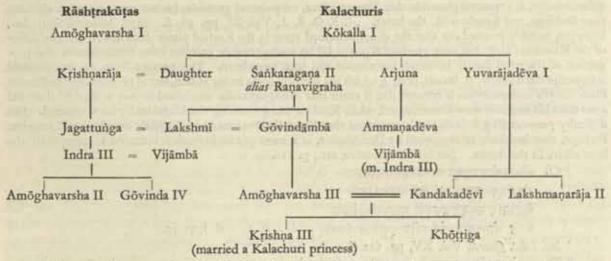
⁸ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 283.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

kūṭa kingdom at the close of Gōvinda's reign. The aforementioned Deoli and Karhad plates further tell us that after the death of Gōvinda IV, the feudatory princes entreated Baddiga alias Amōghavarsha III to ascend the throne. This clearly indicates that there was some trouble about succession to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne at that time. Vīrapāla of the Viddhaśālabhañjikā was apparently a claimant for the throne, and when he failed to get it, he sought Yuvarājadēva's help. The latter had by that time made extensive conquests in the north, east and west, but as the play states, he could not, for some time, gain a footing in the south. This was evidently due to the increasing power of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Yuvarājadēva apparently thought that the civil war at the close of Gōvinda IV's reign afforded him an excellent opportunity to place his own protégé on the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. He sent a large army under his able general, who defeated the Kuntala king and his allies in the battle of the Payōshṇī, and placed Vīrapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

This Virapāla is probably Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.¹ The latter, we know, was Yuvarājadēva's own son-in-law. The Kudlur² and Sudi plates³ further tell us that he was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Rēvakanimmadī with the Gaṅga prince Pērmādī Būtuga II. Baddiga's son Kṛishṇa III also had married a Kalachuri princess. It is not, therefore, surprising that Yuvarājadēva espoused the cause of Baddiga.⁴ Rājaśēkhara has changed the names of the historical persons who figure as characters in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Kēyūravarsha, for instance, appears as Karpūravarsha, and his minister Bhākamiśra, as Bhāgurāyaṇa. So Baddiga may have been represented as Vīrapāla alias Chandamahāsēna.⁵

⁴ Gövinda IV also was a relative of Yuvarājadēva, but he was more distantly related to him than Amöghavarsha III; for, he was a grandson of his niece. The following table shows the matrimonial alliances of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris:—



⁵ I previously proposed to identify Vîrapāla with some other claimant for the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne (e.g., Bappuva) on the following grounds—(i) The Viddbaṭālabbañjikā represents that Yuvarājadēva afterwards married Vīrapāla's daughter. This would evidently be impossible if Vīrapāla represented Baddiga. (ii) The Karhad plates dated Ś. 880 (958 A.C.), state in verse 25 that Kṛishṇa III, while he was Yuvarāja, defeated Sahasrārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. R. G. Bhandarkar first suggested that this Sahasrārjuna was a Kalachuri king as the Kalachuris traced their descent from the mythical hero Kārtavīrya-Sahasrārjuna. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 284. This king could be none other than Yuvarājadēva I, who was the father-in-law of Amōghavarsha III, the father of Kṛishṇa III. As Amōghavarsha ruled only for about four years, this defeat of the Kalachuri king must have occurred within a year of the former's

¹ Altekar, Rāshtrakūtas and Their Times, pp. 109 ff.

² A. R. A. S. M. (1921), pp. 21-22.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 179.

The recently published Murud plates of the Silāhāra prince Aparājita state that Amōghavarsha III exterminated his wicked enemies in a fierce battle fought at the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karkara.¹ The latter is probably identical with Karkarāja, the lord of Achalapura, mentioned in the Sudi and Kudlur plates as an antagonist of Būtuga, the son-in-law of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.² Achalapura, which is identified with Ellichpur³ in the Amaravati District of Madhya Pradesh, was, therefore, the scene of the battle. This town lies only about 10 miles west of the Pūrṇā (ancient Payōshṇī). Rājaśēkhara's statement that the battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshṇī is thus corroborated by independent inscriptional evidence.

This Karkara and his younger brother Bappuva were probably relatives and staunch supporters of Gövinda IV. The Räshṭrakūṭa Emperor had made Bappuva the ruler of North Karṇāṭaka, and placed Karkara in charge of Vidarbha. From the Mahākūṭa temple inscription⁴ we learn that Bappuvarasa (who is plainly identical with the aforementioned Bappuva) granted three rice-fields to Nandikēśvara in 933 A.C. In this inscription he is called Mahāsāmanta and is said to have attained the pañchamahāsahda. He is further described as a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Göpāla. This Göpāla is probably identical with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV. Bappuva seems to have taken a leading part in the civil war which raged in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom towards the end of Gōvinda IV's reign. He at first won some successes for his lord, but was afterwards defeated by the Chālukya chief Arikēsarin II, who, as stated in Pampa's Vikramārjunavijaya, fought for Baddiga. Arikēsarin and other allies of Baddiga then seem to have marched on the imperial capital Mānyakhēṭa where they killed Gōvinda IV.6

In the meantime, Yuvarājadēva's army under his able general invaded the Rāshṭra-kūṭa kingdom from the north. Baddiga⁷ and probably his valiant son Kṛishṇa III also

(Continued from last page.)

accession; for, it is placed first among the achievements of Kṛishna III as crown prince. For these and some other reasons, it appeared plausible that Yuvarājadēva, on political grounds, backed up some other claimant than Baddiga, and fought with the latter. A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XI, pp. 369 ff. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri has, however, recently pointed out that the aforementioned verse in the Karhad plates does not record any defeat of the Kalachuri king, but only glorifies Kṛishṇa III by stating that he excelled even Sahasrārjuna, the progenitor of the royal family in which his mother and wife were born. The passage from an unpublished manuscript cited below, p. lxxxiii, note 4, which has recently come to my notice, leaves no room for doubt that Prof. Sastri's interpretation is correct; for, it states that Amōghavarsha continued to stay at the Chēdi capital even after his enemies were exterminated, while Kṛishṇa was governing the kingdom by his command. The difficulty presented by Rājaśēkhara's statement that Yuvarājadēva married Vīrapāla's daughter still remains. Perhaps, that incident, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, is a mere poetic invention intended to complicate the love affairs in the drama. See his Rāshṭrakūtas, etc., p. 110.

¹ Cf. श्रीमत्ककंरराष्ट्रकृटकटकेऽसद्वंशसंघर्षतो रोद्रद्रोहदवत्रतापशमनं निस्त्रिंशघाराजलैः । येनाकारि समुद्धतेन्द्रधनुषा भूषाश्मिभिविंखुता भाति श्रीमदमोघवर्षसृषनोऽसद्घूलिविध्यंसनात् ॥ I. I. B. S., Vol. I, p. 47.

² Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XV, pp. 612 ff.

¹¹ The ancient place-name has now been restored.
¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 104; Vol. XVIII, p. 316.

5 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 329.

6 See Pampa's Vikramārjunavijaya, āśvāsa IX; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 328-29. The description in the Deoli and Karhad plates that Gövinda IV died early because his health was undermined by his dissolute life is a myth invented by his enemies. The Prince of Wales Museum plates recently edited by me (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.) state that Amöghavarsha III completely uprooted Göjjiga (i.e., Gövinda IV) who had acted unjustly.

7 Rājašēkhara states in his play that the General Vatsa placed Vīrapāla at the head, when he marched to the Payoshoi.

accompanied the forces. They marched on Achalapura, the capital of Karkara.¹ If the description in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā is correct, a large number of Gōvinda's feudatories and allies had assembled at Achalapura to oppose the invading forces.² A sanguinary battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshṇī (modern Pūrṇā), which flows only about 10 miles east of the town. Karkara and other allies of Gōvinda were defeated. The Kalachuri army then marched on to Mānyakhēṭa, which Arikēsarin had already stormed and taken. He had also killed the Emperor Gōvinda IV. The feudatories that had gathered at Mānyakhēṭa then offered the crown to Baddiga and 'entreated him to accept it to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, and he too, being prompted by the god Siva, ascended the glorious throne of heroes'.³ The last known date of Gōvinda IV is 933 A.C. and the earliest date of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III is 937 A.C. The battle of the Payōshṇī may, therefore, have been fought in 935 A.C. The Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā seems to have been staged at Tripurī in jubilation at this great victory over a formidable confederacy of southern kings. Yuvarājadēva I was now at the height of his power; for, he had attained the enviable position of Chakravartin.

The cordial relations of the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas continued as before. Although some of the feudatories of Gōvinda IV had been defeated and the imperial capital had been occupied, peace and order were not established for some time in the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominion. Baddiga, who was a man of quiet and saintly nature, preferred to return to the Kalachuri capital, while his son Kṛishṇa III, who was appointed Yuvarāja, subdued the rebellious feudatories. He killed Bappuva and his ally Dantiga, and governed the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire in the name of his father, who continued to stay at Triputī.

Soon after this, Yuvarājadēva I suffered a defeat, at the hands of Yaśōvarman, the Chandēlla king, who was ruling over the neighbouring kingdom of Jejābhukti. The Khajuraho inscription⁶ says that Yaśōvarman vanquished in battle a Chēdi king who had countless forces, who had planted his lotus-like foot on rows of diadems of famous kings and who was being protected by a multitude of angry and invincible bowmen riding elephants in rut that were marching along like huge mountains of collyrium. R. B. Hiralal thought that this battle took place at the time of the accession of Yuvarājadēva I.⁷ The latter was, however, a senior contemporary of Yaśōvarman. Besides, he is described in the aforementioned record as having already defeated a number of famous kings. The

I have shown above (p. xlvii) that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha were originally feudatories of the Early Kalachuris and later transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They were at first ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpur. Later, Achalapura seems to have become their capital.

^{*} It is not unlikely that the names of some of them were inserted for the sake of alliteration.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 284; Vol. V, p. 194-

⁴ The following verses which occur at the end of an unpublished commentary on a Saiva work state that Vandyaga (i.e., Baddiga) was staying at the Chēdi capital (Tripuri) after exterminating his enemies and that his son Krishna (III) was governing the kingdom by his order in the Saka year 858 (936 A.C.) गतवित शकाले मङ्गलेख्यसम्बं शरीद विश्वयक्ष चाश्विन शकारो । उद्गुन सुरपतीशे योग आयुक्तवीय तिथिरिप च गताना पञ्चमी यत्र शुद्धा ।। चेदिक्लराजधान्यां गतवित श्रीवन्द्यगे निहत्यारीन् । तच्छासनेन वसुधा परिरक्षांत ऋष्णराजेऽपि ।। The tithi mentioned here, viz., Friday, Āśvina śu. di. 5, Saka 858, regularly corresponds to the 23rd September 936 A.C., which leaves no room for doubt about the genuineness of the MS. and the correctness of the statements made therein. I owe this interesting reference to the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum.

⁸ This Dantiga is probably identical with Dantivarman who was defeated by Būtuga. The description in the Sudi and Kudlur plates suggests that he was a ruler of Banavāsi in North Kanara. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 180; A. R. A. S. M. (1921), p. 22.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 127.

⁷ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. IX, p. 287.

battle must, therefore, be dated towards the close of his reign.

Yuvarājadēva was a fervent devotee of Siva. He invited a Saiva ascetic named Prabhāvaśiva from Madhumatī which still survives as a small village under the name Mahuā, about a mile to the south of Terahi in Madhya Bharat. He built for him a monastery at the expense of an enormous amount of money at Gurgi in the former Rewa State and donated several villages for the maintenance of the Saiva ascetics residing there.1 He also erected a temple of Siva nearby. At Bhērā-Ghāt near his own capital Tripurī, he built a round hypæthral structure dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs.2 From the characters of the short inscriptions on their pedestals, it appears that most of the images of the Yoginis installed in the cells of this temple belong to the time of Yuvarājadēva I. This temple, therefore, is of the same age as the hypæthral granite structure at Khajuraho, which also was similarly dedicated to the sixty-four Yoginis. From its round shape, the temple was known as the Gölaki Matha (Circular Temple). It became in its turn an important seat of Saiva Achāryas and spread its branches in Cudappah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts of the Madras State. In an inscription3 discovered at Malkapuram in the Guntur District, it is stated that Yuvarājadēva gave, as bhikshā, three lakhs of villages to his guru Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Gōlakī Maṭha. This means that he assigned one third of the revenue of the Dahala country which contained nine lakhs of villages.4 His queen Nõhalā was also equally devoted to the same Saiva sect. She called another Saiva ascetic named Iśvaraśiva and donated two villages to him as a reward for learning (vidyādbana). She erected a lofty temple of Siva under the name of Nõhalēśvara⁵ and endowed it with the grant of seven villages situated in the neighbourhood.

Yuvarājadēva had a very learned, pious and capable Brāhmaņa minister, named Bhākamiśra. He is probably the prototype of Bhāgurāyaṇa who figures as the counsellor of the hero in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Another minister of his, who probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, the son of Bhānu. He was a devotee of Vishņu, and caused colossal images of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Balarāma and Paraśurāma incarnations of Vishņu to be carved out of rocks at Bāndhōgarh where he has left his own inscriptions.

Yuvarājadēva I was one of the most powerful rulers of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He raided distant countries and made even famous kings feel the weight of his arm. It is difficult to say if his raids resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory; for, no inscriptions of his reign have been discovered outside the Chēdi country. But his titles Chakravartin and Trikalingādhipati indicate that he occupied for a time the leading position among the powers of North and South India. This was evidently when the power of the Pratīhāras declined in the north owing to the raids of Indra III and that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was on the wane in the south owing to dissensions in the royal family during the reign of Gōvinda IV. Yuvarājadēva was a pious man, a great builder, and a patron of religion and literature.

¹ No. 46, Il. 43 ff.

² Though the temple is called Chausath Jögini Temple, there are in all 81 cells, one of which contains an image of Ganapati, and the rest, those of Yöginis. Five of these are of an earlier, perhaps Kushāna, age. H. T. M., p. 78.

^{*} J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

⁴ This statement needs to be verified from other records. The records of the Saiva Āchāryas themselves found in the Chēdi country make no mention of this munificent gift.

⁵ It is not known where this temple was situated. It is perhaps identical with the temple at Nöhatā on the main road between Jabalpur and Damoh. According to Cousens, it belongs at the latest to the 10th century Λ.C. See A. R. A. S. I. for 1903-4, p. 58.

Yuvarājadēva I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇarāja II, who was his son by his favourite wife Nōhalā. In the early part of his reign, Lakshmaṇarāja seems to have taken part in the northern campaign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. A Kanarese inscription¹ recently discovered at Jurā, 12 miles from the Maihar railway station, shows that Kṛishṇa III led an expedition in the north after he ascended the throne, and set up a monument in the Chēdi country. It is not dated; but as it mentions Kṛishṇa's extermination of the Chōla king, it must have been put up after 947 A.C.² It has been suggested that the erection of this monument implies defeat of the Chēdi king; but since there is no mention or even suggestion of it in the Jurā inscription, it seems that Kṛishṇa III set up the monument as he marched through the Chēdi kingdom. His relations with Lakshmaṇarāja II seem to have been as cordial as those of his father with Yuvarājadēva I.

Like his father, Lakshmanarāja also raided distant countries. The Kārītalāi inscription3 of his reign, which must have contained an account of his conquests, has unfortunately lost its initial historical portion; but in the records of his successors, he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated Pāṇdya, who was an adept in despoiling the king of Lata, who vanquished the Gurjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.' There is no corroboration of Lakshmanaraja's raid in Bengal and Kashmir; but the Bilhari inscription4 states that he defeated the lord of Kōsala (i.e., South Kosala or Chhattisgarh) and pressed on as far as Orissa. He vanquished the ruler of this latter country also, and obtained from him an effigy of the (Naga) Kaliya, wrought with jewels and gold. As regards his victory in Lata or Gujarat, we have the statement in the same inscription that Lakshmanaraja, in the course of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Someśvara, evidently identical with Somanatha near Veraval in Saurashtra and dedicated to the deity the aforementioned effigy of Kāliyā. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line5 in the contemporary Kārītalāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparni. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmanaraja's victory over the Cholas, who, and not the Pandyas, were supreme in the south in the latter half of the tenth century A.C., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmanarāja before he could press as far south as Tāmraparņī in the Pāṇdya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Cholas had not recovered from the attack of the Rashtrakūța prince Krishņa III and that the Pāṇdya king was raising his head and trying to reestablish his power with the help of the Rashtrakūtas,6 when his country was raided by Lakshmanaraja. Perhaps the object of the panegyrist was not to enumerate all kings defeated by Lakshmanaraja, and the Pandya king finds a mention because he was ruling in the extreme south.

The Gurjara king defeated by Lakshmanarāja must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji. The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva, and conjectured that he must

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.

² Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao ascribes it to 963-64 A.C.

³ No. 42.

⁴ No. 45, Il. 23-24.

⁵ No. 42, line 1.

Compare Kritvā daksbiņa-dig-jay-ödyata-dbiyā Chaul-ānvay-önmülanam tad-bbūmim nija-bbritya-vargga-paritas-Chēranma-Pāṇdy-ādikān in the Karhad plates of Krishna III; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 285.

⁷ H. T. M., p. 13.

have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gurjaras. But these suppositions do not appear to be correct. As stated before, Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Odra (Orissa). This Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country. Besides, Lakshmaṇarāja who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District of the United Provinces must have flourished long before Lakshmaṇarāja II of the Tripurī house.¹

Lakshmanarāja sought to strengthen his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Chālukyas, who were the rivals of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the Deccan. He gave his daughter Bonthādēvī in marriage to Vikramāditya IV, whose son Tailapa II (circa 956-997 A.C.)

later on overthrew the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king Karka II in 973 A.C.

Like his father and mother, Lakshmanarāja was a devout Saiva. The Bilhāri inscription states that he showed his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, and invited to his country the Saiva pontiff Hridayasiva, the spiritual successor of Chūḍāsiva. The latter ascetic seems to be identical with Sikhāsiva, whose disciple Prabhāvasiva had already been invited by Yuvarājadēva I. Hridayasiva received from Lakshmanarāja the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha at Bilhāri. He then placed his disciple Aghōrasiva in charge of the aforementioned temple of Nōhalēśvara. Another Saiva ascetic of the time was Praśāntasiva,² the spiritual successor of Prabhāvasiva. He became the head of the monastery at Gurgi in the former Rewa state. He built there a temple of Siva near another built by Yuvarājadēva I, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Sōṇa for the practice of Yōga, and another at Vārāṇasī (Banaras) for the performance of austerities.

The only record of Lakshmanarāja's reign discovered so far is the Kārītalāi stone inscription. It is not dated, but in view of the date of Yuvarājadēva I fixed above, we may

place Lakshmanaraja II in the period 945-970 A.C.

Lakshmaṇarāja had a very learned, accomplished and pious minister named Sōmēśvara, the son of Bhākamiśra who had served his father in the same capacity. He is highly glorified in the aforementioned Kārītalāi inscription. He is said to have mastered the Vēdas, logic, tantra and kāvya, and to have been proficient in music and other fine arts. He built at Kārītalāi a temple of the Boar incarnation of Vishņu under the name Sōmēśvara and established eight Brāhmaṇas there, for whose maintenance he donated the village Dīrgha-śākhika, modern Dighi, 6 miles south-east of Kārītalāi. The king Lakshmaṇarāja, his queen Rāhaḍā and the prince Sankaragaṇa, who is described as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, endowed the temple with gifts of several villages. Another minister of the king, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated 1048-49 A.C., but his name is lost in the lower mutilated portion of it.

Lakshmanarāja II was succeeded by Sankaragana III, who was his son probably from the queen Rāhaḍā. He is mentioned in both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates; but later inscriptions omit him, probably because he was a collateral. A stone inscription at Bargaon, 27 miles from Murwārā, records certain gifts in honour of the god Sankaranārāyaṇa. The deity was probably installed by Sankaragaṇa III and named after himself.³ It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a

devout worshipper of Vishņu in the Kārītalāi inscription.

¹ See below, p. cxii.

² He is mentioned in No. 44, ll. 8-9 and No. 46, ll. 11 ff.

³ Compare the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the deity installed in a temple erected by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, as stated in the Bodhan stone inscription dated 1036 A.C. H. A. S., No. 7.

Sankaragana seems to have been involved in a conflict with the Chandellas, whose kingdom was conterminous with his on the west. Krishna or Krishnapa, son of Yasovarman and brother of Dhanga, was ruling over the south-western portion of the Chandella kingdom extending from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsa in the south.1 From a stone inscription discovered by Dr. F. E. Hall many years ago at Bhilsa, we learn that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya gotra, who was the chief minister of Krishna, conquered the lord of Chedi and a Sabara chief named Simha and placed the kings of Rālā mandala and Rōdapādi on their thrones.2 Another stone inscription discovered by Mr. M. B. Garde at Maser, 25 miles north of Bhilsa in the Gwalior State, mentions that Narasimha of the Sulki (i.e., Chālukya) family initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood by the command of Krishnarāja.3 As the Chandella prince Krishna was a younger brother of Dhanga, for whom we have dates ranging from 952 to 1002 A.C., he can be referred to the period 960-985 A.C. The Kalachuri king, defeated and perhaps slain by his ministers, was probably Sankaragana. It is significant that both the Bilhari inscription and the Banaras plates have nothing but conventional praise for him. As his brother Yuvarājadēva II, who succeeded him, was a contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja (circa 974-994 A.C.), Sankaragana III seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years from circa 970 A.C. to 980 A.C.

Sankaragaṇa III probably left no issue; for, he was succeeded by his brother Yuvarājadēva II. About the political events of his reign we have very little information; for, though
he is named in many later inscriptions, they bestow only conventional praise on him. The
Karaṇbēl inscription alone states that he raided the countries in all quarters, and with
great devotion, presented the wealth he obtained from their rulers to the god Sōmēśvara.
As no other inscription mentions this achievement of Yuvarajadēva II, and as a similar one
is described in connection with his father Lakshmaṇarāja II, one is inclined to look with
suspicion on this description.

The prestige of the Kalachuris seems to have sunk very low during the reign of Yuvarājadēva II. From the Udaipur prašasti⁶ we learn that the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals, and held his sword on high at Tripurī. Vākpati could not have occupied the Kalachuri capital for a long time; for, he soon found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the Chālukyas on the southern border of his kingdom. He seems, therefore, to have made peace with the Kalachuri king and returned to his kingdom.

From a verse? which occurs in some inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, it has long been believed that Tailapa II, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty, defeated a king of Chēdi.⁸ Rai Bahadur Hiralal went so far as to identify the Chēdi ruler with Yuvarājadēva II.⁹ As Yuvarājadēva's sister Bōnthādēvī was the mother of Tailapa, ¹⁰

¹ Four inscriptions found at Dudahi name Kṛishṇapa, the son of Yaśōvarman who is plainly the well-known Chandella king of that name, the father of Dhanga. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

³ A. R. A. D. G. S. (1930-51), p. 10. ⁴ Appendix, No. 3, v. 13.

⁶ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

[#] Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ Hūṇa-prāṇabara-pratāpa-dabanō yātrā-trasan-Māravas=Chaidya-chchbēdy=akhila-kshamā-jaya-naya-vyut-panna-dbīr=Utpalab | yēn=ātyugra-ran-āgra-darfita-va(ba)la-prāchurya-saury-ōdayah kārāgāra-nivēfitah kavi-vrishā yain varnnayan ghūrnnatē || This verse occurs in several inscriptions. See e.g. the Kauthe grant of Vikramāditya V, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 23; the Yēwur grant of Vikramāditya VI, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 276; the Miraj grant of Jayasimha, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 11 etc.

⁸ E. H. D., p. 111; H. T. M. p. 14; D. H. N. I., Vol. II, p. 770.

⁹ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. IX, p. 291. ¹⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 276.

there is, of course, no chronological difficulty in this identification; but in view of Tailapa's close relationship with the Kalachuri king, his invasion of the Chēdi country appears improbable. As a matter of fact, the aforementioned verse describes the exploits, not of Tailapa II, but of a king named Utpala, whom he subjugated and threw into prison. 1 Dr. Fleet identified this Utpala who defeated a Chēdi king with Pānchāla, a western Ganga prince, whom, according to some other inscriptions, Tailapa killed in battle.2 From the Navasābasānkacharita,3 however, we learn that Utpala was a name of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Munja. So this defeat of the Chēdi king by Utpala is not different from that mentioned in the Udaipur prasasti, to which we have already referred.

As Yuvarājadēva II's grandson Gāngēyadēva closed his reign in 1041 A.C., we have to accommodate two reigns, viz., those of Yuvarājadēva II and Kōkalla II in the period 980-1015 A.C. Of these, Yuvarājadēva II had probably a shorter reign of about 10 years (circa 980-990 A. C.); for, his son Kōkalla II was very young when he came to the throne. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state that Kōkalla was placed on the throne by the chief ministers of Yuvarājadēva. This seems to suggest that he was a minor, when he began to rule. He may, therefore, have flourished from circa 990 to 1015 A.C.

The only record of Kōkalla II's reign is the Gurgi stone inscription,4 which is besides very much mutilated just where a prafasti of the Chēdi kings begins. Verse 34 of this inscription, which refers to the exploits of Kōkalla II, is somewhat better preserved. It intimates that the Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauda and Kuntala, being panic-stricken, evidently when they heard of Kōkalla's advance,5 deserted their kingdoms. The Gurjara king, who is said to have sought shelter in the Himālayas, must have been a ruler of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj, probably Rājyapāla. The Gauda king was probably Mahīpāla I (circa 992-1040 A.C.). The king of Kuntala, who was forced to leave his kingdom,6 was perhaps Vikramāditya V of the Later Chālukya Dynasty. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates of Yasahkarna describe that the progress of Kōkalla's four-membered army was checked only by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans. The vagueness of this description, however, makes it difficult to say if Kōkalla actually made successful incursions into the territories of the aforementioned kings.

That the Kalachuris had lost their place among the leading political powers of North India, during the reigns of Yuvarāja II and Kōkalla II, is also clear from the absence of any reference to them in the list of the prominent Hindu states which opposed Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.C. When in about 989 A.C. Jayapāla resolved to make a supreme effort to save India from the aggressions of Sabuktigin, he summoned to his aid the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjar and Kanauj.7 Again in 1008 A.C. when Jayapāla's son, Anandapāla, thought of invoking the aid of his Hindu compatriots to stem the tide of Mahmud's invasion, he sent emissaries to the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjar, Delhi and Ajmer. In neither

¹ See my article 'Did Tailapa defeat a Chēdi king? Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. IX, pp. 132 ff.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 18, no. 12.

³ Canto XI, v. 92.

⁴ No. 46.

⁶ Banerji thought that verse 34 of this inscription described the conquests of Gangeyadeva; but this is incorrect; for, as has been pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti (Ep. Ind., XXII, 129), the preceding verse (33) names Kökalla (II). This leaves no room for doubt that the achievements glorified in verse 34 belong to him and not to Gängeyadeva.

⁸ There is no reference to the ruler of Banaväsi, as wrongly supposed by Banerji.

⁷ Tārīkb-i-Firisbta, Translation by Briggs, p. 18,

of these lists do we find any mention of the Kalachuris, which shows that in this period they had ceased to count as a great political power in North India.

Kōkalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgēya in circa 1015 A.C. He was an aggressive and able king, and by his conquests raised his family to a high level of glory and prosperity. In the beginning of his reign, however, he occupied a comparatively subordinate position. This is indicated by the modest titles Mahārha-mahā-mahātaka and Mahārāja, with which he is mentioned in the Makundpur stone inscription, dated 1019 A.C. A Chandēlla inscription² at Mahōbā states that Bhōja and Kalachuri-chandra (the Moon of the Kalachuris) waited upon the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara, the master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kāṇyakubja, and who was lying on a couch. The Kalachuri-chandra is probably Gāṅgēya.³ The reference here is evidently to the attack on Rājyapāla for his abject submission to Mahmud, in which the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara took a leading part. He was aided by some princes, one of whom, we know, was the Kachchhapaghāta ruler Arjuna.⁴ The Paramāra Bhōja and the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya also seem to have fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in this expedition against Rājyapāla.⁵

In the south Gāṅgēya carried on the war with the Chālukyas, which had been commenced by his father. He seems to have achieved success for a time. In some records of his son Karṇa, Gāṅgēya is described as fond of defeating the king of Kuntala in a clever manner. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarṇa state that wishing to run away in haste from Gāṅgēya, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. The king of Kuntala must, of course, be taken to mean the contemporary ruler of the Later Chālukya Dynasty, namely, Jayasimha, who ruled from about 1015 A.C. to 1042 A.C. From the

¹ Firishta alone mentions this confederacy; but his statement may be incorrect in regard to Delhi and Ajmer, See Nazim, Sultan Mahmud, p. 89, n. 3.

Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 222. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has recently made the ingenious suggestion that Kulchand, mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as 'a Satanic leader who had assumed superiority over all other rulers, defeated, put to flight every one he had fought with, and possessed a great army, numerous elephants and strong forts which were secure from attack and capture, and who defended Mahāvan near Mathurā against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 A.C. is really Kökalla Chid or Kökalla II of Chēdi. S. I. M. H., p. 146. This is, chronologically, not impossible; because the earliest known date of Gāngēya's reign is 1019 A.C. But Prof. Hodivala's other suggestion that he is identical with the Kalachuri-kula-chandra who helped the Chandella prince Vidyādhara in defeating the pusillanimous Rājyapāla does not seem to be correct for two reasons: (i) the Muhammadan historians say that Kulchand committed suicide after his defeat at Mahāvan, and (ii) in 1019 A.C. when Rājyapāla was defeated, Gāngēya, not Kōkalla II, was on the throne. See the Makundpur stone inscription, dated K. 772 (1019 A.C.).

³ Dr. Hultzsch and, following him, Dr. H. C. Ray identify him with Kökalla II; but this is incorrect. See above, n. z.

⁴ See the Dubkund inscription. Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 233.

⁸ The colophon of a Rāmāyana Ms., discovered by Prof. Bendall in the Nepal Durbar Library, mentions Mabārājādbirāja Punyāvalōka Gāngēyadēva, born in the lunar family, as ruling over Tīrabhukti in sanivat 1076. Prof. Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and took it as equivalent to 1019-20 A.C. He identified Gāngēyadēva with the homonymous Kalachuri king, as the date falls in his reign. On the strength of this reference, it was believed for a long time that Gāngēya extended his sway to Tīrhut early in his reign. The epithet Punyāvalōka, however, made this identification doubtful; for, Kalachuri kings are not known to have assumed such epithets ending in avalōka. I have recently drawn attention to another epithet Garudadbvaja (previously misread by Bendall as Gaudadhvaja) applied to Gāngēya in the same colophon. It clearly shows that this king of Tīrhut was different from the Kalachuri Gāngēyadēva who was paramamābāsvara, i. e., a devout worshipper of Šiva. For the identification of this Gāngēyadēva of Tīrabhukti, see my article in A. B. O. R. I., Silver Jubilee Vol., pp. 291 ff.

⁶ No. 50, l. 18 and No. 51, l. 9.

Kulenur inscription¹ it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājēndra to attack Jayasiṁha from three sides. Victory does not, however, appear to have always attended the arms of the allies; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasiṁha's cousin Chaṭṭadēva alias Kundarāja. From another inscription we learn that the battle was fought on the bank of the Gautama-Gaṅgā or Gōdāvarī.² Bhōja and his allies appear to have sustained a disastrous defeat; for, the Balagamve inscription states that Jayasiṁha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava king.³

The alliance between the Kalachuris and the Paramāras seems to have been of short duration; for, we find that Bhōja soon attacked and defeated Gāṅgēya. In one of the Nāndī verses of the inscribed Sanskrit play Pārijātamañjarī, Bhōja is said to have had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya. The Udaipur prafasti⁵ and the Kalwan plates also refer to Bhōja's victory over a Chēdi king who can be none other than Gāṅgēyadēva.

Verse 19 of the Rewa stone inscription of Karna7 describes in a conventional manner Gāngēva's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa, which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse. This latter verse says that Gangeyadeva, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm the pillar of victory on the shore of the (eastern) ocean after vanquishing the king of Utkala. In this war Gangeya was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāṇa. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I8 record that Kamalarāja, an early prince of the Tummāṇa branch, vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gangeyadeva. The king of Utkala was, it seems, a member of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Subhākara II, as shown below. During this campaign Gāngēya seems to have also defeated Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti, the ruler of South Kōsala. In one of his grants Yayati is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas, i.e., the people of the Chedi country, and carried fire and sword into their home province of Dahala.9 The war seems to have continued for some time, and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gangeyadeva was ultimately victorious, he might have assumed the title of Trikalingadhipati after his success. We know that his son Karna mentions this title in his first known grant10 issued just a year after Gangeya's death.

The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni had shattered the power and prestige of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Trilōchanapāla is the last known Pratīhāra king who was exercising some loose authority over the Gangetic Doab till 1027 A.C.; for, his Jhusi grant¹¹ of that year records the donation of a village to the Brāhmaṇas of Pratishṭhāna. The power of the Chandēllas, the only other ruling family of Central India capable of thwarting the ambition of Gāṅgēya, was waning after the death of Gaṇḍa. Some time after 1027 A.C. Gāṅgēya seems to have embarked on a bold policy of conquest and annexation. Throwing

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 330.

² Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 359.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 17.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 101.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 235.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 71.

⁷ No. 51.

⁸ No. 76, l. 13.

⁹ J. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. I (1905), p. 4-

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 34.

¹¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

off the yoke of Chandella suzerainty, he overran the Doab and even carried his arms as far as the Kāngrā valley; for, he is said to have thrown into the cage of a prison the king of the Kīra country.¹ Gāngēya's conquest of the Doab is corroborated by the find of his coins in Uttar Pradesh. He then fixed his residence in the holy city of Prayāga, which, with some interruption,² he held to the last.

Gangeya next extended his sway to Banaras. Several powerful rulers seem to have vied with one another for the occupation of this ancient city, which was regarded as holy by the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmanas. Towards the close of the 10th century, it was in the occupation of the Chandellas; for, a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1055 (998 A.C.) records the grant of a village which the powerful king Dhanga made at Kāśikā or Banaras.3 Thereafter, the city seems to have passed into the possession of the Pālas. The Sārnāth stone inscription4 dated V. 1083 (1026 A.C.) records that by the order of the Pāla Mahipāla I of Bengal, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla established hundreds of precious monuments of glory in Kāśī. Some time after this date, the city seems to have again changed hands. The Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi describes a swift raid of Ahmad Niyal Tigin, the Governor of the Panjab, which he carried out in the summer of H. 424 (1033 A.C.).5 This raid was directed against the city of Banaras which belonged to the territory of Gang. This Gang is none other than Gāngēya, for, the date falls in his reign. The Muhammadan army plundered the city from morning to mid-day; but it could remain there no longer 'because of the peril.' This seems, therefore, to have been a surprise raid, and the invaders knew full well what risk they would run if they stayed there longer. They, therefore, left the city in haste and got back in safety.

After these conquests Gāṅgēya seems to have assumed the imperial titles of Mabārājā-dbirāja and Paramēśvara. These titles appear in the Piawan rock inscription of his reign dated K. 789 (1037-38 A.C.). His fame spread far and wide. Albērūnī, writing in 1030 A.C., mentions in his work that Gāṅgēya was the ruler of the Dāhala country, the capital of which was Tiaurī (Tripurī).6

Gāṅgēya's conquests brought him into conflict with the Chandēllas. An inscription from Mahōbā' states that when Gāṅgēya thought of the impending fierce fight (with the Chandēlla Vijayapāla), even he who had slighted and conquered the whole world felt that the lotus of his heart had the knot of martial pride closed. This seems to imply that the redoubtable Gāṅgēya submitted to the Chandēlla king. Judging by subsequent events, however, victory seems ultimately to have rested with the Kalachuri king.

In the east Gāṅgēya carried his arms as far as Aṅga and Magadha. The copperplate grants of his son Karṇa record that he looked radiant with the mass of wealth of the king of Aṅga⁸ (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts). The expedition against Magadha seems to have occurred towards the close of Gāṅgēya's reign. It was led by his son Karṇa. From the Tibetan accounts we learn that the army of Karṇa advanced as far as Gayā. The Pāla king Nayapāla was then ruling over Magadha. Karṇa's troops sacked some of the

¹ No. 50, l. 18; No. 51, l. 9.

² The Karā inscription (V. 1093) of Yasaḥpāla, whose lineage is not known, records the grant of a village in the Kausāmba maṇḍala, J. R. A. S. (1927), p. 694. Yasaḥpāla had the title of Mahārājādbirāja. He seems to have dispossessed Gāngēya of Allahabad for some time.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 201 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ E. D. H. I., Vol. II, p. 123.

⁸ Sachau, Albersni's India (1914), Vol. I, p. 202.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 222.

⁸ This may have been Mahipāla I (988-1038 A.C.). H. B., Vol. I, p. 141.

sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five men, out of whom four were ordained monks and one an upāsaka. Ultimately, through the efforts of the renowned Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpamkara, who risked his life several times in crossing the rivers that lay between the contending parties, a treaty was signed, by which friendship was established between the two kingdoms. This expedition seems to have taken place some time before 1040 A.C., which is the approximate date of Atiśa's departure for Tibet. As Gāṅgēya was ruling till the beginning of 1041 A.C., the invasion of Magadha cannot be placed in the reign of Karṇa himself. It seems to have occurred towards the end of Gāṅgēya's reign. In that case Karṇa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēya.

Gāṅgēya was fond of residing at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga,² which became his second capital. He died at the same place. His hundred wives are said to have immolated themselves on his pyre. The date of his death can be accurately determined from that of his first annual śrāddha which was performed by his son Karņa at Prayāga. According to Karṇa's Banaras grant, which was made on the occasion, the śrāddha was performed on the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 793. Gāṅgēya must, therefore, have died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

Gângēya was one of the most illustrious members of the Kalachuri dynasty. When he ascended the throne, Kalachuri power was weak and effete. By his valour and diplomacy, he revived the imperial glory of his family. He extended his kingdom so far in the north as to include a major part of the modern Uttar Pradesh. As the Pratīhāras were too weak to defend the holy places of the north against the attacks of the Muslim iconoclasts, he took them under his own protection, and to guard them effectively, he made Prayāga his second capital.³ From the grants of his grandson Yaśaḥkarṇa, we learn that he assumed the coveted title of Vikramādītya.⁴ Even in the records of his enemies he was called a world-conqueror (jita-viśva).⁵ At his death, he left a fairly large empire, which was further extended by his son Karṇa.

Găngēya was an ardent Saiva. According to the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Nara-simha,6 he erected a matchless temple of the Mēru type, which was probably dedicated to Siva. His Piawan rock inscription also seems to have recorded the installation of a Siva-linga.7

Gāṅgēya introduced the Lakshmī type of coinage, which became very popular in North India. The obverse of these coins is wholly occupied by the king's name in bold Nāgarī characters in three lines, and the reverse, by the figure of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals, gold, silver and copper, and in four denominations which Smith calls dramma, half-dramma, quarter-dramma and one-eighth dramma.8

¹ J. B. T. S., Vol. I, pp. 9 ff.

² See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 12.

³ Kalachuri inscriptions make no mention of Gängeya's encounter with Mahmud of Ghazni, whose contemporary he was. Prof. Hodivala makes the ingenious suggestion that Kābakan, who ruled the country bordering on the territory of Nanda (i.e., the Chandella Ganda) and who sent some wonderful presents to Mahmud after the latter's generous treatment of the Chandella ruler, was Gāngeya. He is said to have been a master of 1000 elephants. S. I. M. H., pp. 73 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 11.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 222.

⁶ No. 60, v. 9.

⁷ Appendix, No. 1.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, p. 147.

The Lakshmi type introduced by Gāngēya was subsequently copied by the Chandellas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Tomars, and was introduced even in distant Kashmir.¹

As stated above, Gāngēyadēva was succeeded by his son Karņa in 1041 A.C. From several inscriptions of his reign as well as from references in literary records, Sanskrit and Prakrit, we can form a general idea of the main political events of his reign.

The Rewa stone inscription2 dated in K. 800 (1048-49 A.C.) shows that in the first seven years of his reign, Karna attained remarkable victories in the east, south and west. He seems to have first proceeded to the east. Verse 26 of the aforementioned inscription states that the ship of the king of the eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of Karna's forces, its joints being rent by dashing against the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants. This verse clearly implies that Karna obtained a decisive victory over the king of the eastern country, who lost his life in the encounter. Who was this king of the eastern country? He could scarcely have been the contemporary Pala king; for, the kingdom of the Palas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihar and North-West Bengal. From the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha,3 on the other hand, we learn that when Karna gave a full play to heroism, the Vanga trembled with the Kalinga. Karna's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vanga or Eastern Bengal. The tenour of the description suggests that the ruling family was supplanted and the kingdom was either annexed by Karna or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact, we find the Vermans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A.C. Gövindachandra, the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal,4 is also mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription5 of Rājēndra Chōla I as the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa. He was defeated in circa 1021 A.C. by Rājēndra I, the illustrious Chola Emperor (1014—1044 A.C.). When Karna invaded Eastern Bengal, either this prince or his successor was on the throne. After the overthrow of the Chandra king, Karna placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and gave his daughter Vīraśrī in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter distinguished himself in one of the later campaigns of Karna in the country of Anga.6 The Rewa inscription shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected in any case before 1048-49 A.C.

Karṇa next turned his attention to the south. Verse 25 of the aforementioned Rewa inscription describes Karṇa's southern campaigns in a figurative style. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kāṇchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern direction in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (by kissing).' It is difficult to say how far this figurative description correctly represents historical facts. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in this verse, had long ceased to be supreme in the south, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in 890 A.C.⁷ A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nōlamba-

¹ J. N. S. I., Vol. III, p. 26.

² No. 51.

¹ No. 60, l. 10.

⁴ H. B., Vol. I, p. 196. See the Paikpara inscription of his reign. Ind. Cul., Vol. VII, pp. 403 ff.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 99.

⁶ I. B., Vol. III, p. 20.

⁷ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cholas, Vol. I, p. 136.

vāḍī 32000 down to the eleventh century A.C.;¹ but they had no control over the territory round Kānchī and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long list of his conquests in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas

is concerned, the description in the verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchī is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgā-purī or Gāṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājēndra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital.² Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasimha.³ R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Vīrarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman, who was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A.C. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in verse 25 of the Rewa inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in 1048-49 A.C. Karna's adversary must, therefore, be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājēndra Chōla I, who ruled from 1044 to 1054 A.C.

While Karna was in the south, he seems to have encountered the king of Kuntala. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The battle does not seem to have ended in a decisive victory for either side; for, both the belligerants claimed success for themselves. As stated above, the Rewa inscription speaks of the fortune of the Kuntala king being seized by Karṇa. Bilhaṇa, on the other hand, records in his Vikramānkadēvacharita that Āhavamalla (i.e., Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, after which glory never embraced the country of Dāhala.⁴

Karna seems to have come into conflict with the king of the Gurjara country also. Verse 27 of the Rewa inscription says that when Karna approached the Gurjara country, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from their foreheads. This description indicates that Karna had raided Gujarat before 1048 A.C. This is also corroborated by an Apabhramsa verse in the *Prākrita-Paingala* which states that Karna had exterminated the forces of a Gurjara king. This may have been followed

by negotiations for peace as subsequent events show.

Though Karna had thus raided different parts of India in the first seven years of his reign, he was not yet able to annex any territory to his kingdom. His success during the next two or three years was much greater. His contemporary on the throne of Malwa was the illustrious Bhōja, who was as much distinguished for valour as for learning. He had also raided different countries and defeated the rulers of Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kōnkaṇa and others. The defeat he had inflicted on Gāṅgēyadēva must have been rankling in Karṇa's mind. The latter, therefore, formed an alliance with Bhīma of Gujarat.⁵ The allied forces invaded Malwa from the east and the west. Just about this time Bhōja died, and as he did not leave any son, the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the

¹ H. I. S. I., pp. 371-2.

² See, e. g., VDCH., Canto I, v. 115; Canto III, v. 76; Canto IV, v. 28 etc. Bilhana mentions Ganga-kundapura also as a Chola capital., Ibid., Canto VI, vv. 21-24.

^a Appendix, No. 3, l. 10.

⁴ VDCH., Canto I, vv. 102-3.

⁶ Mērutunga in his PCH. (p. 51) states that Karņa, promising Bhīma a half of the Mālava kingdom, invited him to attack Bhōja in the rear. Though Mērutunga's account contains much fanciful matter, this statement may be true. Sōmēśvara's Kirtikaumudī (II, 18) states that Bhīma spared the life of Bhōja though the latter had fallen into his hands.

risings of the scions of the Paramāra family. It fell an easy prey to the invaders, who soon captured Dhārā, the capital of Malwa,¹ and dethroned Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja.² According to Merutunga's account, Karṇa violated the previous agreement and annexed the whole of Malwa.³ This enraged Bhīma, who invaded the Chēdi country. Hēmachandra in his Dvyāśrayakāvya states that Bhīma, penetrated to the capital of the Chēdi country; but Karṇa made peace with him by presenting him horses, elephants and the golden mandapikā of Bhōja which he had carried away.⁴

Karņa next turned his attention to the Chandēlla kingdom. The Chandēlla dynasty had produced several powerful princes, some of whom such as Yaśōvarman, Vidyādhara and Vijayapāla had exacted submission from the Kalachuris. But at this time the throne was occupied by a weak ruler named Dēvavarman, son of Vijayapāla. The only inscription of his reign is a copper-plate record⁵ discovered at Nanyaurā in the Hamirpur District of Uttar Pradesh. It registers the grant of a village which Dēvavarman made in V. 1107 (1051 A.C.) on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death. Soon after this, he seems to have succumbed to an attack by Karņa. Bilhaṇa, in his Vikramānka-dēvacharita (Canto XVIII, v. 93), speaks of Karṇa as 'Death to the lord of Kālañjara' who was evidently Dēvavarman.⁶ After this victory, Karṇa incorporated the country of Jajjhauti into his own dominion.

About this time Karņa also invaded North-Western Bengal. This was his second invasion of the Pāla kingdom. On this occasion he pressed as far as Paikore in the Birbhum District of Bengal. His route must have lain through South Bihar. The Pāla king, who must have been Vigrahapāla III, seems to have soon capitulated to the invader. Karņa's invasion of the Pāla dominion is attested to by the discovery of an inscribed decorative pillar which the Chēdi king dedicated to a goddess during his stay at Paikore.⁷ The Karaṇbēl stone inscription⁸ intimates that the king of Gauḍa submitted to Karṇa. Hēmachandra⁹ records that the king of Gauḍa entreated Karṇa to save his life and throne in return for a large treasure which he presented to him. The Rāmacharita of Sandhyākaranandin (Canto I, v. 9), however, claims a victory for the Pāla king Vigrahapāla. Whatever may have been the actual result of the war, the two families were afterwards united by a matrimonial alliance. Karṇa gave his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vigrahapāla and thus turned the Pāla adversary into a faithful ally.¹⁰

¹ PCH. p. 51. The Vadnagar prasasti also states that with his cavalry Bhīma captured Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava Chakravartin. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 297.

² In the VDCH. (Canto III, v. 67) Bilhana states that the king of Mālava, evidently Jayasimha, sought the help of Somēšvara when he lost his kingdom.

³ PCH., p. 51.

^{*} DK., Canto IX, v. 57. Mērutunga also quotes a traditional verse which states that Bhīma received from Karņa, inter alia, a golden mandapikā. See PCH., p. 52. The words rājnā Rēvā na langby-ēti, which occur in v. 54 of Canto IX in DK., have been taken by Mr. A. Ghosh to mean that the king (Karņa or Bhīma) promised not to cross the Narmadā. Ind. Cul., Vol. VII, p. 17. This is incorrect. The words occur in the speech of Karņa addressed to Dāmōdara, the ambassador of Bhīma. Karņa says that he would have gone forth to meet and receive Bhīma, but the astrologers had advised him not to cross the Rēvā.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 204 ff.

⁶ V. Smith thought that it was Kirtivarman, the brother of Devavarman, who was driven by Karna from the throne. But the description in the VDCH and the PCHU clearly indicates that Karna not only drove the lord of Kālanjara from the throne but also exterminated him. He could, therefore, be none other than Devavarman; for, Kirtivarman lived to regain his throne as described below.

⁷ No. 49, l. 5. Cf. the Apabhrarisa verse cited below, p. xcvii, n. 1.

⁸ Appendix, No. 3, l. 11.

⁹ DK., Canto IX, v. 38.

¹⁰ RCH., Canto I, v. 9. This kāvya states that Vigrahapāla vanquished Karna, but saved him by making with him a treaty of peace which an old commentator of the work calls kapālasandhi. In this sandhi a large sum of money is required to be paid the conqueror. See RCH., Introd., p. x.

In 1052 A.C. Karna was thus at the height of his power. He had under his sway practically the whole of Central India including the erstwhile kingdoms of the Pratihāras, the Paramaras and the Chandellas. In the east the Pala and Varman kings were matrimonially allied with him. In the north his authority was recognized as far as the Kangra valley,1 the ruler of which had submitted to him. In the west, the only foe worthy of his steel was Bhima of Gujarat; but as stated already, Karna had made peace with him. In the south, he had inflicted a defeat on the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, though his campaigns do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory. His authority was in any case unquestioned in North India,2 and if Bilhana's account can be believed, the mere sound of his horses' hoofs routed the forces of his enemies.3

To proclaim his attainment of the position of Chakravartin or Universal Emperor, Karna seems to have crowned himself again in the Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.). His regnal year, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription4 of his general Vappulla, is counted from this second coronation.

On account of his ambition and successful military campaigns, Karna is called Hindu Napoleon. And like the great French Emperor, he suffered serious reverses in the latter part of his career. He could not retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned and driven out of Malwa, sought the Chālukya king Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla's aid against the powerful confederacy of Bhīma and Karņa. The Chālukyas and Paramāras were inveterate foes, and their hostilities continued for several generations. Ahavamalla had himself previously stormed Dhārā, from which the king Bhōja had to flee.5 But on this occasion Ahavamalla thought it politic to reverse his policy towards the Paramāra house; for, he realized that if Karņa was allowed to retain possession of the Paramara territory, he would become a menace to the northern frontier of the Chālukya kingdom. He, therefore, resolved to support the cause of Jayasimha, and directed his valiant son Vikramaditya to lend his aid to Jayasimha to regain his throne.6 It would appear that in his northern campaigns, Vikramaditya was not always successful; for, an Apabhramsa verse mentions Karna's victory over the mighty Vikrama, evidently

¹ See Appendix, No. 3, I. 11.

² In his DK. (Canto IX, vv. 33 ff), Hēmachandra makes Bhīma's ambassador Dāmödara refer to several other victories of Karna, viz., those over the rulers of Dasarna and Kalinga and the kings Bhadrabhaṭa, Yanti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Vanti and Manti. Hēmachandra seems to have distorted the names of kings to illustrate grammatical rules. It is also not unlikely that these are altogether fictitious names.

^{*} VDCH., Canto XVIII, v. 95. As Mr. A. Ghosh has already pointed out, tukkbāra in this verse does not mean any race, but denotes a particular breed of superior horses, probably the Tokharian horses.

⁴ No. 53. The date of this inscription is Samvat 812, Thursday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Magha in the ninth regnal year. This date regularly corresponds to Thursday, January 4th, 1061 A.C. As this date fell in the ninth regnal year, Karna must have been crowned a second time in 1052 A.C. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile this date with the first coronation which occurred in 1041 A.C. (See below, pp.239 ff.) D.R. Bhandarkar thought that navame in the Rewa inscription of Vappulla was a mistake for navadaše and that the inscription was put up in the nineteenth regnal year. But the month of Magha in the nineteenth regnal year should fall in K. 811, not in K. 812; for Magha of the first regnal year fell in K. 793, as the Kalachuri year began in Kārttika. A. Ghosh has suggested that the regnal year is correctly mentioned, but the figures of the sameat were wrongly written as 812 instead of 802. This explanation also is not of any help; for, the month of Magha in the ninth regnal should fall in K. 801, not in K. 802. We must, therefore, suppose that the second coronation of Karna did take place some time in 1052 A.C.

⁵ VDCH., Canto I, vv. 91-94-

^{*} Ibid., Canto III, v. 67.

Vikramāditya VI, the son of Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla.¹ However, Vikramāditya eventually succeeded in placing Jayasimha on the throne of Malwa. He carried his victorious arms even as far as Gauda and Kāmarūpa,² for which he must have overrun the Chēdi country. These encounters must have occurred before 1055 A.C.; for, we find Jayasimha secure on the throne in the month Āshādha of that year.³

The Chandella kingdom also soon slipped out of Karna's hands. Kirtivarman, the brother of Devavarman, soon succeeded in regaining his ancestral territory. Verse 26 of a Chandella inscription discovered at Mahoba4 records the victory of Kirtivarman over Lakshmikarna in the following words-"Just as Purushöttama (Vishnu), having produced the nectar by churning, with the mountain (Mandara), the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakshmi together with the elephants (of the eight regions), -he (viz., Kirtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakshmikarna, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants." Lakshmikarna is, no doubt, identical with the Kalachuri Karna. In the Ajayagadh rock inscription⁵ of the Chandella Viravarman (dated V. 1317), Kirtivarman is described as the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing the ocean in the form of Karna, and as the lord of Creatures (Brahmā) in creating anew (his) kingdom. The Prabodhachandrodaya, which also refers to this event in its prologue, calls this Karna Chēdipati (Lord of the Chēdi country). From this work we learn that Kirtivarman's victory was mainly due to the bravery of his Brāhmana general, Gōpāla. The play was performed before Kīrtivarman to commemorate this brilliant victory of the Chandellas. In the prologue of the play, Gopala is eulogised as the Great Boar who raised the earth which was submerged in the great ocean of world-destruction in the form of a multitude of powerful kings.6 In another passage he is said to have obtained the goddess of victory after exterminating the army of Karna, even as Vishņu obtained Lakshmi by churning the ocean of milk.7 In a third passage, Gopāla's anger is said to have been roused to re-establish on the earth the sovereignty of the kings of the lunar race, which (sovereignty) had been uprooted by the lord of Chēdi who was Rudra and Kālāgni (the Fire of world-destruction) to the families of all kings.8 In a subsequent passage of the same prologue, Gopāla is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious Kirtivarman after vanquishing the powerful Karna, even as discrimination leads to right knowledge after dispelling strong delusion.9 The multiplicity of references to this victory suggests the stupendous nature of the task accomplished by Gōpāla. Another chief who also claimed credit for saving Kirtivarman from Karna was mentioned in a fragmentary inscription10 found at Jhansi; but, unfortunately, his name is lost.

The date of the restoration of Chandella power cannot be definitely fixed; for, the only known date of Kirtivarman's reign is that furnished by a rock inscription at the Deogarh Fort, viz., V. 1154 (1098 A.C.). This inscription states that Vatsarāja, the chief

¹ Cf. जे गंजिअ गोलाहबइ राउ उद्दंड ओहु जसु भज पराउ। गुरुविक्कम विक्कम जिणिअ जुज्झता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ न बुज्झ ।। Prākṛita Paingala, I, 126.

² VDCH., Canto III, v. 74-

² See the date of his Mandhata grant; Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 222.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 327.

⁶ PCHU., p. 11.

⁷ Ibid., p. 18.

^{*} Ibid., p. 19.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 216.

¹¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff.

minister of Kirtivarman, wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and built the fort which he named Kirtigiri, evidently in honour of his lord Kirtivarman. The unnamed enemy is probably Karna himself. Karna's defeat must, however, have occurred long before the date of this inscription. Vincent Smith approximately dates the accession of Kirtivarman in 1060 A.C.¹ If this date is correct, Karna must have been in occupation of the Chandella kingdom for seven or eight years.

Towards the close of his reign, Karna made another attempt to wipe out the neighbouring state of Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Ahavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Someśvara II. The latter was afraid of his ambitious younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, and, therefore, must have readily allied himself with the powerful Kalachuri Emperor and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained a greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription very graphically describes in verse 32 the terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country at the time. It says that when Bhōja had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which the sovereign was submerged, his brother Udayaditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings such as the lord of Karnāta and Karna, who swept over it like great oceans, this (prince) did indeed act like the holy Boar.2 The expression rājyē cha kuly-ākulē in this verse is significant. Besides the meaning given above, it signifies another, viz., that the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the rising of the scions of the (Paramara) family. Even though Jayasimha had ascended the throne with the help of the Châlukya king Ahavamalla, it seems that there were some members of the Paramara family (kulyas) who did not acquiesce in it. It is not known how Jayasimha was related to Bhoja. In his records he, no doubt, describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhoja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. Perhaps he was his brother as conjectured by Dr. Altekar.3 In that case there may have been other members of the Paramara family who thought that they had an equal or even a better claim to the throne. So long as Jayasimha had the support of the powerful Chālukya Emperor, Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla, they could not do anything; but on the death of the Emperor, they must have risen in revolt. Perhaps these risings were fomented by the ambitious Kalachuri Emperor Karna, who had so far been foiled in his attempt to annex Malwa permanently. When he found that the Malwa kingdom was torn by a civil war, he made his alliance with Someśvara II, the son of Ahavamalla, and invaded Malwa. The wording of the aforementioned verse of the Nagpur Museum inscription shows that the invaders were more than two. This is corroborated by a stone inscription of the Paramara prince Jagaddeva, recently discovered at Döngargaon in the Yeotmal District of Berar, which states that Malwa was invaded by a confederacy of three kings.4 Two of these were, of course, the Kalachuri

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXVII, p. 149.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 185. Kielhorn read the second hemistich of this verse (32) as येनोद्ध्य महाणांवीपमिल्टकणांटकणांत्रमुख्यांपालकर्दांवेतां भूविममां श्रीमदराहायितम् II C. V. Vaidya ingeniously conjectured that the correct reading should be कृष्णांत्रमृत्यूव्यांपाल—, and I find from the original stone deposited in the Nagpur Museum that this is the actual reading. This reading suits the metre and yields a better sense. It shows that Malwa was invaded at that time by a confederacy of more than two kings. This is corroborated by the Döngaraon inscription of Jagaddeva (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 183), as stated above,

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

⁴ See the verse ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैमंग्नां मालवमेदिनीम् । उद्धरन्तुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवद्धंत ॥ ibid.,

Karṇa¹ and the Karṇāṭa king (Sōmēśvara II)² as stated in the Nagpur Museum inscription. The third member of the confederacy was probably the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya. From several records in the Kanarese country, we know that this Udayāditya and his feudatory, the valiant Hōysaļa prince Ereyaṅga joined Sōmēśvara II in his attack on Malwa. Ereyaṅga, in particular, is said to have trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's fort, and burnt and devastated Dhārā.³

Jayasimha succumbed to this attack, and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom had been completely wiped out. The terrible disaster which befell the Mālava country at this time is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum inscription, which likens it to the catastrophe of the destruction of the world when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. The Udaipur prasasti compares it to the dense darkness which envelopes the world when the sun sets. Both the similes indicate the gloom of despondency which had then overpowered the adherents of the Paramāra family. This invasion of Malwa occurred early in the reign of Sōmēśvara II (1069-1075 A.C.), in circa 1070 A.C.

It is not known how the invaders divided the spoils. Karna may have annexed Malwa and given the country to the south of the Narmadā to Sōmēśvara II.5 The Kalachuri Emperor could not, however, retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Udayāditya, one of the brothers of Bhōja,6 rescued the country from the grip of Karna. The Nagpur Museum inscription compares him with the primeval Boar who uplifted the earth at the time of pralaya. The Udaipur prašasti describes him as another Sun, as it were, who, destroying the dense darkness, namely, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, gladdened the hearts of the people by his splendour. In the latter half of the prasasti recently discovered at Udaipur, Udayāditya is credited with the total destruction (sanhāra) of the king of Dāhala (Dāhalādhīsa), who is plainly the Kalachuri Karna.7 The restoration of the Paramāra rule in Malwa may be dated in circa 1073 A.C.8 The Jabalpur

I Latterly the view has been advanced that he was the Chaulukya king Karna of Gujarat, the successor of Bhīma. Some late Sanskrit works, no doubt, state that the Chaulukya Karna defeated a king of Malwa, but they do not state that the latter was Jayasimha. On the other hand, the Kalachuri Karna's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is mentioned in an Apabhramsa verse cited in the *Prākrita-Paingala*. This view is again corroborated by the latter part of the recently discovered Udaipur *pratasti* which states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dāhala. D. C. Ganguli's statement that Udayāditya, by defeating Gutjara Karna, obtained Mālava (H. P. D., p. 132 and I. H. Q., Vol. XVIII, p. 266) is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in the *Pritbvīrājavijaya*.

^{*} The Sudi stone inscription dated Saka 996 (1075 A.C.) mentions Somesvara II as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Malavyas. The reference is clearly to his extermination of the Paramara Jayasimha.

⁸ H. P. D., pp. 128-29. ⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 236.

Sīyaka seems to have extended his kingdom to the south of the Narmadā. In the time of Muñja the Gödāvarī was the southern boundary of the Paramāra dominion, and though Tailapa may have annexed some territory to the north of this river, it was soon recovered by Sidhurāja as stated in the NSCH., Canto I, v. 74. A copper-plate inscription of Bhōja's feudatory Yaśōvarman has been found at Kalvan in the Nasik District (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff), indicating that the country continued to be held by the Paramāras. After this time no records of the Paramāras except those of Jagaddēva have been found in Mahārāshṭra. Jagaddēva is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 177 ff.

⁶ It was believed for a long time that Udayāditya was a distant relative of Bhōja; but the Dōngar-gaon inscription, which calls him the bhrātā of Bhōja, has put the matter beyond doubt.

⁷ A. R. A. D. G. S. (1925-26), p. 13.

^{*} The earliest known date of Udayaditya is V. 1137 (1080-81 A. C.) furnished by the Udaipur inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 83). An earlier date (V. 1116) of the king also occurs at the same place; but it is given by a very late record of the 16th century A. C., which Dr. F. E. Hall calls 'a horribly incorrect scrawl' (J. A. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35).

and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that Karṇa himself crowned his son Yaśaḥkarṇa.¹ We do not know why he abdicated the throne in favour of his son. It may be because of discomfiture at the failure of his schemes to bring the whole of India under one royal umbrella; or, he may have been forced to do so by the powerful rulers of Malwa, Jajjhauti and Gujarat, all of whom were now up in arms against him. His reign seems to have come to an end in 1073 A.C.; for, the earlier of the two known grants of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa was made in 1076 A.C.² As it mentions Yaśaḥkarṇa's expedition against an Andhra king, the Kalachuri emperor must have come to the throne at least two or three years earlier. We may, therefore, place his accession and the abdication of his father in circa 1073 A.C.

Karņa was the greatest king of the Kalachuri dynasty. In the early part of his career, he seems to have carried everything before him and to have become the undisputed Chakravartin of North India.³ In the Goharwa plates, which he issued in the seventh regnal year (1047 A.C.), he is seen to have assumed, besides the usual imperial titles, Paramabhatīāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēšvara, two high-sounding ones, viz., Trikalingādhipati (Lord of the Three Kalingas) and Nijabhuj-ōpārjit-āšvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati(tya), (he who by his arms has acquired overlordship over the three rājās, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men). Of these two titles, Trikalingādhipati seems to have been first assumed by his ancestor Yuvarājadēva I.⁴ It may have been revived by Gāngēyadēva after his conquest of Utkala; for, some contemporary kings of the Sōmavamšī dynasty ruling over Kōsala and Utkala proudly mention this title in their records. The other title 'Overlord of the three Rājās etc.' was for the first time assumed by Karna. It continued to be used not only by his descendants but by several kings of other dynasties also, such as the Gāhaḍavālas, the Sēnas and the Chandēllas. Originally, it seems to

3 He is called the seventh Chakravartin of the world in the Göpälpur stone inscription. Appendix, No. 5, L 9.

^a See above, p. lxxviii.
^b See above, p. xc.

⁷ Prof. Rapson, who has examined this question in detail (W. C. V., pp. 196 ff.), has come to the conclusion that 'during the period of its use from c. 1040 to 1240, it (i.e., the title) denoted the overlord of the Allahabad District, the region of the once famous kingdom of Kauśambi, and that it passed by conquest from one possessor of this region to the next.' It may, however, be noted that Karna's own Banaras plates, dated K. 1042, do not mention this title though he undoubtedly held Allahabad at the time.

8 See, e. g., No. 16, Il. 23 ff; No. 61, Il. 3 ff; No. 63, I. 21.

A Nos. 56 and 57, verse 16. This seems to conflict with the statement in the latter part of the Udaipur pralatti which speaks of the total destruction of Karna by Udayaditya. Karna may have been killed on the battlefield.

² The plates give the date (K.) 823; but the details do not work out satisfactorily, and it seems that their correct date is (K.) 827. Besides, if Yasahkarna really made the grant in K. 823 (1172 A. C.), we shall have to suppose that Sōmēśvara II's accession, his alliance with Karna and invasion of Malwa, the devastation of Dhārā and killing of Jayasimha, the defeat of the allies by Udayāditya, Karna's abdication of the throne, Yasahkarna's coronation and subsequent invasion of the Andhra country—all these events happened in the brief period of four years from 1068 A.C. (the accession of Sōmēśvara II) to 1072 A.C. (the supposed date of the Khairhā plates). This seems to be extremely unlikely.

e See, e.g., the Sonpur grant of Mahāśivagupta (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.). This grant describes the king as the self-chosen lord of Kalinga, Köngöda, Utkala and Kösala, and further as the lord of Trikalinga which he conquered with his own arms. This makes it clear that Trikalinga was different from the other countries named in it. According to R. C. Majumdar, Trikalinga denoted 'the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga.' Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 69-70. He has drawn attention to some passages in which Trikalinga (or Trikalingatavi) has been coupled with Vēngi. A similar expression (viz., sa-Kalinga-trayāni Vēngīni) occurs in the Parbhani plates (Ś. 888) of Arikēsarin (G. H. Khare's S. M. H. D., Vol. II, p. 49).

See, e. g., Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 100. The Gähadaväla kings from Gövindachandra to Harischandra used this title.

The Sêna kings Lakshmanasêna and his two sons Viśvarūpasēna and Kêśavasēna adopted this title.
The Chandella king Trailökyavarman bore this title. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 232.

have signified Karna's suzerainty over the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Gangas of Kalinga and the Palas of Bengal. The Gurjara-Pratiharas maintained a fine cavalry and are sometimes referred to in inscriptions as Aśvapati or Hayapati.1 Kalinga was known for its breed of elephants.2 Its rulers are occasionally referred to as Gajādhīšas or Lords of Elephants.3 The king of the east received, according to Yuan Chwang, the title of the lord of men.4 As we have already seen, Karna had vanquished all these kings and in his case the title was significant; but in the case of his descendants and of some kings

of the other dynasties who imitated him, it was clearly an empty boast.

According to the Rāsamālā, one hundred and thirty-six kings were in attendance upon Karņa,5 The Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha states that the Pāṇḍya and Hūṇa kings and the rulers of Murala, Kunga, Vanga, Kalinga and Kīra were panic-stricken when Karna gave a full play to his valour.6 The Karanbel stone inscription says that Choda, Kunga, Hūna, Gauda, Gurjara and Kīra used to wait upon him.7 It may be that the names of some of these kings have been inserted in the verses by the writers of the prasastis for the sake of alliteration; but the foregoing account of Karna's conquests based on incontrovertible inscriptional and literary evidence testifies to the general correctness of the description. In the records of his enemies, Karna's whirl-wind campaigns are likened to the flooding waters of the oceans at the time of world-destruction. On account of the aggressive and ruthless policy which he pursued towards contemporary rulers, he is called Rudra and Kālāgni (Fire of world-destruction) in the Sanskrit play Prabodhachandrodaya. These similes and metaphors vividly portray the terror he struck in the hearts of his adversaries.

Great as Karna was in war, he was greater in peace. He gave a liberal patronage to religion and literature. At Banaras he built a high twelve-storeyed temple called Karnamēru, which was probably dedicated to Siva;8 for, he was himself a Saiva and called himself paramamāhēšvara in his grants. He built a ghāt called Karņa-tīrtha at Prayāga where his Goharwa grant was made. He established a settlement of learned Brahmanas, which he named Karņāvatī after himself. This place is generally identified with Karanbēl, now a small village adjoining Tewar; but from the description in the grants of Yasahkarna that it was, as it were, the crown of the heavenly river (Gangā), it would appear that it was situated somewhere on the bank of the Ganga. Though Karna thus extended his patronage to the Vedic and Puranic Hinduism, he was no sectarian. There was religious toleration in his kingdom. The Sarnath stone inscription9 dated K. 810 shows that Buddhist monasteries continued to flourish during his reign.

Karna made the holy city of Banaras his capital. It was at Banaras that the Sanskrit poet Bilhana met him.10 Learned Brahmanas received liberal gifts at his hands. A verse which is repeated in both of his known grants states that the world was deafened by the engraving of copper-plates which he granted to Brāhmaṇas.11 Even now stories about

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 2.

² K.AS., Prakarana 20.

³ See, e.g., No. 100, v. 8. 4 B. R. W. W., Vol. I, p. 13.

⁵ RM., Vol. I, p. 89. See also PCH., p. 50.

⁶ No. 60, V. 12.

⁷ Appendix, No. 3, v. 21.

⁸ Nos. 56 and 57, v. 13.

¹⁰ VDCH., Canto XVIII, v. 93.

¹¹ No. 50 v. 30 and No. 51, v. 32. The same verse with a slight change in one expression and the substitution of Chandra for Karna occurs in the Chandravati plates (V. 1150) of the Gahadavala Chandradeva. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV, p. 195.

the munificence of Karņa Dahāriā are current in Banaras.¹ Bilhaņa, the well-known Sanskrit poet of Kashmir, received a great honour in his court. He says that he defeated one Gaṇgādhara and composed a beautiful kāvya in praise of Rāma while at Karṇa's court.² Other poets of Karṇa's court, known from Sanskrit anthologies, are Vallaṇa, Nāchirāja, Karpūra and Vidyāpati. Several verses of these poets are included in the Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya and other anthologies.³ Karṇa patronised Prakrit poets also. Some anonymous Mahārāshṭrī and Apabhraṁśa verses in praise of him are cited in the Prākṛita-Paingala.⁴ Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhraṁśa kāvya Karakaṇḍachariu, says in his concluding verses that he used to delight, by his verses, the mind of the king Karṇa.⁵

Karņa married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvī. Hūṇa kings are known from references in the records of several kings. They appear to have been ruling somewhere in Central India; for, there are occasional references to defeats inflicted on them by Pratīhāra, Paramāra, Pāla and Kalachuri kings or their feudatories. But the exact location of their kingdom has not been fixed. Karṇa had, from Āvalladēvī, a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa, who succeeded him. Two of his daughters Vīraśrī and Yauvanaśrī are also known. The former, who is named in the Bēlāvā plates of Bhōjavarman, married Jātavarman of Eastern Bengal. Yauvanaśrī is mentioned as the wife of Vigrahapāla of North-East Bengal in the Rāmacharita of Sandhyākaranandin.

Yasahkarna succeeded his father in circa 1073 A.C. Only two records of his reign are known, viz., the Khairhā9 and the Jabalpur plates.10 Both contain an identical eulogistic portion which was first drafted in Banaras. The only historical event which they mention is Yasahkarna's invasion of the Andhra country. Verse 23 of these grants says that 'extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he (i.e., Yasahkarna) worshipped, with the offerings of many ornaments, the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the Gōdāvarī with her dancing eye-brows of waves sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams, sweet with the cries of intoxicated swans." There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Godāvarī District, but the foregoing description suits especially the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram tālukā, which contains a particularly big Siva-linga, fourteen or fifteen feet high. The temple is not on the bank of the Godavari as suggested in the above verse, but the reference may be to the tank at Drākshārām which is called Sapta-Gōdāvarī and which is popularly supposed to contain the waters of the seven mouths of the Godavari. The Andhra king defeated by Yasahkarna was probably Vijayāditya VII, who ruled from 1061 to 1076 A.C. In this campaign, Yasahkarna seems to have been aided by Jäjalladeva I of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty ruling over Dakshina Kosala; for, the latter in his Ratanpur

* VDCH., Canto XVIII, vv. 93-94.

¹ For an interesting story about Karna which Sir G. Grierson heard in Banaras, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

^{**} KVS. (ed. by F. W. Thomas), Introd., pp. 100 ff. A subhāshita mentions Vidyāpati as the court-poet of Karna. See Subhāshitāvali (ed. by Peterson), v. 186. Merutunga also mentions Vidyāpati, Karpūra and Nāchirāja as poets at Karna's court.

⁴ See C. W. B., Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

⁶ Karakandacharin (ed. by Prof. H. Jain), p. 107.

⁶ See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 15.

⁷ I. B., Vol. III, p. 20.

⁸ RCH., Canto I, v. 9.

⁹ No. 56.

¹⁰ No. 37 and Appendix, No. 2.

inscription dated K. 866 boasts that the lord of Chedi had sought his friendship by means of presents.1

Soon after Karna's death, Yasahkarna seems to have lost Kanauj and the surrounding territory. The Basāhi plate says that when king Bhōja became a guest of the eyes of the celestial damsels and Karna existed only in renown, and when the earth was sorely troubled, the husband whom she chose from love and took with confidence as the protector was Chandradeva.2 The aforementioned Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva dated K. 866 (1114 A.C.) mentions the king of Kanyakubja as different from the lord of Chedi. This clearly indicates that the latter had lost his control over Kanauj, as it had passed into the possession of the Gahadavalas.

As stated before, the eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plates is an almost exact copy of that of the Khairha plates. The date of the former is now lost as the second plate is not forthcoming, but there are grounds to suppose that it was K. 836 (1084 A.C.).3 If the description in the plate could be relied on, Yasahkarna was master of Banaras till that date. Soon thereafter, he seems to have lost that city also to the Gahadavālas; for, the Chandravati plates, which record the earliest grant of the Gahadavalas found in the Banaras District, are dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.).4

In the latter part of his career, Yasahkarna seems to have made a supreme effort to regain his lost possessions in the north. He carried his arms as far as Champaranya (modern Champaran in Bihar) and devastated the country;5 but he did not probably succeed in annexing any territory; for, after 1090 A.C. we have several grants of the Gahadavalas from the Banaras District, which shows that they were securely established there.6 This conclusion receives an additional support from a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1177 (1122 A.C.) which records the sanction of the Gahadavala king Govindachandradeva to the transfer of two villages in the Antarālapattalā (i.e., Antarvēdī or Gangā-Yamunā Doab) which had been previously granted by Yaśahkarna to the Saiva ascetic Rudraśiva,7 This clearly shows that the Kalachuris did not succeed in regaining possession of the Doab during the reign of Yasahkarna.

With the loss of the northern provinces, the kingdom of Yasahkarna seems to have shrunk to the home province of Dāhala, and Tripurī again became his sole capital. From the Nagpur prasasti we learn that the city was stormed by the Paramara king Lakshmadeva (circa 1086-1094 A.C.), who annihilated his warlike and spirited adversaries, and encamped on the bank of the Rēvā, his elephants allaying the fatigue of the battle by bathing in the stream of the river.8

Yasahkarna seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of the Chandella Sallakshanavarman (circa 1100-1110 A.C.); for, in an inscription of the latter's descendant Viravarman, Sallakshanavarman's sword is said to have robbed the Chēdis of their

¹ No. 77, v. 20.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 103.

³ See below, pp. 301 ff.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

⁸ For a possible motive of this raid, see below, p. cxiv.

⁸ Jayaswal, who thought that the Jabalpur plates of Yasahkarna were dated in K. 874 (1122 A.C.), advocated the view that Yasahkarna regained Banaras some time after the 21st July, 1122 (the date of Gövindachandra's Kamauli plate H, Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 110) and before the 14th August 1124 A.C. (the date of Govindachandra's Banaras grant), but this does not seem to be correct.

⁷ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 123.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 186.

fortune.1 Yasahkarna was also unsuccessful in his encounter with the Chālukya

Vikramāditya VI.2

It is difficult to state definitely the limits of Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign. The earlier of his two grants seems to have been issued in K. 827.3 He must have been reigning then for about 3 years and, therefore, may have come to the throne in circa K. 824. The only date of his son and successor Gayākarṇa is K. 902. Gayākarṇa's reign seems to have closed soon thereafter; for, in K. 907 he was dead and his son Narasinha was on the throne. So the period of about 80 years (K. 824 to K. 904) is covered by only two reigns. It seems probable that Yaśaḥkarṇa had a longer reign than his son, of whose achievements very little is known. He may, therefore, be referred to the period K. 824 to K. 874 (1073-1123 A.C.).

Yaśahkarna assumed the same imperial titles as Karna; but he had neither the ambition nor the military genius of his father. During his reign the Kalachuri kingdom lost the northern provinces of Kanauj, Prayāga and Banaras, and became very much circumscribed. He tried to regain his possessions by forming alliances⁴ and even invaded northern and southern countries; but his raids produced no permanent effect and did not extend the limits of his dominion. The Paramāra invasion of his capital must have dealt a shatter-

ing blow to his power and prestige.

Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇa. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier⁵ of these, dated K. 902, which was discovered at Tewar, records the erection of a temple dedicated to Siva by the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvabrahman. The second inscription⁶ is from Bahuribandh in the north of the Jabalpur District. It has partially lost its date.⁷ It mentions Gōlhaṇadēva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family as the Mahāsāmantādhipati (Chief Feudatory) of Gayākarṇa. He was evidently a descendant of a scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family which had settled in the Chēdi country in the 8th or 9th century A.C., when the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas were matrimonially connected. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Jina Sāntinātha by a private individual named Mahābhōja.

These inscriptions, both of which come from the Jabalpur District, do not help us in determining the extent of Gayākarṇa's kingdom. The discovery⁸ of a hoard of the Chandēlla Madanavarman's silver coins at Panwar in the Teonthal tahsil of the former Rewa state in 1910 seems to indicate that Gayākarṇa had lost the territory north of the Kaimur range. That he had come into a conflict with the Chandēllas is clear from an inscription found at Mau which says that 'the Chēdi king, being vanquished in a fierce fight, runs away in haste at the mention of Madanavarman's name.' As Madanavarman was ruling from circa 1124 A.C. to 1164 A.C., the Chēdi king defeated by him was probably Gayākarṇa.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 327.

² A. R. A. S. M. (1929), pp. 133 and 137. The Mahāmandalēšvara Āchugi II, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have conquered the Māle or Highlands of the Ghāts and to have defeated a king of Dāhala. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 230. As Āchugi II was ruling in 1122-23 A.C. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 452), the king of Dāhala defeated by him must have been Yasaḥkarna.

³ See above, p. c. n. 2.

⁴ Notice the expression aina-sangraha-kritā applied to him in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I, No. 77, v. 20.

⁵ No. 18.

^{*} No. 59.

⁷ For a discussion of its date, see below, p. 310.

⁸ J. A. S. B. (N. S.) (1914), pp. 199 ff.

⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 198.

Gayākarņa seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II of Dakshina Kōsala. The latter belonged to an offshoot of the Kalachuri house of Dāhala. The early princes of this branch owed allegiance to the Kalachuri Emperors ruling at Tripuri and fought their battles. We have already seen that in his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa), Gangeyadeva received valuable help from Kamalaraja of Tummāṇa.1 Prithvideva I, the earliest prince of this branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh, does not claim in his Amoda plates a higher title than Mahamandalēśvara.2 He was plainly a feudatory of the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. But his descendants began gradually to assert their independence. Jājalladēva I, the son of Prithvidēva I, boasts in his inscription that the contemporary lord of Chedi, who was Yasahkama, sought his friendship, and that the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti honoured him with presents of wealth.3 The crushing defeat that Ratnadeva II, the son and successor of Jajalladēva I, inflicted on the mighty Ganga king Anantavarman Chōdaganga4 increased his power and prestige. He seems to have openly renounced subordination to Gayakarna. The latter sent a large force against him; but it suffered an ignominious defeat. In a Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), Ratnadeva II is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king.5 The latter must have been no other than Gayakarna.

Gayākarņa married Alhaṇadēvī, the daughter of Vijayasimha, the Guhila prince of Prāgvāṭa or Mevad and Syāmaladēvī, who was herself the daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the Mālava maṇḍala. This alliance, which in a way united the royal families of the Kalachuris and the Paramāras, healed the sores of many generations. Alhaṇadēvī had two sons, Narasimha who succeeded his father, and Jayasimha who 'like Lakshmaṇa did marvellous service to his elder brother.' Gayākarṇa's spiritual preceptor was Saktiśiva.

As stated before, Gayākarna's reign seems to have come to a close soon after K. 902 (1151 A.C.); for, when the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription was incised in K. 907, he was

already dead and his son Narasimha was on the throne.

Only three inscriptions of the reign of Narasimha have been discovered so far. The aforementioned Bherā-Ghāṭ inscription, dated K. 907 (1155 A. C.), records the construction, by Alhaṇadēvi, of a temple of Siva under the name Vaidyanātha together with a monastery, a hall of study and a row of gardens attached to it. She endowed the temple with the gift of two villages and placed it in charge of the Pāśupata ascetic Rudrarāśi. The other two inscriptions were discovered north of the Kaimur range—one³, dated K. 909 (1158 A.C.), at Lāl Pahāḍ near Bharhut, and the other³, dated V.1216 (1159 A.C.), near the foot of Alha-Ghāṭ, 'which is one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table land of Rewa to the plain of the Gaṅgā.' The former of these records the construction of a vaha or water-channel by one Ballāladēva, who was the son of an officer of Narasimha, while the second registers the erection of a temple of Ambikā and the construction of a ghāṭ by the Rāṇaka Chhīhula. The discovery of these lithic records north of the Kaimur range indicates that Narasimha succeeded in recovering from the Chandēllas a portion of his ancestral

¹ Above, p. xc.

² No. 76, L 25.

a No. 77, II. 19-20.

⁴ No. 95, l. 6; No. 97, l. 4; No. 98, l. 6.

⁵ No. 93, 1. 5.

⁶ No. 60, Il. 5 ff.

⁷ No. 64, l. 10.

⁸ No. 61.

⁹ No. 62.

dominion which had been lost by his father. He continued to use the same high-sounding titles as his ancestors Karna and Yasahkarna had done, though his kingdom had become

very much circumscribed.

Like his ancestors, Narasimha was a devotee of Siva. His spiritual preceptor was Kīrtiśiva, the disciple of Saktiśiva, who is said to have contributed to his prosperity. A stone inscription from Jabalpur states that his fame had spread in all directions. He is identical with Kīrtiśambhu, the disciple of Saktiśambhu mentioned as the head of Gōļakī Matha in an inscription discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District.²

Narasiriha was probably an old man when he came to the throne; for, his father Gayākarņa and grandfather Yaśahkarṇa had unusually long reigns. He seems to have died without a son, as he was succeeded by his brother Jayasiriha. As the earliest known date of the latter is K. 918, Narasiriha seems to have ruled from K. 905 to K. 915 (1153-

1163 A.C.).

Jayasimha seems to have been a brave and ambitious prince. The Jabalpur plates of his reign have the following verse about him which is also found repeated in the Kumbhī grant of his son Vijayasimha:—"On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimhadeva, the Gurjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (his) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports, and other kings also leaving the earth through apprehension crossed the ocean." We have no means to ascertain whether Jayasimha actually raided the countries of these kings. But that he led at least one expedition is known from an inscription at Shēorinārāyan.

This invasion was directed against Jājalladēva II, the contemporary ruler of Ratanpur. The Shēorinārāyan inscription tells us that Ulhanadēva, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, routed with his arrows the army of the Chēdiking. Seeing that his forces were being exterminated, the Chēdiking Jayasimha, whose name is partially preserved in the inscription, advanced in person, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot. From the subsequent description it appears that Ulhanadēva lost his life in the fight. It is not stated how the battle ended. Probably Jayasimha was defeated and had to sue for peace; for, there is no mention of this battle in the subsequent records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The battle must have been fought soon after Jayasimha's accession which we have conjecturally placed in K. 915; for, the aforementioned Shēorinārāyan inscription, which describes it, is dated K. 919.

Five inscriptions of the reign of Jayasimha have been found. The earliest of them is his Jabalpur grant.⁵ It is dated K. 918 and records the gift of the village Agarā which Jayasimha made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full-moon day of Aśvina (the 30th September 1167 A.C.). Another Jabalpur inscription⁶ of his reign is dated K. 926 (1174-75 A.C.). The proper object of it is to record that Vimalaśiva, the spiritual preceptor of Jayasimha, erected a temple of Siva under the name of Kīrtīśvara, and that Jayasimha endowed it with certain villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Like his elder brother, Jayasimha continued to hold to the last the valley of the Tamasā or Tons; for, the Rewa plate of the Mahārāṇaka Kirtivarman, the ruler of Karkarēdī, which is dated K. 926, mentions him as suzerain with full titles of paramountcy.

¹ No. 64, Il. 11-12.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

¹ No. 63, Il. 18-19; Appendix, No. 4, v. 23.

⁴ No. 98, Il. 16 ff. The name of the king is partially preserved in line 16,

⁵ No. 63.

⁸ No. 64.

⁷ No. 65, ll. 2-4.

The latest date of Jayasimha's reign is K. 928, which is furnished by a stone inscription at Tewar recording the erection of a temple of Siva by a private individual named Kēśava.1 The next known date is K. 944, which belongs to the reign of his son and successor Vijayasimha.2 Jayasimha, therefore, seems to have reigned from K. 915 to K. 940 (1163-1188 A.C.). Towards the close of his reign Jayasimha seems to have been forced to pay homage to the Chandella king Paramardin. In a fragmentary Mahōbā inscription dated V. 1240 (1184 A.C.), it is stated that the lord of Tripuri fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of Paramardin's arms.3 Paramardin flourished from circa 1165 A.C. to 1203 A.C. The Kalachuri king who submitted to him was probably Jayasimha.

Like his predecessors, Jayasimha assumed the imperial titles Paramabhattāraka, Mabārājādbirāja and Paramēšvara as well as 'Lord of Trikalinga' and 'Overlord of the three Rājās, the lord of horses etc.' These titles had then become quite conventional and meaningless. He was a devotee of Siva, and as stated before, made some gifts of villages

to that deity. His spiritual preceptor was Vimalasiva.4

Jayasimha had two queens-Kelhanadevi mentioned in his Jabalpur plates,5 and Gosaladevi known from the Kumbhi plates6 and the Bhera-Ghat inscription.7 The village Gosalapur, about 19 miles north by east of Jabalpur, was evidently founded in the

name of the latter queen.

As stated before, Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Vijayasimha. It seems that in the beginning of his reign the ruler of Karkarēdī attempted to throw off his yoke. As we have already seen, Kirtivarman, who was ruling over Karkarëdi in K. 926, was a vassal of Jayasimha. His brother Salakshana, who succeeded him, revolted against his overlord, but he was promptly subdued by Malayasimha, another feudatory of Vijayasimha, in the battle of Karkarēdi. This event is mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription8 of Vijayasimha, dated K. 944 (1193 A.C.). In the Rewa plate, issued two years later in V. 1253 (1195 A.C.), Salakshanavarman acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha and names him with the usual Kalachuri titles of paramountcy.

The aforementioned Rewa stone inscription states that Malayasimha routed another chief named Vikrama; but the latter cannot be identified as no further details

are given.

The last record of Vijayasimha's reign is the Rewa stone inscription, the date of which is partially effaced.9 From the first two figures which are not altogether illegible, it seems that the record was incised in K. 96 (x). As the Dhurēti plates 10 show that the Chandella Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman was in occupation of the territory round Rewa in K. 963 (1212 A.C.), Vijayasimha seems to have lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand in K. 961 or K. 962.

Vijayasimha seems also to have submitted to the Yadava king Simhana. In the

¹ No. 66.

मधुरति घत्ते लये च त्रिपुरीपति: । मूड्बंनामेव संघत्ते गीते यद्भुजविकमे ।। in 1. 7 of the Mahôbā stone inscription (BK. p. 438). There is a play on the word murchehhanā used in the verse. It means (1) a swoon and (2) a melody. So the other meaning is that the king of Tripuri sings a melody in praise of Paramardin.

⁴ No. 64, IL 14 ff.

⁵ No. 63, L 22.

⁶ Appendix, No. 4.

⁷ No. 69, L. 1.

⁸ No. 67, l. 12.

⁹ No. 70.

¹⁰ No. 72.

Puluñja stone inscription¹, which seems to be dated in 1200 A.C., Simhana is called *Dāhala-bṛit-kutūhala* 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Dāhala country'. The expression is perhaps intended to signify that when Simhana invaded Dāhala, the people of the country flocked together out of curiosity to see him.

It is not known when Vijayasimha's reign came to an end. The Kumbhī plates² and the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription³ mention Ajayasimha as Mahārājakumāra, or crown prince. He was plainly Vijayasimha's son, but whether he actually ascended the throne is not known. Vimalasiva seems to have continued as Rājaguru during the reign of Vijayasimha.⁴

We have already seen that towards the close of his reign, Vijayasimha lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand. The western portion, consisting of the Saugor and Damoh districts, was also soon occupied by the Chandellas.⁵ A stone inscription⁶ dated V. 1344 (1287 A.C.), found at Hindoria, 11 miles from Damoh, states that the local chief Väghadeva owed allegiance to Bhöjavarmadeva of Kālanjara. Another stone inscription, found at Bamhani⁷ in the same district and dated V. 1364 (1308 A.C.), mentions the same chief as a feudatory of Hammiravarman of Kālanjara, who had in the meantime succeeded Bhöjavarman. No inscriptions of the Chandellas have, however, been discovered in the Jabalpur District in which Tripuri, the Kalachuri capital, was situated.⁸ If the Kalachuris retained their hold on this district, they must have owned the suzerainty of the Chandellas.

The recently discovered Purushöttampuri plates⁹ of the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated Saka 1232 (1310 A.C.), state that Rāmachandra had defeated in a moment the king of the great and extensive Dāhala country. The inscription does not name the king, nor does it state to which royal family he belonged. Perhaps the Chandella king Hammīravarman who had a large part of Dāhala under his sway was the king defeated by Rāmachandra.

In the meanwhile, Muslim power was slowly penetrating Baghelkhand. Nāsirud-din Mahmud (1246-66 A.C.) appointed Malik Julachī Governor of the Chēdi country. The latter's son Hisām-ud-dīn, placed Jallāla Khōjā in charge of the country now comprised in the Damoh District. An inscription of the latter, dated V. 1385 (1328 A.C.), has been discovered at Baṭihāgarh, 21 miles north-west of Damoh. The discovery of this inscription in the vicinity of Damoh indicates how precarious was the hold of the Chandēlla rulers on Dāhala. After 1310 A.C. we have no records of the Chandēllas or the Kalachuris from the Chēdi or Dāhala country.

¹ S. M. H. D., Vol. II, p. 62.

³ Appendix, No. 4.

³ No. 69, 1. 3.

⁴ No. 70. l. 12. The Kumbhi plates (Appendix, No. 4), however, mention Vidyādēva as the Rāja-guru of Vijayasimha.

A stone inscription found at Rāhatgarh (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh), dated V. 1312 (1256 A.C.) mentions Mabārājādbirāja Jayavarman II of Dhārā. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 84. This shows that the Paramāras had penetrated earlier into the Saugor District.

⁶ I. C. P. B. (second ed.), p. 56. ⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 10, n. 4.

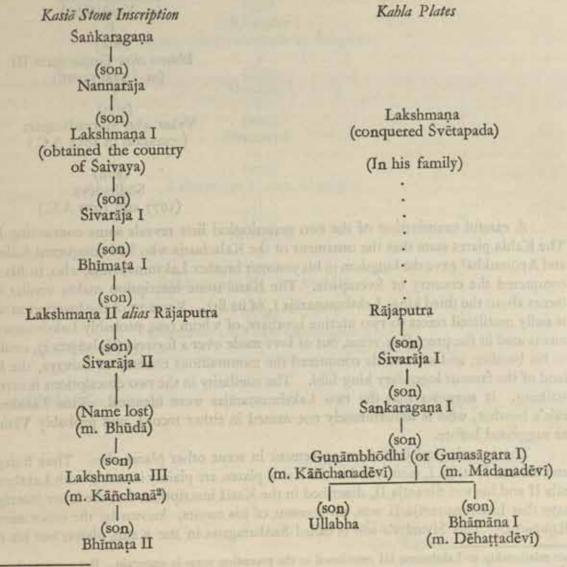
⁸ The Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription dated Ś. 1183 (1261 A.C.) states that the Śaiva Āchārya Viśvēsvaraśambhu was the dīkshā-guru of the Kalachuri kings. He was second in spiritual descent from Vimalaśiva, the Rājaguru of Vijayasimha. If the statement of the Malkāpuram inscription is correct, the Kalachuris may have been holding Tripurī and the surrounding territory till 1240 A.C. at least. A fragmentary inscription incised in characters of about the 12th century A. C. found at Tewar mentions Bhīmapāla. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 85. But this name is not noticed in any genealogies of the period.

⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 211.

¹⁰ I. C. P. B., p. 58.

THE KALACHURIS OF SARAYUPARA

A branch of the Kalachuri family which established itself in the Sarayūpāra country is known from two records. One of them is a stone inscription found in the Buddhist ruins at Kasiā (ancient Kuśīnagara) where Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāna, while the other is a copper-plate grant discovered at Kahla, a few miles to the north of the Ghōgrā (ancient Sarayū) in the Dhuriāpār parganā of the Gorakhpur District. The copper-plate grant contains three dates, viz., 1031, 1077 and 1079 A.C., the details of which work out quite regularly. The stone inscription is, unfortunately, very sadly mutilated in the lower portion. If it contained any date, it is now lost for ever; but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the 10th century A.C. The two places Kasiā and Kahla where these records were discovered are only about 40 miles distant from each other. Prima facie, therefore, the two Kalachuri ruling families mentioned in them should be related to each other, if not identical; but no points of contact have yet been noticed. To facilitate comparison, the genealogies mentioned in the two records are given below—



¹ D. R. Sahni remarked in his edition of the Kasiā inscription in the Ep., Ind., "This is the only record so far known of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs." Following him, H. C. Ray calls this branch 'Kasiā Kalachuris' to distinguish it from the other branch which he names 'Kahla Kalachuris'. See D. H. N. I., Vol. II, 742.
² Verse 26 of the Kasiā inscription which mentions this lady is almost completely obliterated. So

```
Bhāmāna I
       (m. Dēhattadēvī)
             (son)
Sankaragana II alias Mugdhatunga
         (m. Vidyā)
             (son)
         Gunasāgara II
           (m. Rājavā)
             (son)
   Sivarāja II alias Bhāmāna II
         (m. Sügalladevi)
             (son)
       Sankaragana III
        (m. Yaśōlēkhā)
             (son)
    Bhīma alisa Guṇasāgara III
        (m. Lāvanyavati)
             (son)
    Vyāsa alias Maryādāsāgara
     (accession in 1031 A.C.)
              (son)
           Sōdhadēva
      (1077 and 1079 A.C.)
```

A careful examination of the two genealogical lists reveals some connecting links. The Kahla plates state that the ornament of the Kalachuris who had conquered Kālañjara and Ayōmukha¹ gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in his turn, conquered the country of Svētapada. The Kasiā stone inscription makes similar statements about the third king, Lakshmaṇarāja I, of its list. Verse 17 of the inscription which is sadly mutilated refers to two uterine brothers, of whom one, probably Lakshmaṇarāja I mentioned in the preceding verse, out of love made over a fortress (Kālañjara?), evidently to his brother, and afterwards conquered the mountainous country of Saivaya, the home land of the famous legendary king Sibi. The similarity in the two descriptions is certainly striking. It suggests that the two Lakshmaṇarājas were identical. This Lakshmaṇarāja's brother, who is unfortunately not named in either record, was probably Vāmarāja as suggested before.

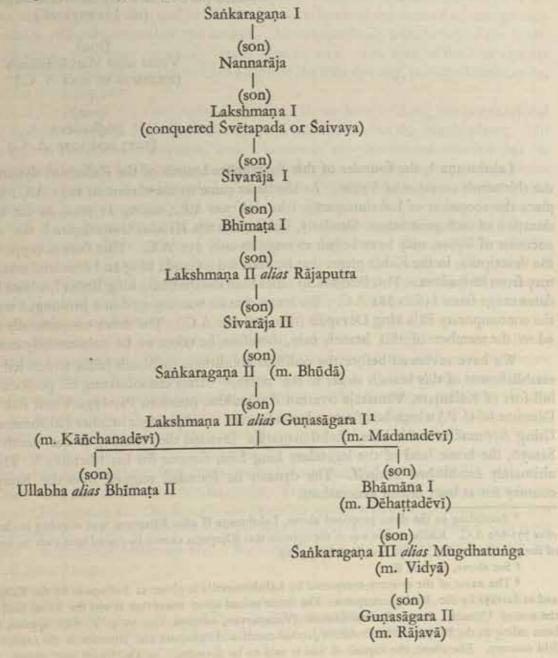
The genealogical lists show agreement in some other places also. Thus Rājaputra and his son Sivarāja I, mentioned in the Kahlā plates, are plainly identical with Lakshmaṇarāja II and his son Sivarāja II, described in the Kasiā inscription; for, the latter inscription says that Lakshmaṇarāja II was, on account of his merits, known by the other name of Rājaputra.² This Sivarāja's son is called Sankaragaṇa in the Kahlā plates; but his name

her relationship to Lakshmana III mentioned in the preceding verse is uncertain. But a comparison with the corresponding portion of the Kahla grant leaves no room for doubt that she was his wife.

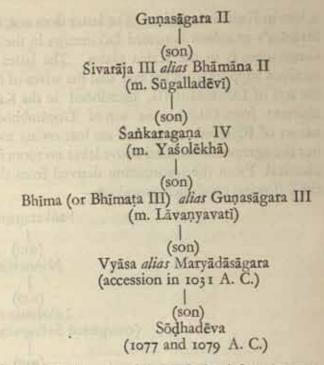
¹ Prof. Kielhorn's statement that the Kalachuri king subdued the Krathas is based on a mislection, for which see below, p. 385, n. 2.

² H. C. Ray's conjecture that 'Rājapatra Lakshmaņa probably did not reign' does not appear to be correct; for, according to the Kahla plates, the title was given to Lakshmaņa on account of his merits.

is lost in Kasiā inscription. The latter does not, therefore, give any clue to identification. Sivarāja's grandson is named Lakshmaņa in the Kasiā inscription and Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇāsāgara I) in the Kahla plates. The latter is apparently a biruda. This conjecture receives support from the fact that the wives of both were named Kānchanā. Bhīmaṭa II, the son of Lakshmaṇa III, mentioned in the Kasiā inscription, may not, therefore, be different from Ullabha, the son of Guṇāmbhōdhi, named in the Kahla plates. The names of Bhīmaṭa's successors are lost owing to the mutilation of the Kasiā inscription; but the agreements noticed above leave no room for doubt that the two royal families were identical. From the information derived from the two records, we can, therefore, form the following combined genealogy—



¹ The Kahla plates give the *biruda* as Guṇāmbhōdhi which is a synonym of Guṇasāgara (an ocean of excellences). As Guṇasāgara is repeated in the later stages of the genealogy, I have called this king Guṇasāgara I.



Lakshmana I, the founder of this Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, was the thirteenth ancestor of Vyāsa. As the latter came to the throne in 1031 A.C., we may place the accession of Lakshmanarāja I in circa 700 A.C., taking 25 years as the average duration of each generation. Similarly, Lakshmanarāja III alias Gunasāgara I, the seventh ancestor of Vyāsa, may have begun to reign in circa 850 A.C. This date is supported by the description in the Kahla plates that he defeated a Gauda king and obtained some territory from Bhōjadēva. This Bhōja is no other than the Pratihāra king Bhōja I, whose known dates range from 836 to 882 A.C. We know that he was engaged in a prolonged war with the contemporary Pāla king Dēvapāla (circa 810-850 A.C.). The dates conjecturally assigned to the members of this branch may, therefore, be taken to be substantially correct.

We have reviewed before the political conditions in North India which led to the establishment of this branch so far to the north.² After consolidating his position in the hill-fort of Kālañjara, Vāmarāja overran Ayōmukha, (modern Partāpgarh and Rai Barelli Districts of U. P.) which he afterwards made over to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I. Using Ayōmukha as his base, Lakshmaṇarāja invaded the country to the north of the Sarayū, the home land of the legendary king Sibi, famous for his liberality.³ There he ultimately established himself. The dynasty he founded reigned over the Sarayūpāra country for at least fifteen generations.

According to the dates proposed above, Lakshmana II alias Rājaputra was reigning in the period circa 775-800 A.C. Kielhorn also was of the opinion that Rājaputra cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A. C. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 88.

² See above, pp. lxiii ff.

and as Saivaya by the Kasiā inscription. The latter record again states that it was the home land of Sibi, the son of Usīnara. From the Mabābbārata (Vanaparvan, adhyāya 130, v. 20) Sibi appears to have been ruling in the Panjab. The Buddhist Jāṭakas mention Ariṭṭhapura and Jeṭuttara as the capitals of the Sibi country. Elsewhere, the capital of Sibi is said to be Sivipura. As Dr. Vogel has shown, modern Shōrkōṭ in the Panjab marks the site of ancient Sivipura. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 16. Saivaya may be derived from Svētapada through the intermediate stages of Seāvaā and Sevaya. The context shows that the province of Śvētapada was included in Sarayūpāra, and there may have been a tradition, wrong of course, associating it with the ancient king Sibi, 'the paragon of charity and self-sacrifice.'

The Kahla plates begin the royal genealogy with this Lakshmanarāja I; but the Kasiā inscription carries it two generations backward and names Sankaragana and Nannarāja as the grandfather and father respectively of Lakshmanarāja I. We have already stated the reasons for our view that these two kings were ruling not in Sarayūpāra, but in their home province of Anūpa.

We have no knowledge of the political events in the reign of Sivarāja I and Bhīmaṭa I, who succeeded Lakshmaṇarāja I, one after the other. The description of them, given by the Kasiā inscription, is quite conventional.¹ Bhīmaṭa I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇa II, who, on account of his merits, was known by the second name of Rājaputra. About this prince the Kahla plates say that he took captive Vāhali, the Lord of horses, gave no respite to the king of the East and by his achievements lowered the fame of ancient princes like Arjuna.² Vāhali is not otherwise known. He was probably a feudatory of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, who were noted for their fine cavalry. The king of the East against whom Lakshmaṇa fought must have been a king of the Pāla dynasty, perhaps Dharmapāla, who was his contemporary.

About Sivarāja II, who succeeded Lakshmaņa II, we have nothing but conventional praise in both the records. His son Sankaragaņa II is mentioned in the Kahla plates. His name is lost in the Kasiā inscription, which, however, supplies the information that his wife was Bhūdā. This Sankaragaṇa is probably identical with the homonymous prince who received protection from Kōkalla I of Tripurī.³ Perhaps his country was threatened at the time by his eastern neighbour, the Pāla king Dēvapāla. Sankaragaṇa wisely allied himself with the powerful kings of the time, Bhōja I of Kanauj and Kōkalla I of Tripurī, to stem the tide of the Pāla invasion. He sent his son Lakshmaṇa III alias Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇasāgara I) to fight in the Pratīhāra Emperor's campaigns against Dēvapāla. If the description in the Kahla plates can be relied upon, Lakshmaṇa took away the fortune of the Gauḍa king and received as reward some territory from Bhōjadēva who can be none other than Bhōja I of Kanauj.

From his wives Kānchanā and Madanadēvī, Lakshmana III had the sons, Ullabha and Bhāmāna I respectively. The former, who was apparently elder, abdicated the throne in favour of Bhāmāna I. Bhāmāna came into conflict with the contemporary king of Dhārā and inflicted a crushing defeat on his forces. The Paramāra adversary is not named, but he may have been Muñja (circa 974-995 A. C.). Perhaps the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva II had asked for his help when his territory was invaded by the Paramāra king, and it was now the turn of the Sarayūpāra family to go to the rescue of the main house.

From his queen Dēhaṭṭadēvī, Bhāmāna had a son named Sankaragaṇa III, who succeeded him. He had the biruda Mugdhatunga. From his wife Vidyā, Sankaragaṇa had a son named Guṇasāgara II. The latter's son from his queen Rājavā was Sivarāja III, also called Bhāmāna II. His son from Sūgalladēvī was Sankaragaṇa IV. The latter's son from Yaśōlēkhā was Bhīma (or Bhīmaṭa III). We have nothing but conventional praise in the case of all these kings.

¹ Kirti which occurs in v. 16 was taken by Sahni as a proper name. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 137, n. 4. Ray has suggested that he might be the Chandella Kirtivarman (D. H. N. I., Vol. II, p. 750); but the identification is impossible as Kirtivarman flourished long after. Kirti in that verse is not a proper name. It has the ordinary sense of 'fame' or 'glory'.

^{*} Kiriţis in v. 7 of the Kahla plates is taken by some to be the name of a historical personage; but the intended sense seems to be that by his valour Rājaputra eclipsed the fame of the illustrious kings of yore like Arjuna.

³ See above, p. lxxv ff.

⁴ Above, p. lxxxvii.

It seems that there was some trouble during the reign of Bhīma which caused him the loss of his throne. The nature of the trouble is, however, not known.¹ Perhaps, there was an invasion of the country by some enemy. When the enemy retired or was ousted from the country, Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara, got himself crowned at the capital of Gōkulaghaṭṭa on the ʒ1st May 1031 A.C.

Kielhorn identified Guṇasāgara, the father of Vyāsa, with Guṇasāgara II, who was the great-grandfather of Vyāsa's predecessor Bhīma.² Vyāsa would thus have come to the throne after his grand-nephew. This seems improbable. Besides, Vyāsa apparently began to reign when young; for, his successor Sōḍhadēva was ruling at least till 1079 A.C., which date is 48 years later than that of Vyāsa's accession. It seems better, therefore, to suppose that Guṇasāgara was a biruda of Bhīma, the predecessor of Vyāsa.³ This conjecture receives support from the description in the plates that Vyāsa was established on his father's throne.

Vyāsa alias Maryādāsāgara was succeeded by Sōḍhadēva who issued the Kahla plates on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṅkrānti in 1077 A.C. In these plates both he and his father are mentioned with full imperial titles, viz., Paramabhatṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara. The period of their rule falls in the heyday of Kalachuri imperialism when the mighty emperors Gāṅgēyadēva and Karṇa had extended their dominion to the Banaras District, south of the Sarayū. The assumption of imperial titles by these rulers of Sarayūpāra plainly indicates that they did not owe allegiance even to Gāṅgēya and Karṇa. The use of the Vikrama instead of the Kalachuri Saṁvat in dating the Kahla grant points to the same direction. The relations of the two Kalachuri families may, however, have continued to be friendly and they may have gone to each other's rescue in times of difficulties.

Sōḍhadēva is the last known prince of this Sarayūpāra branch. Soon after the issue of his Kahla plates, he seems to have lost the support of the Tripurī Kalachuris; for, Yaśaḥkarṇa was then ousted from the Banaras District by the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva. The Chandravatī plates dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.), which are the earliest record of the Gāhaḍavālas discovered in the Banaras District, plainly indicate that Yaśaḥkarṇa had lost Banaras to Chandradēva before that date. The Gāhaḍavālas may have next pressed further to the north and supplanted the Kalachuris in the Sarayūpāra country. Perhaps the Rāshṭra-kūṭas ruling on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī playedā their part in the extermination of their neighbours. Yaśaḥkarṇa's raid against Champāraṇya, which was plainly directed against these Rāshṭrakūṭas and in the course of which he devastated their country, may have been prompted by a feeling of vengeance. Yaśaḥkarṇa did not, however, succeed in restoring the Sarayūpāra country to his kinsmen. This Kalachuri family thus disappeared from history in the last decade of the eleventh century A.C.

The Kahla plates ascribe the loss of the throne to the misfortune of Bhīma. If there was an invasion of the country, it may have been by Mahārājādhirāja Gāngēyadēva, a Rāshṭrakūṭa king ruling over the neighbouring country of Tīrabhukti on the other side of the Ganḍakī. A MS. of the Kishkindhā-kānḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa deposited in the Nepal Durbar Library mentions the date, V. 1076 (1019 A.C.), of this king's reign. For the identification of this Gāngēyadēva, see A. B. O. R. I. (Silver Jubilee Number), pp. 291 ff. and above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 86.

⁸ Another similar case is that of Maryādāsāgara which from 1.33 of the Kahla plates appears to be a biruda of Vyāsa, though this is not stated explicitly in the plates.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.
⁵ I have shown elsewhere that a Räshtrakūta family was ruling over Tirabhukti (modern Tirhut) in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.C. A. B. O. R. I. (Silver Jubilee Number), p. 301.

THE KALACHURIS OF SOUTH KOSALA

In ancient times Dakshina Kösala (South Kösala) comprised modern Chattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the State of Orissa up to the boundary of the Katak District. In the Purāṇas this country is mentioned with Traipura (the tract round Tripuri near Jabalpur), Kalinga (part of the State of Orissa) and Mēkala (the region near the source of the Narmadā). These countries are further said to be situated on the back, i.e., the table-land of the Vindhya mountain. To distinguish this Kōsala from another territory of the same name, the capital of which was Ayōdhyā in the State of Uttar Pradesh, it was called Dakshina Kōsala or South Kōsala. The feminine form of the name, viz., Kōsalā, is occasionally met with in literature and inscriptions. The ancient capital of this country was Kuśāvatī, founded by Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. This city, the Purāṇas tell us, was situated on a peak of the Vindhya mountain, but its exact location has not yet been determined.

Our knowledge of the history of Chattisgarh before the advent of the Kalachuris is very meagre. In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., the country was ruled by Bhīmasēna II whose copper-plate grant dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-2 A.C.) has been discovered at Āraṅg.⁴ He or his successor was ousted by a king of the Sarabhapura dynasty. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last known king of this family, was overthrown by Indrabala of the Sōmavaṁśa. The Sōmavaṁśīs ruled in Chhattisgarh for some generations. Mahāśivagupta alias Bālārjuna, the last known king of this dynasty, flourished in the beginning of the seventh century A.C. He had a long reign of more than 57 years and was on the throne when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Dakshiṇa Kōsala.⁵

About this time, Pulakēśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty invaded Kōsala after conquering the three Mahārāshṭras. The Aihōlē inscription of his reign, dated 634 A.C., states that the people of Kōsala, like those of Kalinga, were overawed by the invading forces. The ruling king evidently submitted to the mighty emperor, who allowed him to govern his kingdom as his vassal.

Some time after Pulakesin II's invasion, the Somavamsis were ousted from the Raipur District by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings, who held the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining parts of the Vishakhapatam District of the Madras State. A stone inscription of this dynasty, still existing at Rājim in the Raipur District, mentions three kings, viz., Prithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga. The last of these erected the temple of Rājīvalochana at Rājim for the religious merit of his son who had died. The inscription can be referred to about 700 A.C. on the evidence of palæography.

We do not know how long the rule of the Somavarissis and the Nalas lasted in Chhattisgarh. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple of Siva at Päli, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District, records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. This inscription, which was deciphered by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar fifty years ago, has not received from

¹ The Somavamsi kings whose copper-plates record grants of land in the former Patna State and Sambalpur District call themselves 'lords of Kosala'.

^{*} Vāyupurāņa, adhyāya 45, v. 133.

³ MBH., (Cr. Ed.), Āraṇyakaparvan, adhyāya 83, v. 10; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 271.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 342 and plate. I have shown that the correct reading of the date is G. 182, corresponding to 301-2 A.C. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 6.

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

scholars the attention it deserves.¹ As the names Malladēva and Vikramāditya occur in the dynastic list of Bāṇa kings, Dr. Bhandarkar made at the time the ingenious suggestion that this Vikramāditya might be one of the Bāṇa kings.² He could not, however, definitely identify him; for, no such Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva, was then known. From the Gudimallam plates³ discovered later, Dr. Hultzsch has shown that there were three Vikramādityas in the Bāṇa dynasty, of whom the first, also called Jayamēru, was the son of Malladēva. He is identical with the Bāṇa Vidyādhara mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates. As the known dates of his son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru range from Saka 820 (898-99 A.C.)⁴ to Saka 831 (909-10 A.C.),⁵ Vikramāditya I may be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.⁶

The Bana kings are known from records found in the North Arcot District. The province over which they ruled is called Pērumbāṇappādi in later Tamil inscriptions.7 As R. B. Venkayya has shown, this province extended from Punganur in the west to Kālahasti in the east.8 It is, however, surmised that the Banas were originally settled further north in the Telugu country. From there they seem to have penetrated further to the north and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, from where they ousted the Somavamsis, who were obliged to move to the east and settle at Vinitapura (modern Binkā in the Sonpur State). This invasion of the country to the north of the Gödävarī appears to have occurred in connection with the northern campaign of Udayachandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman II-Pallavamalla (circa 710-775 A.C.)9. The Udayendiram plates10 state that Udayachandra pursued a Nishāda chief called Purushavyāghra, who, desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the Asvamēdha, defeated him and ordered him out of the district of Vishnurāja, which he subjected to the Pallava king. This Purushavyaghra may have been ruling over the country now comprised in the Bastar District.11 Vishņurāja, whose country he had invaded, has been identified with Vishnuvardhana III (709-746 A.C.). The Bana chiefs, who were feudatories of the Pallavas, seem to have pressed still further to the north and established themselves in the Bilaspur District with Pāli as their capital. We have no record of the early Bana kings who founded this kingdom. Nandivarman is the earliest king known from the Udayendiram plates.12 As shown above, his great-grandson Vikramāditya I was ruling from circa 870 A.C. to 895 A.C. Nandivarman may, therefore, have flourished about 800 A.C. Either he or his father may have been the founder of the Bana kingdom in

¹ I drew attention to its importance in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Mahākōsala' published in P. I. H. C. (1939), pp. 319 ff.

^{*} P. R. A. S., W. C. (1903-4), p. 52.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 227.

^a See No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1899.

Sewell says that Vikramāditya I's accession date (872 A.C.) is derived from an inscription which mentions the year Vijaya (873-74 A.C.) as being in the second year of Bāṇa Vidyādhara. H. I. S. I., p. 328. He has, however, not given the exact reference of this record. T. V. Mahalingam places Vikramāditya I in the period 850-893 A.C.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 230.

^{*} Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 238.

⁹ See H. P. K., p. 119. Jouveau-Dubreuil gives the reign-period as 717-779 A.C.

¹⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 274 ff.

¹¹ Compare the name Vyaghrarāja of the ruler of Mahākāntāra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7. This Mahākāntāra probably corresponds to the Bastar District.

¹² Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

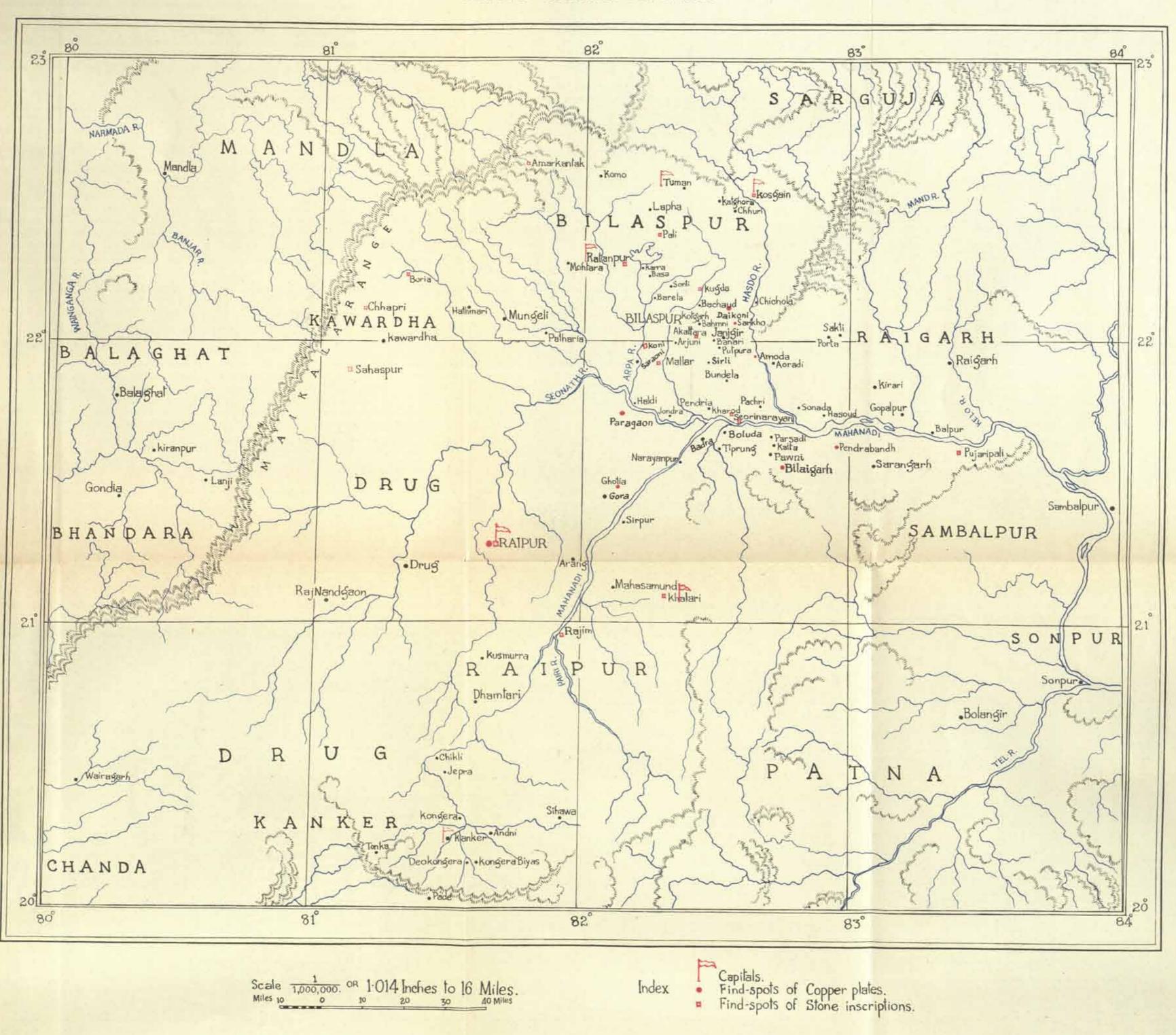
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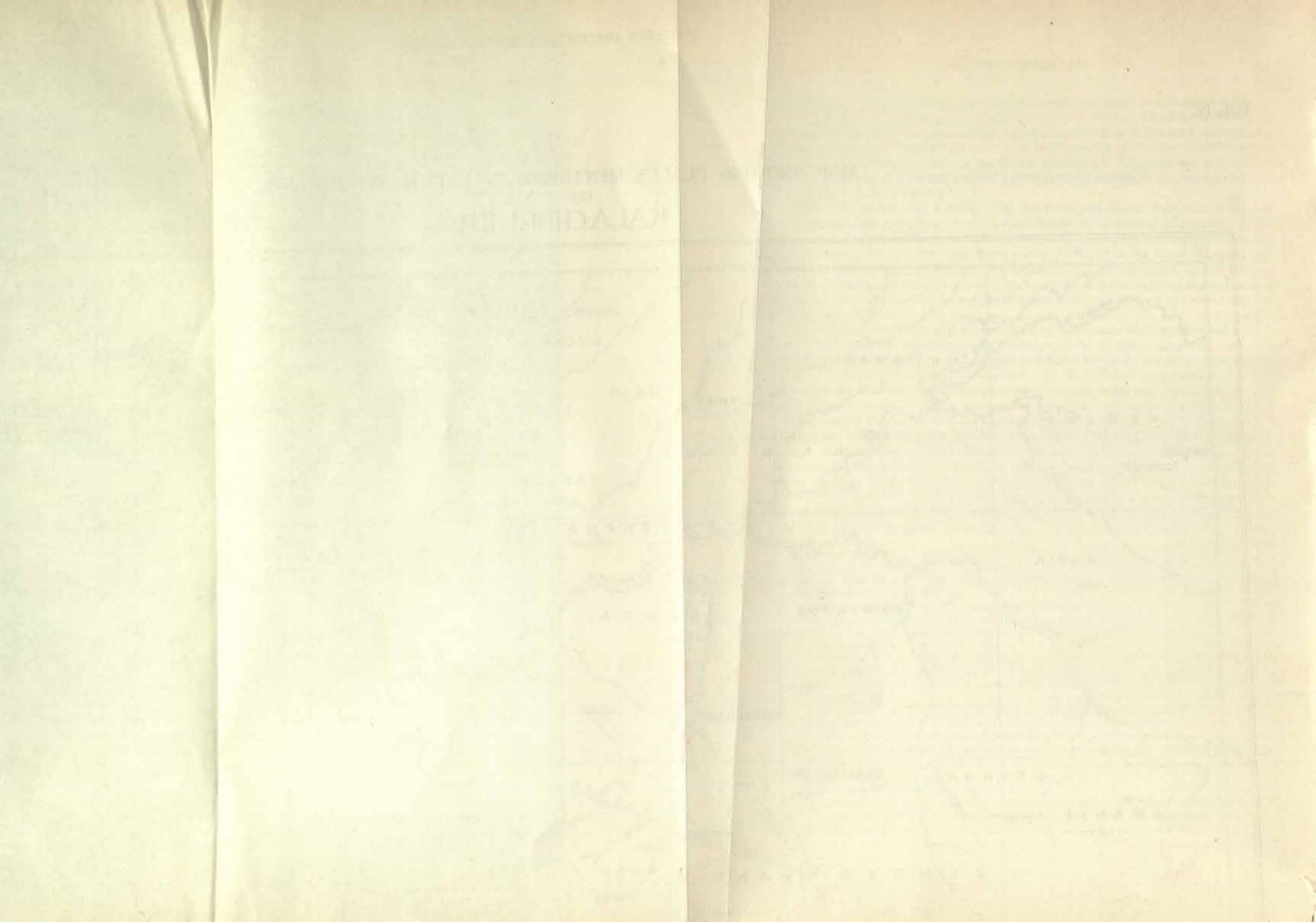
MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

KALACHURI ERA

FROM CHHATTISGARH





Chhattisgarh. His descendants seem to have held the country down to the time of Vikramāditya I, who built the aforementioned temple of Siva at Pāli in the Bilaspur District.

In many records1 of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, it is stated that Kökalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripuri and made his brothers the lords of mandalas in the neighbourhood. In the family of one of these younger brothers was born Kalingarāja, the first known king of the Ratanpur branch. Kalingarāja's son was Kamalarāja, who was a contemporary of Gāngēyadēva, whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala. The wording2 of the passage describing the relationship of Kalingaraja to Kökalla shows that the former was separated from the latter by some generations. This Kōkalla, therefore, is the first king of that name who ruled from circa 850 A.C. to 890 A.C. This conclusion receives confirmation from a statement in some inscriptions of the Tripuri branch. As we have already seen, the Bilhari stone inscription states that Mugdhatunga, the son and successor of Kōkalla I, conquered the lines of countries along the eastern sea-shore and took (the country of) Pali from the lord of Kōsala.3 The Banaras plates of Karna say that Prasiddhadhavala (who is none other than Mugdhatunga) took possession of Pali, thinking that in his family there would be born men, eminent on account of greatness in this world.4 This plainly means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. The country of Pāli which was conquered from the king of Kösala was probably the territory round Ratanpur; for, the village of Pāli which contains the aforementioned exquisitely carved temple of Siva with an inscription of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I lies only 12 miles to the north of Ratanpur.5 The king of Kōsala from whom the country of Pāli was wrested is not named in the aforementioned Kalachuri inscription, but the foregoing discussion must have made it plain that he was probably a Bana king. As Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavala flourished from circa 890 A.C. to 910 A.C., his Bāṇa adversary may have been Vikramāditya I (circa 870-895 A.C.).

After conquering the country round Ratanpur, Mugdhatunga placed it in charge of one of his younger brothers. There is a gap of nearly a century in the history of this Kalachuri branch, for which no records have come to light. We do not, therefore, know even the name of this founder of the Kalachuri branch of Dakshina Kōsala. But from a statement in the Ratanpur stone inscription⁶ it seems that the Kalachuri capital in that age was Tummāṇa, which has been identified with Tumāṇ, a small village in the former

6 Verse 7 of No. 77 says that Kalingarāja chose Tummāņa as his capital because it had been made the seat of their government by his forefathers.

¹ No. 76, 1.10; No. 77, 1.6; No. 83, 1.8, etc.

² Almost all the early inscriptions say that Kalingarāja was born in the family of a younger son of Kōkalla, thus indicating that a long period of time separated him from Kōkalla. (See, e.g., No. 76, 1.10; No. 77, 1.6; No. 83, 1.8 etc.) Only two records, the Shēorinārāyan plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82), and Kharōd stone inscription of Ratnadēva III (No. 100), make Kalingarāja a son of Kōkalla himself. Mr. A. Ghosh ingeniously suggests that Vankō-Tummāṇa-bbūbbujaḥ in l. 9 of No. 82 is a mistake for vandē Tummāṇa-bbūbbujaḥ. D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, p. 261, n. 2.

³ No. 45, 1.10.

⁴ No. 48, 1.13.

It is supposed by some that this temple was erected by Jājalladēva I; for, there are five inscriptions of the king in the mandapa of the temple. Two of these inscriptions are incised on the walls of the mandapa, one on a stone built into the rebuilt doorway of the temple and another on a pilaster to support a broken beam. The inscriptions are identical in wording and purport to register some kīrti (meritorious work) of Jājalladēva. Their positions clearly indicate that they were meant to record the repairs, not the construction, of the temple by Jājalladēva I. As a period of more than two centuries had passed since the time of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I, it is not surprising that the temple had fallen into disrepair in the time of Jājalladēva I.

Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilaspur District. The Kalachuris seem to have reigned there for two or three generations (from circa 895 A.C. to 950 A.C.), but were ultimately ousted by some enemy, perhaps a Somavamsī king ruling over the eastern parts of Dakshina Kōsala. The Kalachuri prince, when ousted from Chhattisgarh, apparently returned to his ancestral country of Dāhala. From the Bilhāri stone inscription we learn that Lakshmaṇarāja II (circa 945-970 A.C.) defeated the rulers of Kōsala and Oḍra. Lakshmaṇarāja's campaign may have been undertaken to punish the king of Kōsala and his ally, the king of Oḍra, for having ousted the scions of his family from Kōsala. His victory was not, however, a decisive one and does not seem to have led to the re-establishment of Kalachuri power in Chhattisgarh.

It was probably in the reign of Kōkalla II that the Kalachuris renewed their attempt to conquer Dakshina Kōsala The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I states that in order to augment his unimpeded prowess and treasure, Kalingarāja, descended from a younger son of Kōkalla I, left his ancestral country (evidently Dāhala)¹ and conquered the country of Dakshina Kōsala by the prowess of his arms.² As Kalingarāja's son Kamalarāja was a junior contemporary of Gāngēyadēva (circa 1015—1040 A.C.), Kalingarāja's

conquest of Dakshina Kōsala may be dated in circa 1000 A.C.

Kalingarāja selected the old Kalachuri capital Tummāṇa as the seat of his government. As the Ratanpur inscription says, while staying there, he destroyed his enemies and increased his splendour. During his reign there was an invasion of the country by Sindhurāja, a well-known Paramāra king of Dhārā (circa 995-1015 A.C.). Some years later, he led a second expedition in connection with a love affair which forms the theme of the beautiful Sanskrit kāvya Navasāhasānkacharita of his court-poet Padmagupta alias Parimala.³

The story of the kāvya briefly told is as follows :-

"Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, sees and falls in love with Sasiprabhā, the daughter of the snake king Sankhapāla. After her meeting with the king, Sasiprabhā is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhōgavatī in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably and tells him how he should win Sasiprabhā. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāńkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father had laid down the following condition for her marriage, viz., that her suitor should bring the golden lotus flowers, which grow in the pleasure garden of Vajrānkuśa. Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty gavyātis lies the town of Ratnavatī built by Maya, the architect of Asuras, where reigns Vajrāńkuśa, the prince of demons. Finally, Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vanku on his way to Ratnavati. Then the king, accompanied by his minister Yasobhata, also called Ramangada, starts for Ratnavati. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vanku. There they converse with the sage and meet Sasikhanda, the son of Sikhandakëtu, king of the Vidyādharas, who had been transformed

3 For a detailed discussion of the historical data of this kārya, see my article in the Ind. Ant., Vol.

LXII, pp. 101 ff.

Owing to a wrong pada-chebběda in vv. 4 and 6 of No. 77, it was supposed by Kielhorn and other scholars who followed him that Kalingarāja hailed from the country of Tritasaurya. But no such country is known. See Kane Festsebrift, pp. 290 ff.

The country under the rule of the Kalachuris is called Dakshina Kösala in some records and Tummāṇa-dēśa in others. See No. 77, v. 6; No. 93, v. 8; No. 100, v. 5, etc. Tummāṇa was, of course, included in Dakshina Kösala, but sometimes the latter denoted the eastern part of it under the rule of the Sōmavamšīs. See, e.g., No. 77, v. 23.

into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Sasikhanda brings his troops to help the king in his expedition. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ramāngada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvānkuśa, the son of Vajrānkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrānkuśa. The town Ratnavatī is stormed and taken. A snake youth named Ratnachūda is made the Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhogavati. He presents the golden flowers to Sasiprabha and marries her. Sankhapāla makes the king the present of a crystal Sivalinga made by Tvashtri. The king returns to Ujjayini and then to Dhārā where he establishes the crystal

Sivalinga."

The foregoing brief analysis of the Navasāhasānkacharita will show that the poem was intended to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrānkuśa in which he was aided by a Vidyādhara prince and a Nāga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. This campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century A.C.; for, he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kachchha, Lāṭa, Aparānta and Kōsala as well as a Hūṇa prince.1 The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmada on the way shows that the country of Vajrānkuśa lay to the south of the river. Vajrānkuśa was not a prince of the demons, but a chief of the aborigines, perhaps Gonds, whose capital Ratnavatī must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmada; for, we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of 50 gavyūtis or 100 krošas, i.e., about 200 miles from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river. Like Rājašekhara, Padmagupta seems to have slightly altered the names of the historical characters and places that figure in his poem. Vajrānkuśa, the demon king, is, therefore, probably identical with Vajjūka2 (also called Vajuvarman in one record3), the lord of the Komo mandala. He was a powerful chief, as his matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris is mentioned in several Kalachuri records. He flourished in the same period as Sindhurāja; for, his daughter Nonallā was married to Ratnarāja, the son of Kamalarāja who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva.4

The identification of Vajjūka with Vajrānkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vanku, which lay on the way to Ratnavati, the capital of Vajrānkuśa. The name of the sage appears to be connected with that of the god Vankēśvara whose temple was erected in Tummāṇa.5 Knowing as we do that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who instal them or erect temples in their honour, we can easily conjecture that Vankēśvara may have been installed by some one named Vanku and that he may well have been a sage as stated in the Navasāhasānkacharita.

Vajrānkuśa's capital was Ratnavatī, which it is tempting to identify with the Kalachuri capital Ratnapura, but the identification is open to the objection that Ratnapura was founded by Ratnadeva 16 and hence it could not have been in existence in this period. According

¹ NSCH., canto X, vv. 14-20.

³ No. 77, l. 13.

⁸ No. 76, L17.

⁴ The identification may be open to the objection that if Vajjūka was killed in battle as stated in the NSCH., canto XVII, v. 69, he could not have given his daughter to Ratnadeva I who flourished two generations later. Perhaps Vajrānkuśa is meant to represent the grandfather of Vajjūka, who may have borne the same name. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

⁵ Vankēśvara was the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris of Dakshina Kōsala. They believed that they owed their kingdom to the grace of the god. See 1.23 of No. 76. Chakravarti has shown that Vanka is a Prakrit form of Sanskrit Vakra, a name of Siva. Ep. Ind., XIX, Additions etc., p. viii.

⁸ See v. 11 of No. 77.

to a tradition recorded by Mr. Beglar, the ancient name of Ratnapura was Manipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of a Nāga king. As our poet has slightly changed the names of places, Ratnavatī in the *Navasāhasānkacharita* may represent ancient Manipura, which came to be known as Ratnapura when Ratnadēva made it his capital. If Sindhurāja crossed the Narmadā near Māndhātā, Ratanpur would be about 200 miles from the place as described in Padmagupta's poem.

In his battle with Vajrānkuśa, Sindhurāja's ally was the Vidyādhara prince Sikhandakētu. He probably represents the Silāhāra king Arikēsarin alias Kēśidēva, the ruler of North Konkan; for, the Silāhāras traced their descent from Jimūtavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas.⁴ The similarity of the names Kēśidēva and Sikhandakētu

confirms the identification.

Finally, the Nāga king Sankhapāla, whose daughter was loved and ultimately married by Sindhurāja, was probably a ruler of Chakrakōtya in the Bastar District. The princes of Chakrakōtya call themselves Nāgavamšīs and lords of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns. This dynasty produced some powerful rulers towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century A.C. Their capital Chakrakūṭa or Chakrakōtya often figures in inscriptions and literature. This shows the strategic importance of that territory. These Nāga princes were often at war with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The existence of a Nāga chieftain, ruling in the Bastar District in the beginning of the tenth century A.C., who was hostile to Vajrānkuśa or Vajjūka of the Kōmō mandala, is not, therefore, unlikely.

The historical basis of the Navasāhasānkacharita thus seems to be that the Nāga ruler of Chakrakōtya sought the powerful Paramāra king Sindhurāja's aid against Vajjūka of the Kōmō maṇḍala, with whom the Kalachuri prince Kalingarāja was probably allied. Sindhurāja seems to have welcomed this opportunity to strengthen the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom against a possible Chōla invasion; for, owing to the debacle of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī after the death of Satyāśraya, the power of the Chōlas, their rivals for supremacy in the south, was increasing. As we shall see later, Rājendrachōla I's general did indeed attack Kōsala a few years later during his victorious march to the north. It was probably to check the Chōla power that Sindhurāja, with a commendable foresight, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Chakrakōtya. He marched against Vajjūka, whom he slew in battle. Afterwards he placed a Nāga prince in charge of Vajjūka's territory and matried the daughter of the Nāga king of Chakrakōtya.

The Kalachuri king Kalingarāja, who was probably allied with Vajjūka, must have also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhurāja. But he seems to have soon rehabilitated himself by driving out Sindhurāja's protégé from the Komo mandala. We have, however, no further knowledge of any political events of his reign. The description of him in the

records of his successors is purely conventional.

Kalingarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja about 1020 A.C. He also ruled from the old capital Tummāṇa, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor of Tripurī. During his reign, Gāṅgēyadēva of Tripurī undertook an expedition against the king of Utkala (Orissa). He seems to have marched through the territory of Kamalarāja,

2 (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Ādiparvan, adhyāya 215, v. 13; Āśvamēdhikaparvan, adhyāya 79, v. 3.

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. X, p. 216.

³ It may be noted that some records of the Paramaras were issued after bathing in the Narmada at this holy place. To the east of Mandhata lay the country of Chedi, which Sindhuraja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

⁴ Sec, r.g., the Bhandup plates of Chhittarajadeva, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 250. ff.

⁵ See, e.g., Vikramānkadēvacharita, canto IV, v. 30.

^{*} It is worthy of note that the attack on Kosala followed the victory at Sakkarakottam (Chakrakottya).

whom he called on to join in the campaign. The latter fought for his overlord whole-heartedly. The Amödā plates of Prithvīdēva I state that like the Mandara mountain of yore, the brave Kamalarāja churned the milk-ocean which was the king of Utkala, and gave Lakshmī (royal fortune) as well as excellent elephants and horses to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva.¹ The description suggests that the vanquished king of Utkala had to pay a heavy tribute to Gāṅgēya. Some records of Gāṅgēya's son Karṇa also refer to this campaign. They say that Gāṅgēya defeated the king of Utkala and made his own arm the pillar of victory on the (eastern) sea-shore.

During this campaign, Găngēyadēva and Kamalarāja must have come into conflict with the contemporary ruler of Eastern Kōsala, who was probably Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. The latter claims in one of his grants² that he defeated the Chaidyas and devastated their country of Dāhala.³ This may have been a reprisal raid on Dāhala during the absence of Gāngēya in the campaign against the king of Orissa.

The king of Utkala, in securing whose defeat Kamalarāja played a prominent part, was probably a king of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Subhākara II, ruling over Tōsala on the eastern seaboard of Orissa. When Kamalarāja returned home after this victorious campaign, he was followed by Sāhilla, a military adventurer who sought his fortune in Chhattisgarh. Sāhilla conquered Vivarabhūmi, evidently for his lord Kamalarāja. As we shall see later, Sāhilla's descendants settled down in Chhattisgarh and helped the Kalachuris of Tummāṇa to extend the limits of their kingdom.

It was probably during the reign of Kamalarāja that the mighty Chōla Emperor Rājēndra I (1012-1044 A.C.) sent an expedition to the north under his Daṇḍanātha (General) in 1022 A.C. The Tirumalai praśasti, which was composed in the twelfih year of Rājēndra's reign, states that Rājēndra's general first seized Sakkarakōṭṭam which is plainly identical with Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar State. Thereafter, he captured or destroyed some other countries and places like Madurai-maṇḍalam and Namanaik-kōṇam and defeated and took Indraratha, the ruler of Ādinagara, prisoner. This victory led to the capture of 'the Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa) which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled.' The praśasti does not name the ruler of Kōsala. He may have been either Kamalarāja ruling over the western part, or Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti who held the eastern part of Kōsala. As Rājēndra's general next proceeded against Daṇḍabhukti (parts of Midnapore and Balasore Districts), it would appear that the king he defeated was the ruler of Eastern Kōsala. In any case, this Chōla invasion did not produce any lasting effect; for, we have no evidence of the Chōla occupation of any part of Kōsala in this period. Perhaps, the vanquished king of Kōsala, whoever

¹ See No. 76, Il. 12-13.

^{*} J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. I, pp. 4 f.

³ The age of the Somavamsis of Kosala is still undetermined as their records are singularly lacking in historical details and bear only regnal dates. The contemporaneity of Gangeya and Mahāsivagupta-Yayāti suggested here would, if accepted, serve as a landmark in the history of the Somavamsis.

⁴ Soon after this, the Karas seem to have been overthrown by the Somavarisi Uddyōtakēsarin, who

transferred his capital to the eastern coast and gave the kingdom of Kōsala to Abhimanyu.

The Rājim inscription of Jagapāla dated K. 896 (1145 A.C.) states that this Sāhilla was a spotless ornament of the family of the illustrious Rājamāla. I have suggested that this Rājamāla is identical with Rājamalladēva who had given valuable support in re-establishing the power of the Karas after the death of the ruling prince who was probably Subhākara's father Lalitabhara. If this identification is accepted, Sāhilla would be his son or possibly his grandson. This squares with the description of him given in the Rājim inscription as well as the period here assigned to him.

Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff. See also J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 207 ff.

he was, was obliged to pay tribute to the Chōla Emperor for some years, as claimed in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription¹ of Rājādhirāja, dated 1046 A.C.

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja I in circa 1045 A.C. He married Nonallā, the daughter of Vajjūka or Vajuvarman, the lord of the Komo mandala. This mandala seems to have comprised the territory round Komo-Chauki, about 24 miles west of Tummāṇa, the then Kalachuri capital. This marriage is mentioned in most of the subsequent Kalachuri records much in the same way as the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvī is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. It seems to have considerably strengthened Ratnadēva's position in Chhattisgarh. Judging by the conquests made by subsequent kings, the Kalachuri kingdom in Chhattisgarh was very much circumscribed during the reigns of Kalingarāja and Kamalarāja. Ratnadēva made some conquests and annexed some territory to his dominion. The three sons of the aforementioned Sāhilla—Bhāyila, Dēsala and Svāmin—fought his battles and conquered the countries of Bhattavila and Viharā for him. These countries have not, however, been identified.

Ratnadēva beautified the capital Tummāṇa with gardens, mansions and temples. He erected a temple in honour of Vankēśa, the tutelary deity, and another dedicated to the god Ratnēśvara whom he seems to have installed and named after himself. Ratnadēva founded a new city called Ratnapura, to which he shifted his seat of government. The Srēshthin Yaśa is said to have been its Mayor.³ This city was enlarged and beautified by his successors from time to time, and continued to be the capital of the royal family until its overthrow by the Marathas in the eighteenth century A.C.

Ratnadēva I may have closed his reign in circa 1065 A.C.4 The earlier of the two grants of his son and successor Prithvīdēva I is dated K. 821 (1069 A.C.)

Prithvidëva I is the earliest ruler of the Ratanpur branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh. In his Raipur and Amōdā plates he calls himself Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and claims to have obtained the right to pañchamahāśahda.⁵ Both these indicate his feudatory rank. Like his predecessors, he seems, therefore, to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripuri. In his grants he uses the Kalachuri era, which he calls the era of the Lord of Chēdi.⁶ This also indicates his subordinate position. He seems to have considerably extended his small principality; for, he claimed to be the lord of the

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 57. This inscription states that the king of Kausalar (i.e. Kosala) among many others unremittingly paid tribute to the Chola king Rajadhiraja.

² It may be noted that the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I states that Ratnadēva I married Nonallā 'together with royal fortune.' No. 77, v. 13.

³ He continued to hold the same position during the succeeding reign of Prithvideva I also. See No. 76, v. 16.

⁴ Mr. Amalanand Ghosh has suggested the identification of Ratnaděva I with Singan, (the king) of the warlike Kōsalai, who was cut to pieces by the Chōla king Vīrarājēndra in the battle of Kudālasaṅgama in circa 1066 A.C. He finds corroboration of this event in the passage Ratnarājē yndhi ripu-jayini svar-gatē in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, v. 15), which he takes to mean 'When Ratnarāja went to heaven in a victorious battle.' B.V., p. 265. The proposed identification is very doubtful. Singan is evidently a corruption of Siniba. (Cf. Singanan mentioned in the same inscription, who is identical with Jayasimha.) Singan may have belonged to the Sōmavamsī family. Some members of this family bore names ending in kēsarin which is a synonym of siniba. Besides, the construction of the above passage proposed by Mr. Ghosh is impossible, because in Sanskrit yndh (a fight) is feminine in gender.

⁸ No. 75, I. 6; No. 76, II. 23 and 25.

⁶ No. 76, l. 41. The era seems to have been then newly introduced into Chhattisgarh and, therefore, had to be specified in this manner.

entire Kōsala country.¹ It is, however, highly doubtful if his sway extended to the Sambalpur District and the former Sonpur and Paṭnā States which were previously under the rule
of the Sōmavarissīs; for, no inscriptions of him or even of his successors have been discovered in that part of the country. As we have already seen, this territory was included
in Kōsala. The aforementioned title is, therefore, an empty boast. This does not, however, mean that he made no conquests. According to the Rājim inscription, Jayadēva, the
son of Svāmin and grandson of the aforementioned military adventurer Sāhilla, conquered
Dāṇḍōra. His younger brother Dēvasiriha acquired the Kōmō maṇḍala. Jayadēva was a
contemporary of Pṛithvidēva I, for whom, we may suppose, these countries were conquered.
Of them, the former has been identified with the District of Sarguja, north-east of the
Bilaspur District, which was once called Bāis Dāṇḍōr (Dāṇḍōr 22), as it contained twentytwo Zamindārīs. The Kōmō maṇḍala, though situated close to the Kalachuri capital, seems
to have maintained its independence since the time of Vajjūka. The latter's successors were
either too weak or too overbearing to be allowed to remain independent. They were,
therefore, subdued, and their maṇḍala was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom.

Prithvîdēva I married Rājallā. She bore him a son named Jājalladēva I, who afterwards succeeded him. He had a younger brother named Sarvadēva, who obtained the territory round Sōnthiva (Sōnthi in the Bilaspur District) as his pattimony (dāyād-āinśa).² Vigraharāja, one of his ministers, and Yaśa, who continued to hold the post of the Mayor of Ratnapura, are named in his Amōdā plates.³ Another minister Sōḍhadēva is mentioned in a later stone inscription.⁴ Prithvīdēva was a devotee of Siva. At Tummāṇa he dedicated a temple to the god under the name Prithvīdēvēśvara and also provided the old temple of Vankēśvara with a chatushkikā or a hall resting on four pillars. On the occasion of its dedication, he made a land-grant dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.). At Ratnapura he constructed a large 'ocean-like' lake. He reigned from circa 1065 A.C. to 1090 A.C.

Jājalladēva I, who succeeded Prithvīdēva I, was one of the great kings of this family. Soon after his accession, he embarked on an ambitious scheme of conquest. He subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra and Talahāri. Vairāgara is modern Vairāgarh in the Chāndā District. Lañjikā and Bhāṇāra correspond to Lanji and Bhandara in the Balaghat and Bhandara Districts respectively. Talahāri comprised probably the southern part of the Bilaspur District and the northern part of the Raipur District. The subjugation of these places shows that the kingdom of the Kalachuris in the previous reigns was very much circumscribed. Jājalladēva carried his arms even as far as Daṇḍakapura (Midnapur District) in South Bengal, Andhra and Kimiḍi in the Ganjam District. Dakshiṇa Kōsala, which also he is said to have conquered, seems to refer to the eastern portion of it comprising the Sambalpur District and the former States of Patna and Sonpur. The rulers of all these countries and also of Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, which still remain unidentified, were made to pay him an annual tribute. His general Jagapāla, descended from the above-named Sāhilla, vanquished Māyūrikas⁵ (perhaps rulers of the Bhañja dynasty) and Sāmantas (ancestors of the Sāontas in Bilaspur District). These conquests brought him

¹ In his Amōdā grant he is also called 'the sole lord of twenty-one thousand villages.' The number of villages in Kōsala is variously given. The Kuruspāl inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 30) mentions that the Nāga king Sōmēśvara of Bastar conquered six lacs of villages in Kōsala.

² No. 98, v. 13.

a No. 76, L 34. Vigraharāja is named also in the Raipur plates of the same king. No. 75, l. 13.

⁴ No. 90, Il. 11-12.

⁵ A Māyūrika family is mentioned in the Bayānā (former Bharatpur State) inscription of Chitralēkhā (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 120 ff.). It was ruling in the north and does not seem to have been connected with the Māyūrikas defeated by Jagapāla.

into conflict with Someśvara, the Nagavamśi king of Chakrakotya. The latter was a foe worthy of his steel. He had defeated the rulers of Udra (Orissa) and Vengi, and had carried fire and sword into Lānjī and Ratnapura.1 He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shannavati (96 villages) of Kōsala and assumed the imperial titles Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara.2 The Kuruspāl inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses namely the towns, Lāñjī and Ratnapura.

Jājalladēva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Nāga king, slew his immense army and took him captive together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jājalladēva set them free. His Ratanpur inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of another such prince on this earth?"3 This event must have occurred some time before 1110 A.C., which is the approximate year of Someśvara's

death.4

Jājalladēva's fame spread to distant lands. The contemporary king of Chēdi, who was Yaśahkarna, the erstwhile suzerain of the Tummāṇa branch, had to court his friendship. He probably sought his aid in his campaign against an Andhra king, which, as we have seen, occurred early in his reign.5 In the Ratanpur inscription Jājalla boasts that he was honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jajābhuktika with presents of wealth 'because he was valiant'. The ruler of Kānyakubja was probably the ambitious Gāhadavāla king Govindachandra, who, even while a ywarāja, had wielded considerable authority. He came to the throne about 1110 A.C. and was thus a contemporary of Jājalla. The other ruler who sought Jājalla's alliance was plainly a king of the Chandella dynasty. Three Chandella princes Kirtivarman, Sallakshanavarman and Jayavarman ruled contemporaneously with Jājalla.6 Of these, Sallakshaṇavarman was probably Jājalla's ally. This contact with the Chandellas is reflected in the Kalachuri coinage as shown below.

These rulers of distant Northern countries sought Jājalla's friendship because his kingdom occupied a strategic position on the route of communication between the north and the south. Earlier conquerors from the north like Samudragupta and Isanavarman had to pass through Dakshina Kōsala in the course of their southern digvijaya. Similarly, Rājēndra Chōla I's general had to conquer Kōsala before he penetrated into Bengal. The object of this alliance with Jājalla was probably to check the advance of the Chola Emperor Kulottunga I (1070-1122 A.C.). By his occupation of the Chola throne, Kulõttunga had already united the kingdoms of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas. He entertained aggressive designs of North-Indian conquests, in pursuance of which he had subjugated Vairagarh and Chakrakotta.7 In some records he is said to have measured swords even with the Paramāra king of Malwa. The aforementioned northern powers must have regarded Jājalla as a bulwark against a possible Chōla invasion of North India.

We have seen above that Jājalla defeated the king of Dakshina Kõsala. The latter is probably identical with Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarnapura, modern Sonpur, the chief

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 29.

3 No. 77, V. 22.

See above, p. cii.

^{*} Loc. etc., p. 30. Shannavati as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Mahāśivagupta-Yayati. See also J. A. S. B. Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.

⁴ Somesvara was living at the time of the Barsur inscription dated 1108 A.C. (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 314; Vol. IX, p. 162) and had died when the Nārāyanpāl inscription was put up in 1111 A.C. (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 161 ff.) So he seems to have died in circa 1110 A.C.

⁶ V. A. Smith has given the following approximate dates for these three kings-Kirtivarman, 1060-1100 A.C., Sallakshanavarman 1100-1110 A. C. and Jayavarman 1110-1117 A.C. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

7 S. I. I., Vol. III, part ii, pp. 132-34-

town of the former Sonpur State.¹ This king is not known from other records, but he probably belonged to the Somavamsi dynasty, and might be the son and successor of Abhimanyu who founded a feudatory state in that part of Dakshina Kosala, when Uddyotakesarin conquered Utkala and removed his capital to the eastern seaboard.² Jājalladēva seems to have followed up this victory and also deposed the king of Utkala. But his cause was espoused by his neighbour, the mighty Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga, who reinstated him. The earliest record which mentions the reinstatement of the Utkala king is the Korni plates of Anantavarman, dated Saka 1034 (1113 A.C.).³ This record does not mention the name of the enemy who had deposed the king of Utkala, but the foregoing discussion must have made it clear that he was probably Jājalladēva I.

Jājalla seems to have repudiated the political subjection of his house to the Kalachuris of Tripurī and declared his independence. To announce his independent rank, he struck gold and copper coins in his own name. His gold coins are partially modelled on the issues of Gāṅgēya. They have the king's name in bold Nāgarī letters in three lines on the obverse as on Gāṅgēya's coins. The reverse, however, shows the figure of a lion attacking an elephant, instead of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. His copper coins are imitated from those of the Chandēlla Sallakshaṇavarman, with whom he was allied. They have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing left on the reverse. Both these types were continued by his successors.

Jājalla founded a city in his own name, called Jājallapura, which is probably identical with modern Jānjgir (Jājallanagara). He constructed there a temple and a monastery, which he endowed with the gift of some villages. He also excavated there a large tank and raised a mango grove. He repaired the ancient temple of Siva at Pāli by erecting crosswalls and giving supports to a broken beam.⁵ These repairs are memorised by short inscriptions.

Jājalla married Lāchchhalladēvī, from whom he had a son named Ratnadēva II, who succeeded him. His religious preceptor was Rudrasīva. It is interesting to note that the latter was conversant with the work of Dinnāga, a famous Buddhist logician who flourished in the fifth century A.C. Vigraharāja, who held the position of a mantrin in the previous reign, became his Sāndhivigrahika. Another minister of the Gauda race, who was descended from the Kāyastha minister of the illustrious Karņa of Tripurī, was mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of his reign, but his name is now lost. A third minister, who distinguished himself in all his wars, was Purushōttama, the son of Sōḍhadēva who had served Prithvīdēva I in the same capacity. The writer of his Ratanpur inscription was Kīrtidhara, the owner of the village Jaṇḍēra. He and his descendants were the official scribes of the Ratanpur royal family. They have written their records on copper-plates and stone-slabs in beautiful letters.

Ratnadeva II seems to have succeeded his father in circa 1120 A.C.; for, the earliest inscription of his reign is dated K. 878 (1127 A.C.). He followed his father's policy and

¹ No. 100, 1.6. The gold coins of Jājalladēva I and his successors have been found in the Sonpur State. J.N.S.I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 240.

³ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.

⁴ It symbolises his victory over the contemporary Ganga king, 'the lord of elephants.'

⁵ Jājalladēva himself did not erect the temple of Pāli, as was previously supposed. See below, p. 418.

See No. 84, v. 8.

⁷ No. 90, V. 23.

^{*} No. 77, v. 34 and No. 83, v. 35.

⁹ See below, p. 458, n. 3.

struck gold and copper coins in his own name, indicating his independence. The Kalachuri Emperor of Tripuri could brook this impertinence no longer. He sent a large and powerful army against him, but Ratnadeva routed it completely. In the Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), he is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king. The Chēdi king, though not named in the record, was plainly Gayākarņa, who ruled from

circa 1123 A.C. to 1153 A.C., and was thus a contemporary of Ratnadeva II.

Another memorable event of Ratnadeva's reign which, though not referred to in his own inscriptions, is often mentioned in the records of his successors and their feudatories is the invasion of his country by Chōdaganga.1 The latter was evidently the mighty Ganga king Anantavarman-Chōdaganga, who had a long reign of 70 years (1078-1147 A.C.). This aggressive Ganga king reinstated the deposed king of Utkala and raided the northern country up to the bank of the Ganga. He is said to have laid under tribute all countries between the Ganga and the Godavari.2 In the course of his whirlwind campaign he seems to have attacked the Kalachuri kingdom in Kōsala. The Pendrābandh plates mention Gökarna as his ally in this campaign.3 The latter was a feudatory of Chōdaganga as stated in his inscription at Gudiwādā in the Bimblipatam tāluka of the Vishakhapatam District.4 Ratnadeva inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders and obtained a large booty of gold, horses and elephants.5 A Ratanpur stone inscription describes Ratnadēva II as 'Rāhu in seizing and swallowing the large lunar orb of the mighty warriors of Chōdaganga'.6 The Mallar inscription dated K. 919 speaks of Ratnadeva as 'a fierce cloud which extinguished the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the valour of the king Chodaganga'.7 The battle was a very fierce one and was fought in the Talahāri-maṇḍala, not very far from Shēorinārāyaṇ.8 Jagapāla, a descendant of the aforementioned Sāhilla, distinguished himself in it by his bravery and became known as Jagatsimha (the Lion of the World).9 Vallabharaja, another feudatory of Ratnadeva, also seems to have fought in it.10 Anantavarman-Chödaganga, 'the lord of elephants', suffered an ignominious defeat and had to return home discomfited. Somehow this glorious achievement of Ratnadeva is not mentioned in any of his copper-plate grants, but it may have occurred in circa 1130 A.C.

This victory enhanced the power and prestige of Ratnadeva II and encouraged him to undertake distant campaigns. One of them, directed against the king of Gauda, is mentioned in several inscriptions of Vallabharāja. As stated before, this Vallabharāja was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. He belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His forefathers had loyally served the royal family as feudatories or ministers. Vallabharāja was treated by Lāchchhalladēvī, the mother of Ratnadēva II, as her adopted son. He was a contemporary of both Ratnadēva II and his son and successor Prithvīdēva II. The earliest record in which the campaign in Gauda is mentioned belongs to the reign of Ratnadēva II, which

¹ No. 93, V. 5.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

³ No. 101, v. 9.

⁴ My attention to this record was drawn by Mr. N. L. Rao.

Note यश्चोडगङ्गनृपति कलिङ्गदेशाधिपं गजाधीशम् ।
 समिति जटेश्वरजन[काँ] कत(न)काश्वरजोज्जितञ्चक्रं ॥ No. 100, v. 8.

⁸ No. 93, V. 5.

⁷ No. 97, V. 4.

^{*} Note यहचोडगञ्जमिमनाचिमहैव जिग्ये । No. 98, v. 7.

⁹ No. 88, v. 14.

¹⁰ No. 84, V. 18.

shows that it was fought towards the end of it, in circa 1132. Vallabharāja fought very valiantly in the presence of his lord and captured a large number of elephants in the enemy's city. The king of Gauda defeated by Ratnadēva is not named. He was probably one of the weak successors of Rāmapāla, perhaps Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty, who has been referred to the period circa 1130-1150 A.C.¹ Another minister who won laurels in this war against the Gauda king was Purushōttama, whom Ratnadēva II made his Sarvādbikārin. He is said to have threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti and punished Daṇḍapura, which may have been its capital. He also conquered Khijjinga and killed Haravōhu, who was probably its ruler.² Khijjinga is probably identical with the homonymous capital of the Bhañja kings, but Haravōhu is not known from any other source.

Ratnadēva was a patron of religion and learning. He made some gifts to pious and learned Brāhmaṇas. His court attracted learned men from far off lands.³ One of his gifts, recorded in the Sarkho plates, is worthy of note; for, it was made to an astronomer for accurate prediction of an eclipse.⁴ There was a considerable building activity during this reign. Vallabharāja, the aforementioned feudatory of the Vaiśya lineage, excavated a large tank with a palace of pleasure in the centre of it, and erected a temple of Rēvanta at Vikatṇapura. He built another temple of Siva at the same place and gave half the religious merit accruing from it to his liege lord Ratnadēva II.⁵ The latter seems to have endowed the temple with some land-grant.

The aforementioned Purushöttama, the Sarvādhikārin of Ratnadēva II, made several benefactions, which are recorded in his stone inscription dated K. 900. He raised several groves, erected mathas (monasteries) and mandapas (temples), and excavated a deep tank at Ratnapura. He also built a five-shrined temple of Siva at Köni, about 10 miles south by east of Bilaspur.

Ratnadēva had two sons. The elder of them, Prithvīdēva II, succeeded him, while the younger Jayasiriha is known only from the fragmentary Raipur Museum inscription of Vallabharāja. Ratnadēva was ruling at least till K. 885 (1134 A.C.). The earliest date of Prithvīdēva's reign is K. 890 (1138 A.C.). Ratnadēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in circa 1135 A.C.

During the early part of his reign, Prithvīdēva II subjugated the petty princes ruling on the borders of his kingdom and annexed their territories. In the Rājim inscription, his general Jagapāla is said to have won several victories. He took the strong forts of Saraharāgaḍha (modern Sarangarh) and Machakā-Sihavā, south of Dhamtari in the Raipur District. Further, he conquered the countries of Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhōga, Kāndā-dōngara and Kākayara. Bhramaravadra may be identical with Bhramarakōtya

¹ D. H. N. I., Vol. I, p. 385. This invasion is probably referred to in the Rāmacharita, Canto IV, v. 133. This verse mentions that Madanapāla had driven back to the Kālindī (which flowed near the capital of Madanapāla) 'the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side.' History of Bengal (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 170. The invader who is not named in the kānya was probably Ratnadēva II.

² No. 90, v. 26.

For instance, Gangādhara, a learned Brāhmana, migrated to Tummāna from Madhyadēśa and received the village of Kösambī from Ratnadēva II. No. 97, v. 13.

⁴ No. 83, v. 19.

⁵ No. 85, v. 23.

⁶ No. 90, vv. 32-33.

⁷ No. 86, l. 26. Ratnadēva II did not continue to reign till 1144 A.C. as A. Ghosh supposes from the mention of Jaţēśvara's name in v. 8 of the Kharod inscription. B. V., p. 270. Jaţēśvara is mentioned there in connection with the description of Chōdaganga.

[&]quot; No. 88, vv. 15-17.

mandala in the Bastar District, Kākayara is modern Kānkēr in the same district. The extension of Kalachuri rule in this part is indicated by the use of the Kalachuri era in later records from Kāńkēr.1 The other places were probably situated in the Raipur District. These conquests seem to have brought a large part of modern Chhattisgarh under the direct

rule of Prithvideva II.

After reducing his recalcitrant feudatories and making his home front secure, Prithvidēva planned to take revenge on his Ganga adversary for having invaded the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of his father. He first marched against Chakrakūṭa (which comprised the central part of the Bastar District) and devastated it. This is said to have so terrified the Ganga ruler of the adjoining country, probably Anantavarman-Chodaganga, that he realised that the only way to save his life was to cross the ocean.2 Soon thereafter, Anantavarman died and was succeeded by his son Jațēśvara alias Madhukāmārnava. Prithvīdēva then raided the Ganga territory, defeated Jatēśvara and took him captive. If the account in the Kharod inscription3 could be believed, the Ganga king had to pass some days in the Kalachuri prison before he was released. Ganga records are naturally silent about this defeat of Jațēśvara, but the account is corroborated by another contemporary Kalachuri record. The Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.), now in a sadly mutilated condition, describes the fierce battle in which Brahmadeva, the ruler of the Talahāri mandala and a feudatory of Prithvīdēva II, fought valiantly with Jațēśvara. Verse 17 of the inscription says that Brahmadēva became famous by imprisoning a mighty foe.4 The reference is plainly to the capture of the Ganga king. The engagement seems to have occurred in circa 1150 A.C., soon after the accession of Jatesvara. After this no Ganga king dared invade the Kalachuri territory.

Like his father and grandfather, Prithvideva II also struck gold and copper coins in his name. Some of his tiny silver coins are also known. He gave a liberal patronage to men of learning. As many as seven inscriptions of his reign record his grants of land to Brāhmanas.5 A Ratanpur stone inscription of his time states that his rule followed the path of good policy and caused the people joy unattended by contact with troubles.6 Several religious and charitable works were constructed in his reign. The aforementioned Vaisya feudatory, Vallabharāja, excavated a lake to the east of Ratanpur, which still exists under the name of Khārung. He dug two other tanks, one of which he named after his earlier lord Ratnadeva II, and constructed a temple of Siva.7 Another feudatory Brahmadeva, who has been mentioned above in another connection, erected several temples and excavated tanks at different places in the kingdom. He also raised a mango-grove and maintained a charitable feeding house at Kumarākōṭa.8 Prithvīdēva's military commander Jagapāla repaired the temple of Rāmachandra at Rājim and endowed it with the gift of a village.9 He also founded the city of Jagapālapura. Even private individuals constructed temples. The Kāyastha Dēvagaņa, for instance, erected a temple of Siva at Sāmbā as recorded in his

Ratanpur inscription.

Brahmadeva was Prithvideva's trusted minister. He was previously ruling over the

¹ See the dates of No. 116 and 117.

² No. 89, v. 11.

² No. 100, v. 9. This statement in the inscription has not been noticed before.

⁴ No. 96, v. 17.

⁸ Nos. 86, 89-92, 94 and 123.

⁴ No. 93, V. 7.

⁷ No. 95, Il. 24. ff.

⁸ No. 96, vv. 23 ff.

⁹ No. 88, ll. 14 ff.

Talahāri mandala. Prithvīdēva II specially invited him to his capital, and entrusting the affairs of the state to him, obtained great peace of mind. The last known date of Prithvīdēva's reign is K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.). The next known date K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.) belongs to the reign of his son and successor Jājalladēva II. Prithvīdēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in 1165 A.C.

Soon after his accession, Jājalladēva II came into conflict with Jayasimha, the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripuri. The cause of this conflict is not known. Perhaps Jayasimha thought that it would be easy to subdue the new king before he consolidated his power and that he would thus be able to re-establish the supremacy of his house in Chhattisgarh. He personally led the expedition. Jājalladēva was determined to vindicate his right to independence. He was ably assisted by his feudatories and especially by the members of the collateral branch established at Sonthiva. A fierce battle was fought. Ulhanadeva, a scion of the royal family, fought bravely and decimated Chēdi forces. Seeing this, Jayasiriha, the Chēdi king, himself advanced to the forefront, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.1 In the fight that ensued, Ulhanadeva lost his life, but the inscription does not state whether Jayasimha won a victory. Records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri are wholly silent about this campaign. Neither Jājalladēva nor his successors give any indication of their subordinate rank in their subsequent records. So the battle may not have ended unfavourably for Jājalladēva II. He treated Āmaṇadēva, the orphan son of Ulhanadeva, with special affection, as his father had died on the battlefield, fighting bravely for his lord, and as his mother had immolated herself as Sati.

Some time after this, Jājalladēva was caught by an alligator of the variety locally known as Thīrū.² He was fortunately able to extricate himself, and by way of thanksgiving gave the village Bundērā to two Brāhmaṇas, the astrologer Rāghava and the family-priest Nāmadēva, in the year K. 919 (1167 A.C.).

As in previous reigns, there was a considerable building activity during the time of Jājalladēva II. Sōmarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa, built a temple of Siva at Mallāla. Several members of the collateral branch of the Kalachuri family, established at Sōnṭhiva, constructed religious and charitable works in their territory. At Pathariā, Rājadēva, the grandson of Sarvadēva, built a temple of Siva, raised a mango-grove and excavated a tank. His son Ulhaṇadēva, who, as stated above, died later fighting with the Emperor Jayasimha of Tripurī, built the temple of Chandrachūḍa. This temple still exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ. Ulhaṇadēva's son Āmaṇadēva II donated the village Chiāchēlī to provide materials for the worship of the god Chandrachūḍa installed by his father.

All the three inscriptions of Jājalla's reign are dated K. 919 (1167-68 A.C).3 It appears that there was some trouble towards the close of his reign. The Kharod inscription states that when Jājalladēva attained, through accursed fate, union with Brahman (i.e., died), the world became enveloped in darkness on all sides, the people being distressed through the loss of their discernment on account of the Kali Age. The cause of the trouble is not known. Perhaps the country was invaded by some enemy, in consequence of which there were confusion and disorder throughout the land. In this time of trouble Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalla II, came hastily from the Eastern country and established peace, order and good government in the kingdom. As the Kharōd inscription says, under Jagaddēva's rule thieves disappeared, obstacles vanished, dangers departed and enemies took shelter in the corners of mountain caves.4

¹ No. 98, vv. 27 ff.

² For other interpretations due to misreading of v. 19 of No. 99, see below, p. 329 and n. 2.

¹ Nos. 97-99.

⁴ No. 100, V. 14.

It has been suggested that Jagaddeva had been superseded by his younger brother Jājalla II and was ruling over some eastern districts during the latter's life time. But in that case the Kharōd inscription of his son Ratnadeva III's reign would not have bestowed high praise on the usurper. The wording of the verses 13 and 14 of that inscription rather suggests that Jagaddeva had voluntarily relinquished his claim to the throne in order to fight with the Eastern Gangas and that he had to return home hastily when the country was rent by disorder as a result of some foreign invasion.

Jagaddēva seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years (K. 920-930 or 1168-1178 A.C.). He had a queen named Sõmalladēvī, who bore him a son named Ratnadēva III.

Ratnadēva III came to the throne about 1178 A.C. The Kharōd stone inscription dated K. 933 (1181-82 A.C.), which is the only record of his reign, states that he was distinguished for a handsome form, learning and charity. During his reign too there was some trouble. As the Kharōd inscription states, the treasure was exhausted, the elephant force became weak, the people were scattered and the country was infested by a famine and reduced to a pitiable state. In this emergency Ratnadēva made the learned Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhara his Prime Minister. The latter, by his policy, vanquished the enemies of his lord everywhere, and freed the kingdom from all troublesome persons.² It would appear, therefore, that the trouble had been caused by some unnamed enemy.

Gangādhara, the aforementioned minister of Ratnadēva III, erected religious and charitable works at several places in the kingdom. He repaired the mandapa of the temple of Lakshmanēśvara at Kharōd. This temple had been erected by the Sōmavaniśi king Iśānadēva more than six centuries before.³ Its mandapa may have fallen into disrepair owing to the passage of time. Gangādhara constructed temples at several other places in honour of Vishņu, Siva, Ēkavīrā, Durgā and Ganapati. Some of them, such as the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura, are still standing. He excavated tanks, raised a garden,

and established a charitable feeding house at Nārāyaṇapura.4

Ratnadeva III was succeeded by his son Pratapamalla in circa K. 950 (1198-99 A.C.). He is known from his two land-grants dated K. 965 and K. 969, and some copper coins which have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of a lion and a dagger on the reverse. From the description in the Pendrabandh plates that though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that he came to the throne while quite young. In other

respects, the description of him given by the plates is quite conventional.

We have no records of the successors of Pratāpamalla until we come to the time of Vāharēndra towards the close of the fifteenth century A.C. In the records of other dynasties, there are occasional references to the defeats inflicted on the kings of Kōsala, but they rarely mention the names of the reigning kings. Hēmādri's Vratakhaṇḍa states in its Rājaprašasti that the Yādava king Simhaṇa took away troops of rutting elephants belonging to the king Jajjalla.⁵ The latter was probably a king of Ratanpur. As he was a contemporary of Simhaṇa (circa 1210-1247 A.C.), he seems to have succeeded Pratāpamalla. He suffered another defeat at the hands of Vishṇu, the minister of the Gaṅga king Ananga-

¹ See No. 100, v. 11. It must, however, be noted that the Pendrabandh plates of Ratnadeva III's son Pratapamalla omit Jäjalladeva II's name in the genealogical portion; but that may be because he was a collateral.

² No. 100, V. 27.

² Isānadēva was the uncle of Tīvaradēva and flourished probably towards the close of the sixth cen. A.C. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff. and Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

⁴ No. 101, vv. 50 ff.

⁵ See the extract from the Rājaprafasti I in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's E. H. D., p. 195. Recently some coins of Simhana have been found in the Raigarh District. J. N. S. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff.

bhīma III.¹ The Purshōttampurī plates of the Yādava Rāmchandra intimate a victory of Simhaṇa's grandson Krishṇa over the contemporary king of Kōsala. The latter is not named, but he may have been a successor of the aforementioned Jajjalla.

The next notice of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur that we get is from the stone inscriptions of the king Vāhara. The Kosgain inscription² of this king mentions the

following pedigree.

Singhana

Panghira

Madanabrahman

Rāmachandra

Ratnasēna (m. Guṇḍāyī)

Vāhara

The inscription mentions no political events of the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. For Vāhara, we have two dates, viz., V. 1552 (1494-95 A.C.), furnished by the Ratanpur inscription,³ and V. 1570 (1513 A.C.), occurring in the Kosgain inscription.⁴ He may, therefore, have reigned from circa 1480 A.C. to 1515 A.C. Taking twenty-five years as the average duration of a reign, the accession of Singhana, who flourished five generations before, may be dated in circa 1355 A.C. This Singhana is probably identical with Singha or Simhana mentioned in the Raipur⁵ and Khalāri⁶ stone inscriptions, who also seems to have reigned in the same period; for, his grandson Brahmadēva was ruling at Raipur and Khalāri in V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) and V. 1471⁷ (1415 A.C.). These inscriptions give the following pedigree—

Lakshmīdēva
Simhaņa
Rāmchandra
Brahmadēva (V. 1458 and 1471).

It seems plain, therefore, that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.C., the Ratanpur family of the Kalachuris split into two branches. The elder branch continued to rule at Ratanpur, while the younger one founded a separate principality with Raipur⁸ as its capital. Combining the two pedigrees, we get the following genealogy⁹—

See the Chāṭēśvara inscription. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVII (1898), pp. 317-27.

¹ No. 105, 11.6-7.

³ No. 103, 1.11.

⁴ No. 106, 1.14.

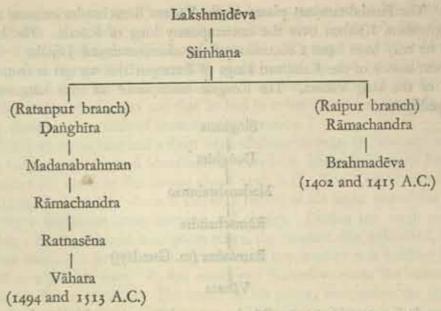
⁸ No. 107, L 13.

⁴ No. 108, 1.5.

⁷ The inscription contains in 1.15 the date V. 1470, but it is a mistake for V. 1471. See below,

⁸ Răyapura (the royal city) may have been founded by Rāmachandra. In the time of his son Brahmadēva, Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalāri) seems to have become a second capital of the royal family. See

⁹ According to local tradition, Këśava was the founder of the Raipur line and flourished in 1420
A. C. Raipur District Gazetteer, p. 51.



As stated before, the inscriptions give no historical information about the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. Vāhara's reign, however, was marked by skirmishes with the Pathans. The Kosgain inscriptions show that he had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to the stronghold of Kōsanga (modern Kosgain) probably owing to the forays of the Pathan adventurers.1 From there he used to raid Pathan outposts. The Kosgain inscription states that when he attacked the Pathans, they, leaving their stations, used to flee to the Sona. Mādhava, Vāhara's brave minister, is credited with a victory over the Pathans, whom he despoiled of gold and other metals, elephants, horses, cows and buffaloes. The Muslim chroniclers do not mention any incursions of the Afghans, who are evidently meant by the Pathans, into Chhattisgarh, which, being land-locked, must have been comparatively secure from their depredations. From the Tārīkb-i-Dāūdī of Abdulla, we learn that Sikandar Lodi invaded the territory of the Raja of Bhata,2 devastated the country and stormed the fort of Bandhu (Bandhogarh in the Rewah State), 'the strongest castle of the district', which he, however, failed to reduce. Bandhogarh is about 125 miles north by west of Kosgain. Sikandar's invasion seems to have occurred about 1496 A.C., two years after the date of the Ratanpur inscription of Vahara's reign. During this expedition or some time later, some Afghan adventurers from Jaunpur may have attempted to raid the Kalachuri territory, but they were turned back by Vāhara.

We have no inscriptions of the successors of Vāhara. Local tradition mentions twelve successors³ of Bāhar Sahāi (evidently identical with Vāharēndra of the inscriptions) who ruled at Ratanpur until the country was conquered by Bhāskar Pant, the Brāhmaṇa General of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1740 A.C. The reigns of these princes were uneventful and inglorious. One of them Kalyāṇ Sahāi, the successor of Bāhar Sahāi, is said to

¹ Verse 13 of No. 105 states that Vähara had stored various kinds of food-grains, wealth, fuel and fodder in the fortress evidently to make it sufficiently strong to stand a siege by the enemy.

² E. D. H. I., Vol. IV, p. 462. According to General Briggs, he was Śālivāhan, the Rājā of Pannā. Lot. cit., n. 2. C. H. I., Vol. III, p. 239, states that he was the Rājā of Phaphamau.

² In his A. S. I. R. Vol. XVII; pp. 77 ff., Cunningham gives a list of these kings with approximate dates. He places Bähar Sahāi in 1519 A.C., which is not wide of the mark. But the dynastic lists are, on the whole, unreliable; for, according to them, the five immediate ancestors of Bähar Sahāi were Kamala Dēva, Sankara Sahāi, Mahaṇa Sahāi, Dādu Sahāi and Purushōttama Sahāi, but these names do not agree with those given by Vāhara's Kosgain inscription (No. 105).

have proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to the great Akbar.¹ He was absent for about eight years and returned to Ratanpur, being invested by the Emperor with the full rights of Rājā and confirmed in the possession of his territory. The Muslim chronicles, however, do not mention this event.

The Raipur branch has left two inscriptions² dated 1402 and 1415 A.C., both of which belong to the reign of Brahmadeva. The only historical event recorded in them is the defeat which Rāmadeva (or Rāmachandra), the father of Brahmadeva, inflicted on Bhōṇingadeva, who belonged to the Phaṇivamsa or Nāga dynasty.³ Two Nāga families were ruling in Chhattisgarh during this period, one in the former Kawardhā State and the other in the former Bastar State. The last dated record of the Bastar family is of Harischandra, who was ruling in 1324 A.C.⁴ The Kawardhā family also continued to rule till the fourteenth century, as its last dated inscription is of 1349 A.C.⁵ In the absence of subsequent records, it is difficult to say to which family Bhōṇingadeva, defeated by Rāmachandra, belonged. Perhaps he was ruling over the former Bastar State; for, the Nāgavamsī chiefs of the Kawardhā state are known to have been feudatories of the Kalachuris, whose era they used in earlier times. Some of them were also matrimonially connected with the latter.⁶

The conditions in Chhattisgarh at the time of its annexation by the Marathas are very well described in the following extract.?—"The Haihayas merely stood at the head of a number of petty Rajās and official chiefs, each of whom was, to a large extent, independent, and among whom the whole country was divided. It was an essentially weak system, adapted only to an earlier stage of social development, and it would have fallen long ago, had any well organised foreign invasion ever been attempted. When the Marathas came, they marched through the whole country without any opposition, and demanded and obtained the allegiance of all the surrounding states." Thus ended the rule of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh after lasting for more than seven centuries from circa 1000 A.C. to 1740 A.C.

ADMINISTRATION

The records edited here belong to two main periods—the earlier one extending from about 250 A.C. to about 750 A.C., and the later from about 850 A.C. to about 1500 A.C. The earlier inscriptions mainly come from Western India comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Northern Maharashtra, and the later ones from Northern India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative system, religion, and social and economic life in these two periods naturally show wide differences.

In the earlier period, the largest administrative unit was the dēša, corresponding to the province of modern times. The kingdom of the Traikūṭaka Vyāghrasēna, for instance, comprised several dēšas or provinces, only one of which, viz., Aparānta (North Konkan),

According to Cunningham, he went to Delhi in consequence of a dispute with the Rājā of Mandlā and returned in Samvat 1628 or 1571 A.C.

^{*} Nos. 107 and 108. A copper-plate inscription of Amarasimhadeva, who is said to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, was discovered at Āraṅg. But it gives no pedigree, contains no date and has no historical importance.

³ No. 108, 1.6.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. X, pp. 39 ff.

^{*} I. C. P. B., (second ed.), p. 176.

The Māṇḍava Mahāl inscription from the former Kawardhā State states that Rāmachandra of the Phaṇivamśa married Ambikādēvī of the Haihaya lineage. Ibid. p. 174-

⁷ Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 48.

finds a specific mention in his grant.1 The names of the other desas comprised in the Traikūṭaka kingdom, viz., Mahārāshṭra, Rishīka (Khandesh) and Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) do not occur in the records of the Traikūtakas. The next lower administrative unit was the vishaya corresponding to the modern district. This term was current over a very wide area, viz., Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. Gujarat was, for instance, divided into a number of vishayas such as the Sangamakhētaka,2 Antarnarmadā,3 Nāndīpura,4 Antarmaņdalī,5 Akrūrēśvara,6 Bāhirikā,7 Kārmaņēya,8 Trēyanna⁹ and Kāśākula.¹⁰ Some of the vishayas seem to have changed their names in course of time. Thus, when Broach attained a greater importance as the capital of the Gurjaras, the name of the Antarnarmada vishaya was changed to the Bharukachchha vishaya.11 From Konkan we have the vishayas Trikūṭa, Pallūḍhamba, Āmrarājī, Mairikā, Mahāgirihāta12 etc. North Maharashtra had such vishayas as Nāsikya13 and Bhōgavardhana.14 Sometimes vishaya was used as a synonym for dēśa. The Kanhēri plate, for instance, mentions the Sindhu vishaya in the sense of the province of Sindh. 15 Similarly, the Puri-Końkana vishaya, mentioned in the Anjaneri plates,16 signified the province of Konkan. Our records do not state the extent of these vishayas except in the case of Puri-Konkana, which is said to have comprised 14000 villages. Puri-Konkana, however, was a dēša rather than a vishaya. Other vishayas must have been much smaller in size. This is also indicated by the number of vishayas into which Gujarat and North Konkan were divided.

A vishaya was subdivided into smaller units which were generally called āhāras in Central India17 and Gujarat, and bhogas in Maharashtra. Thus we find that the Nagendra āhāra comprised the territory round modern Ēraņ.18 Several more āhāras are mentioned in the records from Gujarat, e.g., Iksharakī19, Lõhikaksha20, Trēyanna21, Kanhavala22 and Kārmanēya.23 In the south the Nāsikya vishaya of Maharashtra probably comprised the Vaṭanagara

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1 No. 9, l. 2.
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[&]quot; No. 19, l. 9; No. 20, l. 9.

³ No. 11, L 4-

⁴ No. 22, 1.17.

⁵ No. 8, 11. 2-5.

⁶ No. 16, 1.33; No. 17, 1.33.

⁷ No. 27, 1.16.

⁸ No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, L 38.

⁹ No. 26, 1.20.

¹⁰ No. 34, 1.9.

¹¹ No. 23, 1.11.

¹² N1. 31, l. 27.

¹³ No. 28, 1.14.

¹⁴ No. 12, 1.18.

¹⁵ No. 10, 1.2.

¹⁶ No. 31, 1.23.

¹⁷ That an abara was a sub-division of a visbaya is evident from the explicit statement in the Navsāri plates of Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya (No. 27, 1.16) that the Kanhavala ābāra was included in the Bāhirikā vishaya. Contrast, however, the statement Trēyann-āhār-āntarggata-vishayē in line 20 of No. 26, which seems to convey just the opposite. Perhaps the intended statement there was Treyann-ābāra-visbay-āntarggata-, Cf. No. 29, 1.21 and No. 30, 1.38.

¹⁸ No. 119, L 4-

¹⁹ No. 9, 1.8.

¹⁰ No. 24, 1.35.

²¹ No. 26, l. 20.

²² No. 27, L 16.

²³ No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, L 38.

bhogal; for, Vatanagara, modern Vadner, is not far from Nasik. The terms ahara and bhoga are sometimes noticed outside the aforementioned limits also. We find, for instance, that Gōrajjā bhōga was a subdivision of the Bharukachchha vishaya in Gujarat,2 while Mahāgirihāra in Konkan was probably so called because Mahāgiri was the headquarters of that āhāra.3 Some āhāras had the same name as the vishayas in which they were included, and so the two technical terms are often found combined; see, e.g., Kārmanēy-āhāra-vishaya4 and Trēyaṇṇ-āhāra-vishaya.5 Some sub-divisions of vishayas may have been known as rāshṭras. Kalachuri inscriptions mention the mahattaras of rāshṭras among persons to whom the royal order about a grant was to be communicated.6 Some rāshtras may have been large enough to be known as vishayas. Gopa-rāshṭra, for instance, is mentioned as one of the vishayas of Puri-Konkana.7 An ahara contained smaller territorial units called pathakas. Very few pathakas have, however, found a mention in our records. Körillä pathaka8 and Lohikaksha pathaka9 lay in Gujarat, while Nagarikā pathaka10 was in Khandesh. Bāhirikā,11 which is mentioned in the Eran inscription as a subdivision of Nagēndra āhāra, was probably a pathaka. Bhogas and pathakas contained several towns12 (nagaras or puras) and villages (grāmas). Capital cities were called rājadbānī and were distinguished by prefixing sri or vijaya to their names.13 Other towns were called nagaras, puras or adhishthanas.14 The village was, of course, the smallest territorial unit. The names of villages generally ended in khēta, padra, padraka or palli, as, for example, Pippalakhēta, 15 Sirīshapadraka 16 and Suvarņārapallī.17 Villages granted to Brāhmaņas were known as agrahāras; see Sraddhikāgrahāta18 mentioned in the Navasāri plates. Some of the larger villages had hamlets attached to them; sec, e.g., Sriparnakā19 included in Tandulapadraka, and the three pallikās20 attached to Samagiripattana.

In the later period some of these technical terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others. Desa continued to signify the largest territorial unit, viz., a country or a province.21 Vishaya, which in the earlier period was the common term denoting a district, is rarely noticed in this period.22 Its place was taken by mandala in the south and pattala

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1 No. 14, l. 19. Vaṭanagara was also the name of a vishaya which was included in the Nāsika
dēša. Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.
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² No. 15, L 19.

³ No. 31, l. 27.

⁴ No. 29, L 21; No. 30, L 38.

⁸ No. 26, l. 20.

⁶ No. 12, l. 17.

⁷ No. 31, l. 26.

⁸ No. 21, l. 22. This is probably identical with Körella-chaturasiti mentioned in No. 121, l. 16.

P No. 24, 1. 35.

¹⁰ No. 2, l. 3.

¹¹ No. 119, l. 4.

¹² Towns which had predominantly a merchant population were called vanin nagaras.

¹⁸ Cf. Vijay-Aniruddhapurāt in No. 9, L. 1.

¹⁴ No. 119, l. 4.

¹⁵ No. 25, l. 20.

¹⁶ No. 16, l. 33 and No. 17, l. 33.

¹⁸ No. 21, L. 19. 17 No. 19, l. 10. 20 No. 32, L 30.

¹⁰ No. 13, l. 8. 21 See Vadahara desa mentioned in No. 88, l. 1.

²² Some instances of vishaya are Gunakala vishaya mentioned in the Kahla plates (No. 74, 1. 36) and Anarghavalli visbaya in the Shēorinārāyan plates (No. 82, 1.19). In some stray records other terms like bbumi and uddēsa are noticed; see No. 48, 1.37 and No. 56, ll. 27-28. These did not, however, become common.

in the north. The records from Chhattisgarh mention several mandalas such as Komomandala¹, Apara-mandala,² Madhya-mandala,³ Sāmanta-mandala,⁴ Anarghavallī-mandala⁵ (called also Anargha-mandala), Talahāri-mandala6 etc. Sometimes mandala was used in the sense of dēśa. Notice Mālava-maṇdala? in the sense of Mālava-dēśa in the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha, and Chēdi-mandala in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Prithvidēva II.8 A more common term denoting a district was pattalā, which was current over a wide country. We have, for instance, Kauśāmba-pattalā9 from Uttar Pradesh, Devagrāma-pattalā,10 Khandagahā-pattalā,11 Kūyīsambapālisa-pattalā,12 Dhanavāhi-pattalā13 and Rēvā-pattalā¹⁴ from Vindhya Pradesh, and Sambalā-pattalā¹⁵, Nava-pattalā¹⁶ and Jāulípattalā17 from the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Subdivisions of a pattalā are rarely mentioned. In the records edited here, we have only two instances of Mālādvādaśaka16 and Körella-chaturasīti,19 which were evidently groups of villages of which Mālā and Körella were the principal ones. A pattalā may, therefore, have been divided into smaller territorial units of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages, but they rarely find a mention in the inscriptions of this period. Names of towns ended in nagara or pura and those of villages in grāma or pātaka. See, e.g., Lavananagara, Durlabhapura, 20 Hastigrāma, Nikhatīgrāma, Thiulapāṭaka and Vaniāpāṭaka.21 Some towns were named after the kings or queens who settled them. See, e.g., Ratnapura founded by Ratnadeva I, Jājallapura by Jājalladeva I and Gōsalapura by Gōsaladēvī. All these are still known by their ancient names which, in some cases, are slightly changed.

The form of government was monarchical throughout the long period represented by the records edited here. At the head of the administrative machinery was the king whose authority was supreme. He appointed viceroys, governors, ministers, and important civil and military officers, and transferred them from one province to another according as he considered it desirable. The Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, for instance, appointed his younger brother Jayasimha to govern Gujarat and the Nasik District22 and placed the Harischandriva prince Svämichandra in charge of the whole Puri-Konkana.23 The king usually

¹ No. 77, 1. 13.

² No. 76, 1.29.

³ No. 91, 1. 25.

⁴ No. 92, 1.22.

⁵ No. 83, 1.25. No. 96, 1. 6.

⁷ No. 60, 1. 18.

⁸ No. 93, 1. 8.

⁹ No. 50, 1. 37.

¹⁰ No. 56, 1. 18.

¹¹ No. 65, L. 11.

¹² No. 68, 1. 7.

¹⁸ No. 72, 1. 10.

¹⁴ No. 70, 1. 13.

¹⁸ Below, p. 649.

¹⁶ No. 64, l. 26.

¹⁷ No. 60, 1. 24.

¹⁸ No. 42, 1. 31. 10 No. 121, l. 16.

²⁰ No. 45, 1. 32.

²¹ No. 74, 1. 37. ™ No. 27, l. 9.

²³ No. 31, 1. 6.

conferred titles and other distinctions such as patichamahāsabda for meritorious service.1 He was also the Commander-in-chief of the army and himself led important campaigns. Some early grants were issued from the victorious camps of kings evidently in the course of military campaigns. The king was also the Supreme Judge, and, according to the Smritis, it was one of his principal duties to dispense justice either personally or through judges appointed for the purpose. His consent was necessary for the transfer of any immovable property in the State. 'The three early inscriptions from Khandesh,2 for instance, record the royal assent to certain gifts of land made by private individuals.

The king's authority was thus, in theory, unfettered, but in practice there were several checks. The education of the princes was so designed as to make them self-controlled as well as learned and brave. The high ideals of self-restraint, charity, impartiality, liberal patronage to religion and learning, and respect to elders and learned people were constantly kept before their eyes and inculcated upon their minds. The princes who were brought up in such traditions did not generally belie the expectations of their educators. The earlier records of the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras give a glowing description of the abbigamika-gunas (attractive qualities) and other merits of the reigning kings and their ancestors. The Surat plates state, for instance, that the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna shared his wealth with learned people, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons, and that his enviable fortune was allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth.3 The Kalachuri records state that the illustrious king Krishnaraja wielded his weapon for the protection of the distressed, fought to humble the arrogance of his enemies, acquired learning to attain humility, and wealth to spend it in charity, made gifts to acquire religious merit and accumulated religious merit to attain salvation.4 The Gurjara grants say that Dadda III was an adept in performing his duty, as he had acquired discrimination by studying the sacred treatise of the great sage Manu.5 Even foreigners were impressed by the high ideals preached by the Hindu Dharmasāstras and Arthasāstras. The Saka king Srīdharavarman is described in both the records of his reign as dharmavijayin, i.e., a righteous conqueror.6 This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandizement. There may be some exaggeration in the description of the princes given by their panegyrists, but it undoubtedly indicates the ideal set before the rulers, which many of them must have striven to reach. In later inscriptions, however, we do not find the same emphasis laid on the virtues of selfrestraint, learning and humility. The later prasastis abound in glowing descriptions of a king's bravery and liberality as well as his construction of religious and charitable works, but they rarely refer to his discipline, duties and responsibilities.

The king could not also oppress the people by means of harsh and unjust laws; for his legislative powers were extremely limited. He was enjoined to govern the people and to administer justice strictly in accordance with the civil and criminal laws laid down in the Smritis. He had no power to enact fresh laws and to issue orders except in matters not covered by these works. In ancient times when religion had a firm hold on the minds of the people, few kings dared to defy the dictates of the age-old sacred Dharmaśāstras. On the other hand, many took pride in stating in their records that they studied these works and implicitly followed their teaching in respect of the institutions of the varnas (castes) and asramas (orders of life).7

¹ See above, p. lxv.

² Nos. 2-4.

³ No. 9, 1. 7.

⁴ No. 12, Il. 8-9.

⁵ No. 21, 1. 8.

⁶ No. 5, l. 2 and No. 119, l. 2. ⁷ No. 21, ll. 8-9.

Besides, the counsellors (mantrins) whom the king was enjoined to consult, the Purōhita who, by his prayers and religious rites, propitiated gods and secured their help in warding off all calamities and attaining success, and the Rājaguru who was greatly venerated must have wielded considerable influence in controlling the arbitrary actions of the king. There were, again, rich and powerful Srēnis (guilds) and Ganas (corporations) which maintained their own militia. The kings were not loth to use this military force in times of difficulty. The existence of these powerful self-governing institutions must also have exercised a

wholesome influence in curbing the oppressive tendencies of a despot.

Royal power must also have been considerably checked by the existence of powerful feudatories. The latter enjoyed considerable privileges. They could make grants of land in their own name without referring to the paramount power or even mentioning its name in their records.3 The Gurjaras of Central Gujarat called themselves Samantas and undoubtedly owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, to whom they must have paid an annual tribute; but in other respects they exercised independent authority and could wage war or make peace on their own initiative. The Sendrakas, the Gujarat Chālukyas and the Harischandriyas originally obtained their principalities by the favour of the imperial Chālukya family of Bādāmi, but in their land-grants they generally make no mention of the contemporary Chālukya Emperor. In later times, however, as the power of the central authority increased, the feudatories became weak. Most of them were required to be in attendance in the Imperial court. The Prabandhachintāmaņi states that as many as 136 kings were in attendance in the court of Karna.4 It is significant that we have hardly any grants made by these numerous feudatories of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. The only instances known so far are those made by the princes of Karkaredi,5 but they belong to the age when the power of the imperial family was declining.

Kingship was hereditary. The eldest son was generally made the heir-apparent. He is called Yuvaraja in earlier records, and Mahārājaputra or Mahākumāra in later ones. He helped the king in the administration of the kingdom and succeeded him after his death. Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, for instance, was governing South Gujarat on behalf of his father. He could make grants of land in his own name and was also authorised to use his own seal for the charters he issued.⁶ Sometimes a king himself in his old age crowned his son and himself retired from government. Karna, the illustrious Kalachuri king, is said to have himself performed the coronation of his son Yaśaḥkarna.⁷ Junior princes were often appointed to govern outlying provinces. The Gurjara king Dadda II appointed his brother Raṇagraha to govern a province. The latter could, however, make a grant of land only with the consent of the reigning king.⁸ Kōkalla I had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him, while the younger ones were appointed rulers of the neighbouring mandalas.⁹

Later records generally mention the Mahārājīlī or crowned queen among the persons

to whom the royal order about a grant of land was to be communicated. It is not known whether she took any part in the deliberation of state affairs. She had, in any case, no independent authority. The Kārītalāi inscription, while recording a gift of Rāhaḍā, the

¹ Cf. Rigvēda, IV, 50, 7-9; NVA., p. 160.

² Nos. 1 and 120.

³ They had their own Department of Peace and War. See No. 16, Il. 50-51.

⁴ P. C. H., p. 50.

⁵ Nos. 65 and 68.

⁶ See the seal of No. 27.

⁷ No. 56, 1. 15.

⁸ No. 18, l. 10.

⁹ No. 76, II. 8-9. This is also laid down in SNS., adhyāya 1, vv. 346-48.

Mahādēvī (queen) of Lakshmaṇarāja II, expressly states that it had been made by her with the consent of the king.¹ Similarly, the Kumbhī plates state clearly that the village Chōra-lāyī was granted by the queen-mother Gōsaladēvī with the consent of her son, the reigning king Vijayasimha.² Still, some queens must have exercised a considerable political and religious influence. Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, greatly influenced the religious policy of her husband and invited to the Chēdi country several ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan from her home country. She herself built a lofty temple of Siva under the name of Nōhalēśvara, which she endowed with the gift of several villages.³ The dowager queen Alhaṇadēvī also caused a temple of Sīva, a monastery and a lecture-hall to be constructed at Bhēār-Ghāṭ and herself granted two villages for their maintenance.⁴ Both these gifts must have been made with the tacit approval of the ruling king. Gōsaladēvī also must have exercised a considerable influence during the reign of her son Vijayasimha. She is mentioned prominently with her son and grandson in the Bhērā-Ghāṭ temple inscription.⁵

The king was assisted by counsellors (mantrins), ministers (amātyas) and heads of departments (adhyakshas). The Sukranitisāra emphasises the importance of the Crown Prince and the Council of Ministers by saying that they are the arms, eyes and ears of the king.6 The Nîtivākyāmrita of Somadeva, who flourished in the 10th century A.C., recommends the appointment of three, five or seven counsellors.7 We have, however, no definite information about the existence of a mantri-parishad either in the earlier or in the later age. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates8 mention chief counsellors (mantri-mukyas), but whether they formed a mantri-parishad, it is difficult to say. Earlier records mention very few ministers and high State functionaries. Later records, no doubt, enumerate a number of them, but they do not state whether any of them were regularly consulted by the reigning king in the important affairs of the State. Again, divergent views were held by the authors of the Smritis and the Arthasastras about the number of ministers. According to Manu, the king should have seven or eight ministers.9 Sukra mentions a council of eight or ten ministers.10 Somadeva tells us that the departments entrusted to the ministers (amatyas) were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and the army.11 If there was a council of eight ministers in the age of the Later Kalachuris, it may have consisted of the following who are generally mentioned in their records: - Mahāmantrin, Mahāmātya, Mahāsāndhivigrahika, Mahādharmādhikaranika (or Mahāpurōhita as stated in some records), Mahākshapaṭalika, Mahāpratīhāra, Mahāsāmanta and Mahāpramatri. The ministers wielded a considerable power. In cases of emergency they carried on the administration of the State and placed their nominee from among the princes on the royal throne.12 The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state, for instance, that the Chief Counsellors placed Kōkalla II on the throne of his father Yuvarājadēva II evidently in an emergency caused probably by the latter's sudden death,18

¹ No. 42, 1. 29.

² See p. 650.

³ No. 45, l. 18.

⁴ No. 60, IL 23-4.

⁵ No. 69, 1. 1.

⁶ SNS., adhyaya II, v. 12.

¹ NVA., X, 71.

⁸ No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

⁹ MSM., adhyāya VII, v. 54.

¹⁰ SNS., adhyāya II, vv. 69 ff.

¹¹ NVA., XVIII, 6.

¹² See e.g. No. 48, IL 34-36; No. 56. II. 25-26,

¹³ No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

The chief among these ministers was called Mahāmantrin (Chief Counsellor). He was the right-hand man of the king and wielded a great power. We have no information about the Mahāmantrins of the early kings such as the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas; for, no grants made by them have yet come to light. For the later period, however, we have some inscriptions recording their construction of religious and charitable works, from which we can glean some information about their abilities and achievements. The Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva I had an able Counsellor named Bhākamiśra, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja gōtra.1 He was very learned and pious. His son Someśvara, who served Lakshmanarāja II, is highly eulogised in the Kārītalāi inscription. We are told that once when the palanquin of the Mahāmantrin was about to fall owing to the exhaustion of the bearer, the king Lakshmanaraja himself put his shoulder to it.2 This plainly indicates in what high esteem the king held him. The Mahāmātya who was next in rank was also a very influential minister.3 He was probably in charge of the administration of the State. From the Rewa inscription we know of a highly cultured and valiant Kāyastha family which served the Kalachuris of Tripuri for several generations. Its founder was Göllāka, also known as Gauda, who was the Amātya of Yuvarājadēva I.4 The Mabādbyaksha, who is mentioned in some records, was the General Superintendent of Administration.⁵ Sometimes a Sarvādhikārin was appointed and invested with supreme powers of direction and administration.6 The Mahāpratīhāra was also an important officer.7 He was in constant attendance on the king. He ushered people into the royal presence and communicated royal orders to the officers concerned.8

The Rājaguru, though not included among the ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the Kalachuri kings. He was consulted in important matters and was often

entrusted with various kinds of work befitting his position.9

The earliest records included here, viz., the grants of the Mahārājas of Khandesh, do not mention any royal officers specifically. They refer to them in general terms as Ayuktakas.¹⁰ The Kalachhala plate, however, mentions Kumārāmātya, Uparika, Dāṇḍika and Daṇḍapāšika, besides those in charge of elephants, horses and men, as well as chāṭas and bhaṭas.¹¹ The mention of the first two officers is noteworthy; for, till now they were known to occur first in the records of the Gupta age. The Kānākhērā inscription mentions Mahādaṇḍanāyaka,¹² and the Ēraṇ inscription Ārakshika and Sēnāpati.¹³ These three records, which are of the pre-Gupta or early Gupta age, show that the Sanskrit technical terms signifying a hierarchy of officers in the different departments of the State had already been evolved before the rise of the Guptas. Later inscriptions such as the Bāgh cave plate of Subandhu, the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna and the Sunao Kala plates of Saṅgamasinha mention several more functionaries. From these and other records we can form a general idea of the administration of the different departments of the State.

¹ No. 42, 1. 3.

² Ibid., 1. 16.

³ No. 51, ll. 22 ff.

⁴ Nos. 38-41.

⁵ No. 48, L 36.

⁶ No. 90, L 18.

⁷ No. 48, 1. 55.

⁸ Cf. No. 11, 1. 24.

⁹ No. 64, v. 40.

¹⁰ See, e.g., No. 2, 1. 2.

¹¹ No. 118, 1. 3.

¹² No. 5, L. 2.

¹⁸ No. 119, l. 6.

General Administration-Early records mention several officers of different grades. The Rajasthaniya, who heads the list in the Sunao Kala plates, was probably the highest officer.1 As the term signifies a Viceroy, he may have been in charge of a province. Under him were the Uparikas, who administered smaller territorial units like the modern Commissioners' Divisions. The Vishayapatis corresponded to the modern Collectors or Deputy Commissioners and were in charge of vishayas (districts). Kumārāmātya was a general term denoting officers of different grades. Some of these terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others in course of time. Uparika and Kumārāmātya do not occur in the later records of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas. Rājasthānīya continued for a longer time, as it occurs in the Bagumra plates of Allasakti.2 The new terms which generally replaced Rajasthaniya and Uparika were Rajan and Samanta.3 They administered larger territorial units like the modern province or the Commissioner's Division. The Vishayapatis continued to be in charge of the districts. Under them were the Bhogikapālakas, who probably supervised the work of the Bhogikas.4 The latter were in charge of smaller territorial divisions like the bhogas, pathakas and grāmas. The Navsāri plates mention a grāmabhōgika.5 Other records mention the Rāshtrakūta and the Grāmakūta, who were evidently the heads of a rāshṭra and a village respectively.6 The Sthānalaka, who finds a mention in one record,7 was probably a local officer. Similarly, the Drangika was the Mayor of a town.8 Subordinate officers were referred to as ayuktakas and viniyuktakas.9 Later they came to be known as ādbikārikas.10

Revenue Department—The head of this department was probably the Mahāpramātri who is mentioned in the later Kalachuri records.¹¹ He surveyed all land and fixed its assessment. The Mahākshapaṭalika was the head of the Records Department.¹² The officer who collected the land revenue was called Dityōdgrābaka.¹³ Villages and lands granted to the Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of temples were exempt from ditya or land-tax.¹⁴ The officer who collected other taxes was known as Vishayādānika.¹⁵

There were different sources of state revenue. Udranga and uparikara are generally mentioned in early inscriptions. They probably correspond to klripta and upklripta mentioned in the Vākāṭaka grants, and to bhāga and bhōga of later records. Udranga may have been a land-tax. As for uparikara which seems to signify an additional tax, it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay. Besides these, salt and iron mines, forests, pasture-lands, mango and mahuā trees, threshing floors, fines imposed for offences, etc. were the other sources of revenue. Rates were levied

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1 No. 11, l. 2.
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² No. 26, l. 16.

³ No. 12, L 16. The Bagumra plates, however, have both Rajan and Rajasthaniya.

⁴ No. 13, L 4; No. 18, L 9.

⁵ No. 30, L 36.

⁶ No. 26, ll. 17-18; No. 28, l. 13.

⁷ No. 7, 1. 2.

⁸ No. 11, l. 2. Dranga occurs as the name of a territorial division in the Maitraka grants. According to some, the Drangika was an octroi officer. N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 279.

⁹ No. 7, 1. 2.

¹⁰ No. 12, 1. 17.

¹¹ No. 48, L 36.

¹² Ibid., 1. 35.

¹³ No. 7, L 2.

¹⁴ No. 8, 1. 6.

¹⁵ No. 74, l. 35. Here the term occurs as Vishayadanika.

¹⁶ No. 48, L 43.

¹⁷ No. 48, L 37; No. 42, L 34.

for the salary of the Pattakila and the apprehension of criminals (dussādhyas). Octroi and excise duties were another good source of income. They were collected by the officers called Saulkikas. The Ghattapati and Tarapati, mentioned in the Kahla plates, looked after the ghāts and ferries, and collected a small cess levied for their use.

There were various other taxes. The Anjanēri plates of Bhōgaśakti mention the tax levied on shops in market-places.⁵ Another tax called kōvēra, imposed on written documents (karaṇas), may have been a fee for registration. Each cart of a caravan had to pay a certain octroi duty while entering and leaving a village or a town.⁶ There was also a sales tax levied in money or kind on the articles sold in the market-places. The Bilhāri inscription mentions that for every elephant sold in the market in a particular town, a tax of four pauras, and for every horse, that of two pauras were required to be paid. A small tax was also levied on the sale of other commodities, such as salt, oil, betel-nuts, black pepper, ginger, bundles of grass, vegetables and egg-plants.⁷ Some of these taxes were paid in kind. In some cases these taxes were assigned to temples for their maintenance. Otherwise, they were collected for the State.

Judicial Department—There are very few references to Judicial Officers in inscriptions. Perhaps Dāṇḍika who is mentioned in the Kalachhala plate⁸ separately from Daṇḍapāsika was a Magistrate. Daṇḍanāyaka, however, was probably a military officer.⁹

Religious Department—This department is not mentioned in any early record edited here. Later, it seems to have attained a greater importance. Its head, the Mahadharmā-dhikaraṇika or Mahāpurōhita, is invariably mentioned among the officers to whom the royal order about a land-grant was to be communicated. In one record he is called Dharma-karmādhikārin, i.e., the Officer in charge of religious works. The Mahādānika mentioned in the Kahla plates probably belonged to this very department and arranged for the mahādānas (great gifts) when the king desired to make them. The scribe who recorded the royal order about a grant was called Dharmalēkhin. He was also known as Daśamūlin. A

Military and Police Departments—The army was traditionally divided into four members—chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. Each of these must have been under a head, but it is significant that the Kalachhala plate, which is the earliest record referring to them, mentions only the heads of the elephant-force, cavalry and infantry (basty-aiva-jana-vyāprīta). Chariots had perhaps lost their importance. The elephant force was an important constituent of the army. The strength of the latter was generally

¹ No. 63, l. 29.

² No. 21, L 27. See also p. 89, n. 2.

³ No. 74, L 34

⁴ Ibid., 1. 35.

⁵ No. 31, L 35.

a Ibid., L. 36.

⁷ No. 45, L 31.

⁸ No. 118, L 3.

The Gunji rock inscription mentions the titles Dandanāyaka and Balādbikrita borne by the same person. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 51. Mabādandanāyaka in No. 5, l. 2 was clearly a military title.

¹⁰ No. 48, L 35; No. 56, L 25.

¹¹ No. 100, L 28.

¹⁹ No. 74, L 34-

¹⁸ No. 56, L 44. He is called Adelanaibandbika in No. 74, L 57.

¹⁴ No. 63, L 40.

¹⁵ Notice the reference to the four-membered army in No. 56, L 8,

¹⁶ No. 118, L. 3.

measured by the number of elephants in it. The elephant-drivers also had a considerable importance and had their own gapa or corporation. The head of the elephant force was called Mahāpīlupati in early times. Later, he came to be known as Mahāpramattavāra. He occupied an influential position in early times and was sometimes appointed even the head of a territorial division. Nirihullaka, for instance, who was Mahāpīlupati, is described as Bhōgikapālaka and had a military officer under him. Later Kalachuri inscriptions mention the Mahāsvasādhanika, who was the head of the cavalry, which as a mobile force may have attained a great importance in the later age. It is noteworthy that the Rewa stone inscription mentions a Ghōṭaka-vigraha or Battle of Horses, fought and won by Vappulla, a general of the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa.

Balādhikṛita⁵ and Sēnāpati⁶ were the general terms denoting a military officer. Later, Sādhanika was used in the same sense. Gaulmikas were officers in charge of a troop of soldiers or a battalion of the army. The Commander-in-chief is called Mahābalādhikṛita⁷ in earlier records and Mahāsēnāpati⁸ in later ones. It is curious that the Commander-in-chief of the whole army is generally not mentioned among the officers named in later Kalachuri grants.⁹ On the other hand, we find that the Mahāpramattavāra and the Mahāśvasādhanika, who were the chief commanders of the elephant force and cavalry, are mentioned specifically. The reason may be that the kings themselves were the Commanders-in-chief of their armies. Military officers are generally mentioned as Dūtakas in early land-grants.

The Dandapāšika¹⁰ was a Police Officer. The Superintendent of the Police was called Ārakshika.¹¹ He was generally a military officer. Thus, Satyanāga who erected the yashti at Erikina was both Senāpati and Ārakshika. The Police Officers who were specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other criminals were called Chōrōddharanikas.¹² The Dushtasādhaka mentioned in the Kahla plates¹³ was probably a Police Officer of the same type. The chāṭas and bhaṭas, who are frequently mentioned in early land-grants, were policemen and soldiers whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the country and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were, therefore, forbidden to enter agrahāra villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.¹⁴

Foreign Department—In ancient times this was called Sandhi-vigraha-ādhikaraṇa (the Department of Peace and War). Its head Mahāsāndhivigrahika figures in several early grants as the writer of copper-plate charters. In fact, it was laid down that such charters should be written only by this officer and none else, in accordance with the instructions received from the king. The reason was that of all the departments of the State, the Department

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1 No. 120, l. 4.
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¹ No. 13, L 4.

³ No. 48, l. 36; No. 50, l. 37; No. 56, ll. 25-26.

⁴ No. 53, l. 10.

⁵ No. 21, L 42.

⁶ No. 119, l. 6.

⁷ No. 26, L 38.

⁸ No. 74, l. 34.

⁹ The Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 34), however, mention the Mahāsēnāpati among such officers.

¹⁰ No. 118, L 3; No. 120, L 5.

¹¹ No. 11, L 2; No. 119, L 6.

¹² No. 24, L 19; No. 56, L 16.

¹³ No. 74, l. 35.

¹⁴ No. 9, L 10.

¹⁵ No. 9, Il. 17-18.

¹⁶ See Mitāksharā on Yājñavalkya-śmriti, adhyāya I, v. 320; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 139.

of Peace and War was most likely to have an accurate information about the conquests of the king and his ancestors which were generally described in the initial part of such charters.

Other Officers—Several other officers are mentioned in later inscriptions. The Bhāndāgārika was the Treasurer. The Mahābbāndāgārika corresponded to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Mahāsāmanta was the head of the feudatory princes. The Mahākaranika was the head of the Secretariat. The Vāsāaka or Vāsāpvaka arranged for the residence of strangers and officers on tour. Mahākāṭtapāla was the head of the guardians of forts. The exact significance of some technical terms denoting officers such

as Khandavāla, Balādbīra and Mākutikas is not known.

The records do not show that any of these officers' posts were held on the principle of heredity. For instance, Kēśava, the Mahābalādhikṛita of Jayabhaṭa III, was the son of a mere Bhōgika.⁶ He must have risen to his high post by merit. If in some families the same post was held for more than one generation, it must also have been due to merit. Thus Sahabhaṭa, the writer of the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III, who held the post of Balādhikṛita, was the son of the Balādhikṛita Durgabhaṭa.⁷ Similarly, Sōmēśvara, the capable Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II of Tripuri, was the son of Bhākamiśra who had served the royal family in the previous generation in the same capacity.⁸ There are some other instances of the same type in the history of the Ratanpur branch also. We have no reason to suppose that any of these posts were monopolised by these families on the principle of heredity. In some minor offices, the posts may have been held hereditarily. The post of the scribe of copper-plate grants in the Secretariat at Ratanpur was, for instance, held by a Kāyastha family of the village Jaṇḍēra for several generations.⁹

In towns and villages, the administration seems to have been carried on by royal officers with the assistance of the committees called pañchakulas. The Sukranītisāra states that the officers appointed by the king in every town and village should be six, viz., the head of the town or the village, the collector of land revenue, the collector of taxes, the magistrate, the scribe (or accountant) and the Pratīhāra who was probably the head of the town or village police. Some of these officers are mentioned in our records. The mayor of a town is called Drāngika¹¹ in early records and Purapradhāna¹² in later ones. The head of a village was Grāmakūṭa or Grāmabhōgika. The Saulkika who collected taxes and the Dandapāšika who inflicted punishment are also named in some records. The other officers were generally mentioned as āyuktakas in early records. The pañchakulas were committees of persons elected by the residents of a town or a village for the management of the several departments. The Dhurēti plates mention a pañchakula-dharmādhikarana

1 No. 48, 1. 36.

² No. 48, l. 35. He is called Likhanadhyaksha in No. 113, l. 1.

³ No. 30, l. 36.

⁴ No. 70, L. 12.

⁵ No. 74, l. 35. The Makutika was perhaps a village officer. See below, p. 396, n. 1.

⁶ No. 21, l. 42.

⁷ No. 22, L 38.

⁸ No. 42, IL 3 ff.

Below, p. 458, n. 3.

¹⁰ SNS., adhyāya II, vv. 120-21; 170-75. Nīlakantha, in his commentary on MBH., Sabhāparvan, adhyāya V, v. 80, mentions five village officers somewhat differently.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2.

¹² No. 76, L 34-

¹³ No. 30, L 36.

¹⁴ No. 74, L 34; No. 120, L 3.

¹⁵ In NVA., XVIII, 49, Somadeva mentions the following members of the karana or panchakula of what appears to be the Revenue Department:—One member receives the offered amount, the second records it in the register, the third seals it, the fourth deposits it in the Treasury, while the fifth exercises general supervision.

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which was probably the Judicial Department managed by a pañchakula.1 The description shows that the merchant community had a preponderating representation on it. Other departments also must have had similar pañebakulas elected for their administration. The Anjaneri plates state that when the king Bhogasakti assigned certain taxes etc. for the maintenance of the temple of Bhogesvara in the town of Jayapura, he laid down that the festival of the god should be celebrated by five or even ten merchants in accordance with the custom of the town.2 The wording of the passage shows that five was the usual number of the members of such committees, on account of which they were usually known as pañchakulas. In special circumstances, however, a larger number up to ten was elected. The patichakulas decided also civil and criminal cases and imposed fines. Some rules for their guidance were laid down by the central government.3 In other cases, the Anjaneri plates state, whatever eight or sixteen Maballakas would declare after due deliberation would be the right standard of punishment.4 This shows that sometimes the committees consisted of as many as sixteen members. Generally appeals were allowed on the decisions of the pañchakulas, except in the case of agrahara villages which were donated with full powers of adjudication.5

The members of the pañchakulas were called Mahattaras (Prakrit, Mahallakas). There were evidently elected, but we have no information about the mode of election or the manner of voting. Their head or President was probably called Mahattama. The Smritis lay down special qualifications for the post of the Mahattama. A Mahattama should be honest, conversant with religion, vigilant, self-controlled and high-born. Mahattamas were also called Pānchakulikas, heads of panchakulas. The chief of them, called Mahāpānchakulika, is mentioned in the Kahla plates. He evidently resided in the capital, but what department he exactly represented we do not know.

Another officer who was common to both the town and the village was Gamāgamika.* He is mentioned in the grants of Subandhu and the Sēndrakas. His function evidently was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village. It is interesting to note that the Sukranītisāra also mentions a similar officer. He was specially in charge of the pānthaśālā or sarai of the village. He made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the places he came from and was going to, and after taking away his arms if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the sarai at night. In the morning the traveller's arms were returned to him and he was escorted to the limit of the village.8

RELIGION

We shall next proceed to consider the state of religion in the periods represented by our records. In the beginning of the earlier period, Buddhism was in the ascendant in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, and claimed many votaries—especially among the lower classes as also among the foreigners who were attracted by its catholic spirit. It is significant that the first record of the period included here, which belongs to the reign of the Åbhīra king Iśvarasēna, registers certain endowments made by a woman of the Saka race

¹ No. 72, 1. 9.

² No. 31, l. 44.

³ No. 32, Il. 34 ff.

⁴ No. 32, l. 37.

⁴ No. 31, l. 41.

⁶ No. 74, l. 34.

⁷ No. 7, l. 3; No. 25, l. 19; No. 26, L. 16.

⁸ SNS., adhyāya I, vv. 270-7.

to provide medicines for the sick among the Community of the Buddhist monks living in the vibāra on the Triraśmi hill near Nasik. Later, during the time of the Traikūṭakas we find an inhabitant of distant Sindh coming to Kṛishṇagiri in North Konkan and erecting a stāpa dedicated to Sāradvatīputra, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha.¹ At Bāgh in the former Barwāni State, a private individual named Dattaṭaka caused a cave to be excavated and decorated with beautiful paintings for use by the followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The ruler of the country, though himself a follower of the Vēdic religion, made a liberal grant for the worship of the Buddha image, the repairs of the vibāra and provision of food, clothing, medicines etc. for the Buddhist monks living there.² Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.C., states that there were about 100 monasteries in Maharashtra with more than 5000 monks of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna living in them. In the country of Bharukachchha (i.e., Central Gujarat) he found more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks, all adherents of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.³ Later, Buddhism seems to have gradually declined in strength for want of royal patronage.

On the other hand, Hinduism which had been lying dormant for some centuries began to assert itself with the rise of the Gupta and Vākāṭaka dynasties in North and South India respectively. This revival of Hinduism was marked by the performance of the Srauta sacrifices which had been in abeyance for a long time. In North India Samudragupta is credited with the revival of the Asvamedha sacrifice.4 In South India the Ikshvaku king Sāntamūla I and the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna I performed several Vēdic sacrifices such as Agnishtoma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha.5 Unfortunately we have no official records of the Abhiras wherein we could have expected positive information about their religious activities. Perhaps on account of their low social status, they were not keen on the performance of the Vedic sacrifices. The Traikūṭakas, who followed them, showed a greater regard for the Vēdic religion. Dahrasēna performed an Asvamēdha sacrifice to proclaim his independent status.6 It is noteworthy that this is the first known mention of the performance of this sacrifice by a king of Northern Maharashtra after a lapse of nearly seven centuries. The Vedic sacrifices were, however, costly and could, therefore, be performed by rich persons only. The Smritis also lay down that great Vedic sacrifices such as the Somayaga should be performed by such householders only as have in stock food-grains sufficient for the maintenance of their dependants for at least three years.7 Even among kings, few emulated the example of Samudragupta and Pravarasena I. The tendency to perform great Vedic sacrifices did not strike deep root, and after the sixth century A.C., we have hardly any record mentioning them.

Though the Srauta sacrifices were rarely performed, the gribya rites such as the pañchamabāyajñas continued unabated in Brāhmaṇa families. The State also encouraged them. Most of the grants⁸ of the Early Kalachuris, the Sēndrakas, the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, viz., dēvayajña (offerings to gods),

No. 10.

² No. 7. For the age of the Bagh caves, see my article in Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

^{*} O. Y. C., Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 43.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 21.

⁶ No. 8, L 2.

⁷ MS., adhyāya XI, v. 7.

^{*} The earlier records of the Mabārājas of Valkha registered only the royal consent to certain gifts made by private persons. The Barwāni plate of Subandhu and the Pārdī and Surat plates of the Traikūṭakas do not mention any specific purpose for the royal grant.

pitriyajña (offerings to manes), bhūtayajña (offerings to creatures), manushyayajña (reception to guests) and brahmayajña (study of one's Vēdic texts). It was believed that the regular performance of such rites by pious Brāhmaṇas conduced to the well-being of the State.¹

We find that the Puranic Hinduism was making a much greater headway in the earlier period. The doctrine of bhakti (devotion) preached in the Bhagavadgītā appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of the sacrifice. Again, the teaching of that sacred work that all worship, whatever may be its object, ultimately reaches the same Supreme Being, led to religious eclecticism. Of the several gods of the Hindu pantheon, Vishnu, Siva, Kārttikēya and Aditya attained a great importance in this period. The Traikūtakas were Vaishnavas. They describe themselves as Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara (servants of the feet of Bhagavat) in their grants2 and as paramavaishnava (fervent devotees of Vishnu) on their coins. Again, the Harischandriya king Bhogasakti believed that there was no pre-eminent god except Vāsudēva (Vishņu), who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. He built a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Bhogesvara in the merchant-town of Jayapura, and granted some villages and assigned certain taxes for the worship of the deity, the repairs of the temple and the maintenance of a charitable feeding house attached to it. The Yātrā festival of the god was to continue for a full fortnight in the month of Margasirsha. The management of the temple was entrusted to a committee of five or ten members elected by the merchants of the town. In return for this, the merchants living there enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions.3

Siva was also an equally popular god—perhaps more so with the aborigines and foreigners who embraced Hinduism. The cult of this god received even a greater royal patronage than that of Vishņu. In the absence of the official records of the Ābhīras we have no definite information about their religious inclinations, but judging by their names Sivadatta and Iśvarasēna, they seem to have been devotees of Siva. The same appears to be true of their feudatories ruling in Khandesh and Central Gujarat; for, their names Svāmidāsa, Rudradāsa and Iśvararāta unmistakably point to their predilection for the Saiva faith. The Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris also were adherents of Saivism. All the three Early Kalachuri kings, Kṛishṇarāja, Saṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja, are described in the Kalachuri grants as paramamābēṣvara, i.e., fervent devotees of Mahēṣvara (Siva). That they belonged to the Pāṣupata sect of Saivism is shown by the description of Kṛishṇarāja as devoted to Paṣupati from his very birth. Anantamahāyī, the queen of Buddharāja, is specifically mentioned as a follower of the Pāṣupata sect. The Dūtaka of the Ābhōṇa plates bore the name Pāinpata itself. All this is a clear indication of the influence the Pāṣupatas exercised in the court of the Early Kalachuris.

The Early Kalachuris must have erected splendid temples for the worship of their ishta-dēvatā, but none have been discovered so far. The magnificent temple of Siva, however, carved out of a living rock, now known as Elephanta near the island of Bombay, probably belongs to their age. There has been a considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta caves. Burgess placed them about 800 A.C., while Hiranand Sastri thought that the sculptures therein were, in all probability, wrought in the Gupta

¹ Inscriptions of this period generally mention bali (offerings to creatures), charu (offerings to manes), vaisvadēva (offerings to gods) and atithi (reception of guests). See, e. g., No. 21, L 21.

¹ No. 8, Il. 1-2; No. 9, L. 1.

⁸ No. 31, ll. 48 ff.

⁴ No. 12, l. 4.

⁵ No. 14, IL 32-33.

⁸ No. 12, L 34-

⁷ C. T. I., p. 467. Fergusson placed them slightly earlier in sirea 750 A.C.

period of Indian history.¹ Gupte, on the other hand, who finds certain resemblances between the sculptures at Elephanta and those at Bādāmi, would place them in the first half of the seventh century A.C.² The last view seems to be nearest to the truth. Now, the only great royal family ruling in Maharashtra and Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. which could have financed such a magnificent work of art was that of the Kalachuris. The Mauryas, who held North Konkan in that period, were only a feudatory family which could hardly have commanded the resources necessary for such a great work. There is another circumstance which supports this conjecture. The cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pāśupatas. This is indicated by the figure of Lakulīsa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the Western Court of the caves.³ We have seen above that the Kalachuri Emperors were followers of the Pāśupata sect, which exercised a considerable influence in their court. It would seem, therefore, that the Elephanta caves were excavated in the second half of the sixth century A.C. when the Kalachuri power was at its peak.

Saivism must have received further support from the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas, who succeeded the Kalachuris in Gujarat and Maharashtra; for, they also were votaries of that cult. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti made a grant of some nivartanas of land in favour of the god Alańghyēśvara whose temple was situated at Pippalakhēṭa, modern Pimpalner in the West Khandesh District. This Alańghyēśvara appears to be a name of Siva. The object of worship in this temple was probably his phallic emblem. The Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasimha as well as his two sons, Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, were also worshippers of Siva. In the Nasik plates Jayasimha is described as meditating on the feet of a holy sage whose name ended in śwaś and who therefore probably belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāśupata, sect.

Of the two sons of Siva, Kārttikēya and Gaņēśa, the former seems to have risen into prominence earlier. He is mentioned in the Mahābhārata⁷ and the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali⁸ and is adored in the beginning of the great Nāṇāghāṭ cave inscription.⁹ He was, it seems, a favourite god of the foreigners like the Sakas and the Kushāṇas who embraced Hinduism. The Saka king Srīdharavarman was his devotee. In the Kānākhērā inscription, this god is called Mahāsēna and Mahākumāra and is described as the Commander-in-chief of the heavenly army. The Early Chālukyas believed that they owed their continuous prosperity to his grace. Gaṇapati, though sculptured in the panel of the Mātrikas (Divine Mothers) in the Elephanta caves, ¹⁰ does not appear to have been separately worshipped in this period. Needless to say that there is no obeisance to him in the beginning of the inscriptions of this age.

The Sun also was a popular god in this period. Many of the Early Gurjara kings were his worshippers. They are described as devoted to the feet of the Sun.

¹ Hiranand Sastri, A Guide to Elephanta, p. 11.

¹ Y. R. Gupte, A Guide to Elephanta (Marathi), p. 1.

² Hirananda Sastri, A Guide to Elephanta, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ No. 25, l. 24.

⁵ Similarly, in the temple of Aśramadēva to which a grant was made by the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 23, l. 10), the object of worship was probably the Śiva-linga.

⁶ No. 28, l. 11.

⁷ MBH., Adiparvan, adhyāya 60, vv. 22-23.

^{*} Mahābhāshya on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99.

⁹ I have shown elsewhere that Kunsāravara in the first line of that inscription refers to Kārttikēya.

J. N. S. L., Vol. XIV, pp. 29 ff. See also Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 46, n. 4.

¹⁰ Hiranand Sastri, A Guide to Elephanta, p. 50.

Their copper-plate grants have an emblem of solar worship, perhaps an agnikunda, on their seals. Some of their grants were made on the occasion of a sankranti, i.e., the sun's crossing a sign of the zodiac. The later kings of this dynasty from Dadda III onwards were worshippers of Mahēśvara, but they continued the old emblem of the dynasty and made grants on the tithis sacred to the Sun. Dadda III, for instance, made a grant on Magha śu. di. 7, known as the Rathasaptami.

There must have been several temples of the Sun built by the Gurjara princes and others in the country of Lāṭa, but none are mentioned in Gurjara grants. We know, however, of a temple of the Sun under the name of Jayāditya from a reference in a later grant of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭas.³ It was situated at Kōṭipura in the territorial division of Kāpikā (modern Kāvī) and was probably erected by the Gurjara king Jayabhata II.

An analysis of the grants of this period would shed an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the thirty-one grants of this period, two were made to Buddhist vihāras and three to Hindu temples.6 The remaining twenty-six grants were made to Brahmanas, most of them being intended for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. As for the auspicious occasions on which grants were made, we find that no particular tithis were observed in the grants to Buddhist vibaras. Those to Hindu temples and Brahmanas were generally made on some sacred tithi or parvan. Of the twentyfive grants, in which a tithi is mentioned, we find that three were made at the time of a solar eclipse7 and one on that of a lunar eclipse.8 The pārņimā was generally regarded as an auspicious tithi; for eleven grants were made on a pūrnimā. The Kārttikī pūrnimā or the full-moon day of Kārttika was regarded as specially holy, probably because Siva killed Tripurasura on that tithi. Donations on this tithi are specially enjoined when it is joined with the naksbatra Krittika. Of the eleven grants made on purnimas, as many as five were on the Karttiki pūrņima.9 In two grants it is called Mahākārttiki.10 Some grants were recorded on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of a month, probably after the completion of the Ekādaši-vrata.11 Grants were rarely made on an amāvāsyā unless it was the day of a solar eclipse. Only three such occur in the records of this period.12 The holy tithi Rathasaptami, sacred to the Sun, has already been mentioned. Finally, three grants are known to have been made on the occasion of sankrantis, namely Mesha, Karkataka and Tulā.13

This analysis will show that though the Vedic religion had not lost its hold on the people of the age, the Pauranic Hinduism, which laid a stress on the construction of the temples of gods as a specially meritorious act, was gradually gaining ground. Buddhism, on the other hand, was losing the popular support.

We shall next turn to the later period and first take up the countries of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. In the fragmentary Kārītalāi stone inscription which is the earliest official record of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, all the three members of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā,

¹ See Nos. 22 and 23. 2 No. 121, l. 28. 2 See Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 144 f.

⁴ No. 33 and 34 are excluded as the grants are spurious.

a Nos. 1 and 7.

⁸ Nos. 23, 25 and 31.

⁷ Nos. 13, 25 and 120.

[#] No. 21.

^{*} Nos. 9, 11, 16, 17 and 30.

¹⁰ The pūrņimā gets this name when the moon is in Rōhiṇī or when the moon and Jupiter are in Krittikā.

¹¹ Nos. 8, 14 and 27.

¹² Nos. 15, 18 and 24. The grant on Aśvina amāvāryā is in propitiation of Lakshmi.

¹⁸ Nos. 28, 23 and 22 respectively.

Vishņu and Rudra, are reverenced1 and praised, a fact which indicates the eclectic spirit of the age. Temples dedicated to Brahma are, however, very rare and none have yet been discovered in any part of the Kalachuri dominion;2 but that the cult of Vishnu was widely prevalent and had influential followers in the Chēdi country is shown by several inscriptions of the roth and later centuries. At Bandhogarh and the adjoining village of Göpālpur, Gollāka alias Gauda, the Amātya of Yuvarājadēva I, caused to be carved out of the rocks huge images of several incarnations of Vishnu such as the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, Parasurāma and Haladhara (i.e., Balarāma), besides one of Sēshasāyin (Vishņu reclining on the serpent Sēsha).3 It is noteworthy that as in some early panels, Balarāma, not Krishna, is included among the incarnations of Vishnu.4 Someśwara, the Brāhmana minister of Lakshmanaraja II, who performed several Vedic sacrifices, erected a lofty and magnificent temple dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishnu under the name of Somasvāmin at Kārītalāi in the Jabalpur District.5 The remains of this temple are still extant at the place. The contemporary Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja II was himself a devotee of Siva; but he granted a village for the maintenance of the eight Brahmanas whom he settled there for the worship of the god. His queen Rāhadā and son Sankaragaṇa III also made grants in favour of the god.6 This prince is described as paramavaishnava. Contrary to the general tendency of the Kalachuris, he was a devotee of Vishnu and erected a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Sankaranārāyana at Bargaon in the Jabalpur District.7 At Makundpur in the Rewa District of Vindhya Pradesh, there was another temple dedicated to Vishnu under the name of Jalasayana (the god who reposes on water) by a private individual, viz., the Srēshthin Dāmodara.8

Though the cult of Vishņu was thus prevalent in the Chēdi country and received a considerable patronage from the royal family, it was far outshone by that of Siva, the tute-lary deity of the Kalachuris. Vāmarāja, the founder of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, was a devout worshipper of Siva. No inscription of his reign has been discovered so far, but in some records of his successors he receives the epithet paramamābēivara indicative of his devotion to Siva. He first established himself at Kālañjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, which from very early times has been sacred to Siva. Later, the family divided itself into two branches, one establishing itself in the country of Sarayūpāra and the other in that of Chēdi. Both of them were devoted to Siva. The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra had Nandin, the vāhana of Siva, as their emblem on the seals of their copper-plate charters. Though the Kalachuris of Tripurī adopted the Gaja-Lakshmī as their distinctive

emblem, they did not omit Nandin from the seals of their charters.

Saivism became the paramount cult throughout the extensive dominion of the

No. 37, ll. 1-4-2 Subsidiary images of Brahmā are, however, noticed in several temples of that period. See H. T. M., pp. 52, 63 etc.

Nos 18-41

7 No. 43, L 3.

^{*} R. D. Banerji, Eastern and Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, p. 103. I have noticed the same in the prabbāvali of an image of Vishņu found at Pavnār in the Wardha District. According to the Bhāgavata Purāņa, Balarāma represents both himself and his younger brother Krishņa.

⁸ No. 42, L 17. 18 Ibid., Il. 29-30.

⁸ No. 47, L 2. For other temples of Vishņu at Amarakantak and Vaishņava sculptures at Söhāgpur, see H. T. M., pp. 57 and 99 ff. There was a temple of Vishņu erected by a private person at Karanbēl, for which, see below, p. 653.

⁹ No. 16, l. 22.

¹⁰ See above, pp. lxix ff.

Kalachuris from the 8th to the 12th century A.C. It received a great fillip during the reign of Yuvarājadēva I, who, under the influence of his queen Nöhalā, invited several Achāryas of the Mattamayūra clan to the Chēdi country and built magnificent temples of Siva and monasteries for them at Gurgi, Masaun, Chandrēhē, Bilhāri, Bhērā-Ghāṭ and other places. As these Achāryas exercised a profound influence on the political and religious history of the period, it would not be out of place to give here a somewhat detailed account of this clan.

The earliest inscription of the Mattamayūra clan, which was discovered at Ranod in the former Gwalior State, was edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff. It gives the following earliest genealogy of the line. It is to be remembered that

the genealogy is spiritual, i.e., not from father to son, but from guru to disciple.

Kadambaguhādhivāsin—(the Inhabitant of Kadambaguhā)

Saṅkhamaṭhikādhipati—(the Lord of Saṅkhamaṭhikā)

Tērambipāla—(the Protector of Tērambi)

Āmardakatīrthanātha—(the Lord of Āmardaka)

Purandara

Kavachaśiva

Sadāśiva

Hṛidayaśiva

We learn from the inscription that when the king, the illustrious Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated in the Saiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the sage Purandara, he attempted to bring him to his own country. He himself went to Upëndrapura where the sage was practising penance, and with a great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request. The sage founded a matha at Mattamayūra, the capital of the king whom he initiated in the Saiva faith, and established another matha at Ranipadra (modern Ranöd). The last Achārya mentioned in the genealogy, viz., Vyōmaśiva, enlarged and repaired the matha, erected temples and excavated a magnificent tank at the same place.

Vyomaśiva

Another inscription of this line, discovered somewhere in the former Gwalior State and now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, gives the same genealogy as above, except for the substitution of Rudrasiva for Āmardakatīrthanātha.¹ It will be noticed that the personal names of the first four Āchāryas in the genealogical list have not been given. The name of the fourth Āchārya is thus known from the Gwalior Museum inscription. Again, this record carries the genealogy one generation further and mentions Patangaśambhu as the disciple of Vyōmaśambhu.²

The Ranod inscription is undated; but on palæographic grounds, Dr. Kielhorn referred it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.³ The

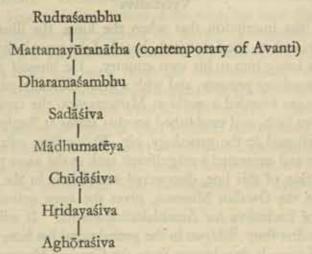
¹ I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Garde, late Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, who first supplied to me an account of this inscription. Dr. D. R. Patil, the present Director of Archæology in Madhya Bharat, has also obliged me by sending me an impression of it.

The members of this clan who belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāśupata, sect bore names ending in Jiva or Jambhu. The names of the Pāśupatas generally ended in rāfi.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 353.

tenour of the description shows that the first four Acharyas of this clan were living at different places such as Kadambaguhā, Sankhamathikā, Tērambi and Āmardaktīrtha, far away from the country of Avantivarman, and that Purandara was the first Acharya who came to Mattamayūra,1 the prince's town, and founded a matha there, from which this clan derived its name Mattamayūvavamša. Upēndrapura, where Purandara practised penance, has not been identified. Banerji has called our attention to a place of the same name which is mentioned as the head-quarters of a mandala in a grant of Naravarman, dated V. 1167 (1110 A.C.).2 This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the pratijāgaranaka (parganā) of Mandāraka in the mandala of Upēndrapura. None of these places have yet been identified. Mandāraka may be identical with Mundair, about 15 miles north-east of Ujjain. The village Kamlikhērā, which lies only about a mile to the east, may be the ancient Kadambapadraka. Whether the latter is identical with Kadambaguhā, the traditional original home of the Atharyas of this clan, cannot be determined at present. We may, in any case, be certain that the earlier Saiva Acharyas of this clan were living in Western Malwa. The places Kadambaguhā, Sankhamathikā, Tērambi and Amardaka, from which they derived their appellations, must therefore be sought for in Malwa.3 Kielhorn identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwāhā, six miles to the south of Ranod, and Terambi with Terahi, 5 miles to the south-east. At both these places some remains of Saiva mathas and temples are still extant, but these identifications do not seem to be plausible in view of the description given in the Ranod inscription. Perhaps some places in the kingdom of Avantivarman were named after the older seats of the clan in Western Malwa.4

Avantivarman who brought the sage Purandara to his capital is not known from any dated record, but his age can be ascertained approximately on other evidence. The Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājadēva II (circa 980-990 A.C.) gives the following genealogy of the Mattamayūravamsa:—



¹ The Mattamayūras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as living in Röhītaka (modern Rohtak, 43 miles north-west of Delhi). See MBH., Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 32, vv. 4 f. They were, of course, not connected with this town of Mattamayūra.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

³ This is also supported by the following extract from the Pañjikā of Brahmaśambhu, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. S. N. Sen:—

श्रीमदामदंकाधीशमायातमवनीतले । तिष्छध्याणां बहुत्वेऽपि कृतमालवकस्थितिम् ॥

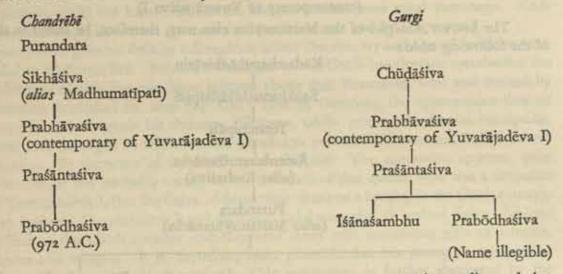
⁴ This is suggested by the name Uttara-Tērambagṭiha mentioned as the original place of habitation of the Achārya Gaganasiva in the Ranipur Jharial inscription. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 240 ff. This place seems to be distinguished from the original Tērambi by prefixing uttara to its name. It may be identical with modern Tērahi in the former Gwalior State.

RELIGION cliii

The inscription tells us that Rudrasambhu belonged to the line of the Siddhas living at Kadambaguhā and that Mattamayūranātha communicated the supreme splendour to the king Avanti. This description shows that the first two Achāryas of this line were identical with Amardakatīrthanātha¹ and Purandara mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. This identification is further supported by the aforementioned Gwalior Museum inscription which names Rudrasiva as the spiritual ancestor of Purandara.

The Bilhāri inscription further tells us that Hridayaśiva was a contemporary of a king of Chēdi (probably Lakshmaṇarāja II mentioned in the next verse) who invited him to his country. He may, therefore, be referred to circa 950 A.C. Taking 25 years as the average duration of a generation, we can place Purandara alias Mattamayūranātha, the fifth ancestor of Hridayaśiva, in circa 825 A.C.

Two other inscriptions of this clan, discovered at Chandrehea and Gurgia in Vindhya Pradesh, give the following genealogy of the Saiva Acharyas who subsequently came to and settled down in the Chedi country:



The genealogy in the Chandrehe inscription begins one generation earlier and that in the Gurgi inscription is carried one generation further; but otherwise the two genealogies are identical. The Chandrehe inscription is dated K. 724 (972 A.C.). It tells us that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva, who must evidently be the first king of that name, invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and induced him to sanctify it with his feet. Prabhāvaśiva, who flourished two generations before Prabōdhaśiva (972 A.C.), must have lived in circa 925 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I (circa 915-945 A.C.).

Comparing the genealogies in the Bilhāri and Chandrēhē inscriptions, we find that Chūdāśiva of the former must be identical with Sikhāśiva of the latter; for, (i) the two names are synonyms and (ii) their disciples Hridayaśiva and Prabhāvaśiva lived in the same period, the latter being a senior contemporary of the former as he was invited by an earlier Chēdi king, viz., Yuvarājadēva I. The immediate ancestors of Chūdāśiva and Sikhāśiva, viz., Mādhumatēya and Purandara, must, therefore, be identical. Purandara evidently obtained the other name Mādhumatēya because he lived at Madhumatī. His disciple is called Madhumatīpati (the lord of Madhumatī) in the Chandrēhē inscription. Madhumatī,

¹ Amardaka is mentioned as the original habitation of the Saiva Achāryas of the Söpuriya clan. Ind., Vol. III, p. 266.

⁼ No. 45, 1. 22.

³ No. 44-

⁴ No. 46.

where these Acharyas flourished, was probably situated on the Madhuvēṇī¹ (Mohwar of the maps), and may be identical with the modern village Mahuā which lies only a mile to the south of Tērahi. This Purandara alias Mādhumatēya must be distinguished from his namesake who founded the maṭha of Mattamayūra and was a contemporary of Avantivarman; for, the latter flourished four generations before Chūḍāśiva, while the former immediately preceded him.²

Another line of Saiva Acharyas is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription. While describing the grants of Nõhalā,3 the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, the inscription gives

the following genealogy:-

Pavanašiva
(Mādhumatēya or lord of Madhumatī)
Sabdašiva
Išvarašiva

(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

The known Āchāryas of the Mattamayūra clan may, therefore, be stated in the form of the following table:—

Kadambaguhādhivāsin Sankhamathikādhipati Terambipāla Amardakatīrthanātha (alias Rudraśiva) Purandara (alias Mattamayūranātha) Dharmasambhu Kavachasiya Sadāśiva Sadāśiva Purandara alias Mādhumatēya Hridayaśiva Chūdāśiva Vyōmaśiya Hridayaśiva Prabhāvaśiva Patangaśambhu Praśantaśiva Aghorasiva Iśānaśambhu Prabodhaśiva

¹ The river Madhuvēnī is mentioned in an inscription at Tērahi dated V. 960 (903 A.C.). Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff. Mahuā has the remains of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Mahādēva. They are assigned to the seventh century A.C. on the paleographic evidence of a Sanskrit inscription which exists on the porch of one of them. The river Madhumatī is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava, Act IX.

3 Nõhalā donated some villages to Isvarasiva as vidyā-dhana.

Banerji identified the two. This has vitiated the genealogy given by him in H.T.M., p. 112. The first Purandara was called Mattamayūranātha, while the second was Mādhumatēya.

Pavanasiva, Sabdasiva and Isvarasiva¹ were contemporaries of Purandara, Chūdasiva and Prabhāvasiva, but whether Pavanasiva was a disciple of Sadasiva or of some other Āchārya of Madhumatī is not known. Another Saiva Āchārya, named Gaganasiva, who originally hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha and built a temple of Siva at Ranipur Jharial in the former Patna State in Orissa, is known from an inscription recently edited by Dr. Chhabra. He probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan, but his exact relation to

the other Acharyas of the clan is not known.

Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan, has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Tērahi, Ranōd and Mahuā, where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwāhā, about 15 miles south of Ranōd, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and of not less than 14 Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.C. "Such a large group of temples," says Mr. Garde, "is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State. Kadwāhā thus deserves to be styled the Khajurāhō or Bhuvanēśvara of Gwalior." Such buildings could not have been erected without a continuous royal patronage. Kad-

wāhā may, therefore, have been the capital of Avantivarman and his successors.2

Inscriptions give no definite information about the dynasty and age of Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayura. From the evidence of the Chēdi inscriptions mentioning the Saiva Acharyas of this line, we have inferred above that Purandara who was invited by Avantivarman flourished in circa 825 A.C. This is, therefore, the approximate time of Avantivarman.) As regards his dynasty, Kielhorn, while editing the Ranod inscription, suggested that he might be related to the Chaulukya princes Simhavarman, Sadhanva and Avanivarman, the ancestors of the Chēdi queen Nohalā. The suggestion appears quite plausible; for, it was probably owing to the influence of this queen, who was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadēva I, that the Saiva Achāryas first obtained a footing in the Chēdi country. She, her husband Yuvarājadēva I and their son Lakshmanarāja II invited Saiva Āchāryas of this line to the Chēdi country and honoured them with munificent gifts of temples, monasteries and villages. It is, therefore, quite plausible that her ancestors were ruling over the territory round Mattamayūra.3 This suggestion is further supported by the reference to a Sulkī (i.s., Chaulukya) dynasty ruling in Central India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. A stone inscription discovered by Mr. Garde at Maser in the Bhilsa District mentions a line of Sulkī kings.4) The progenitor of this line was the sage Bhāradvāja. He was born of a drop of water which fell from the añjali of the Creator. Hence, the royal family descended from him came to be known as Sulki. This tradition differs from that described in the Bilhāri inscription in connection with the ancestry of the Chēdi queen Nõhalā. The ancestors of Nõhalā belonged to the Chaulukya family, which was so called because its progenitor was born from the chuluka (handful of water) of the sage Bhāradvāja himself.5 Both these traditions are no doubt fanciful, being intended to give a plausible explanation of the dynastic name Sulki or Chaulukya, but they leave no room for doubt that the two families were identical. The Maser inscription mentions some kings of this

¹ This Isvarasiva may be identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary inscription at Kadwāhā. A. R. A. D. G. S. (1939), p. 18.

The old name of the place seems to have survived in the name Murayatas of an old tank on the south of the village, the temples near which are 'the largest and the most important.' See Archaelogy in Gwalier, p. 96.
An analogous instance is that of the Kalachuri queen Alhanadevi, who, hailing from Mewad, placed the Pāšupata ascetic Rudrarāši of Lāṭa in charge of a temple of Siva and made grants of some villages for its

maintenance. No. 60, ll. 24-25.

4 A. R. A. D. G. S. (1930-31), p. 10.

⁸ No. 45, L 14.

line such as Narasimha and Kēsarin and describes their wars with the Kalachuris, their neighbours on the east, as well as with the rulers of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), Kachchhavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasimha was a feudatory of Kṛishṇarāja who is undoubtedly the same as Kṛishṇapa, the younger brother of the Chandēlla Dhaṅga. The latter flourished from 950 A.C. to 1005 A.C. These kings, therefore, undoubtedly flourished in the 10th century A.C. They evidently belonged to the same line as Avantivarman and Sirihavarman. The known kings of this line may, therefore, be stated as follows¹:—

Avantivarman (825 A.C.)

Simhavarman (850 A.C.)

Sadhanva (875 A.C.)

Avanivarman (900 A.C.)

Narasimha (950 A.C.)

Kēsarin (975 A.C.)

The subsequent history of this family is not known; but as shown elsewhere,² the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who flourished from the 10th century onwards may have been related to these kings. That the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were staunch supporters of Saivism is well known.

The matha at Mattamayūra, being a renowned seat of Saivism, supplied Saiva pontiffs from time to time to the monasteries in the Chēdi country. As stated above, Yuvarājadēva I invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and made munificent gifts to him. His wife Nōhalā invited another Saiva Āchārya named Iśvaraśiva and donated several villages to him. Her son Lakshmaṇarāja II called Hridayaśiva from the matha of Madhumatī and made over to him the mathas of Vaidyanātha and Nauhalēśvara. Hridayaśiva placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the latter matha.

Kalachuri inscriptions mention some other Saiva Achāryas who acted as Rājagurus. They also probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 (1174 A.C.) mentions the following Saiva Achāryas:—

Vimalašiva

Vāstušiva

Purushašiva (Rājaguru of Yašaḥkarņa)

Saktišiva (Rājaguru of Gayākarņa)

Kīrtišiva (Rājaguru of Narasimha)

Vimalašiva (Rājaguru of Jayasimha)

Two sons of the last Achārya Vimalasiva became samyasins. The elder was Sāntasiva, who became the Rājaguru of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla, when the latter annexed the Chēdi country. The younger son was Nādasiva. He executed a mortgage deed recorded in the Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla, dated K. 963 (1212 A.C.).3

³ No. 72, L 18.

¹ The dates given against the royal names here are approximate,

² See my article 'Varunasarmaka Grant of Chāmundarāja' in the Bhāratīya Vidyā (May 1945), pp. 90 ff.

RELIGION

A branch of the Mattamayūra clan was founded at Bhērā-Ghāt, about 10 miles from Tripurī. A hypethral temple was erected on a hillock on the bank of the Narmadā, where sixty-four yōginīs with Gaṇapati were installed. Most of the yōginīs are of the time of Yuvarājadēva I, but some are of a much earlier age.¹ The place seems to have been considered holy from very early times. The hypethral temple became known as Gōlakī or the Round Temple from its shape.) The matha or monastery established by its side became well known as Gōlakī matha. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription² says that the Gōlakī matha was situated in the Pāhala maṇḍala between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā. As stated before, Pāhala was the home province of the Kalachuris with Tripurī as its capital. This matha sent its Āchāryas to distant places for the propagation of its faith. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had risen to the position of the chief abbot of this matha, made an agrahāra called Viśveśvara-Gōlakī in the Andhra country as stated in the Malkāpuram pillar inscription. This inscription gives the following spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvaraśambhu:—

Durvāsas

Sadbhāvašambhu (contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

Sōmašambhu

Vāmašambhu

Saktišambhu

Kīrtišambhu

Vimalašiva

Dharmašambhu

Višvēšvarašambhu

Visvēšvarašambhu

(contemporary of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati, 1213-1249 A.C.)

It will be noticed that the three Āchāryas from Saktiśambhu to Vimalaśiva are identical with those mentioned in the Jabalpur inscription as the Rājagurus of the Kalachuri kings Gayākarņa, Narasiriha and Jayasiriha. Vimalaśiva hailed from the Kērala country, while his disciple's disciple Viśvēsvaraśambhu was a resident of Pūrvagrāma in Dakshina Rāḍha in Gauda. This shows plainly that the Gōlakī maṭba attracted learned and pious men from distant places. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had attained the position of the head of the Gōlakī maṭba, afterwards repaired to the Andhra country, where he received great honours at the Kākatīya court. He initiated the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati into the Saiva faith and received munificent gifts of land and villages from him as well as from his daughter Rudrāmbā. Branches of the Gōlakī maṭba were established at several other places in Cudappa, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts in the Madras State.

¹ H.T.M., p. 78.

^{*} J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.

* Some scholars identify this Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadēva, mentioned in the grants of Karna and others with full imperial titles. The identification does not appear to be correct. From the description in the Malkāpuram inscription, Vāmaśambhu does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Śaktiśambhu, but flourished several generations earlier. Cf. तिस्मन् मठे तस्य गुरोबंभूवः शिष्याः प्रशिष्यास्व परःसहस्राः । विनिग्रहीतुं समनुग्रहीतुं क्षोणीश्वरान्यक्षकटाक्षपातैः ॥ इत्यं काळे ग्राति सत्संप्रवाये सन्तानेऽस्मिन्नधिंसन्तानकत्प[:1] श्रीवास्मोषेः शक्तिशस्मोहदाराज्यिक्षयः श्रीमान् कीविंशस्मुबंभूव ॥ J.A.H.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 156.

Another branch of the Mattamayūra clan was established at Karkarōnī. This place has not been identified, but was situated somewhere in Central India. Brahmaśambhu, the author of the Paiijika, belonged to this branch. Some Acharyas of this branch settled down in Konkan. A copper-plate inscription of Rattarāja of the Silāhāra dynasty, dated in S. 930 (1008 A. C.) and discovered at Kharepatan, records a grant of land made for the use of the Acharyas of this branch.2

Kalachuri inscriptions afford us glimpses into the lives of these Āchāryas. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 describes the lineage, learning and mode of life of the great Saiva Achārya Vimalasīva, the Rājaguru of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha.3 He was born in a family of great Vedic scholars renowned as much for charitable and religious works as for learning. Vimalasiva studied the Vedas, observed religious vows and visited holy places in different parts of India such as Prabhasa, Gökarna and Gaya. He then received initiation from Kirtisiva of the Gölaki matha, the Rājaguru of Narasimha. He was employed by the king Jayasimha in various affairs of the State, but never neglected his nitya and naimittika religious duties. He was renowned for his charities and erected temples, mathas, charitable feeding houses (sattras), dwellings for the Brāhmanas as well as gardens. He built a large temple of Siva under the name of Kirtiśvara in honour of his guru Kirtisiva. For the maintenance of the temple, the Kalachuri king Jayasimha donated some villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse in K. 926 (1174 A.C.).

Similar glowing accounts of the religious and charitable activities of other Saiva Acharyas are given by several Kalachuri inscriptions. These Acharyas received honour and patronage at the hands of the ruling kings. The Rajagurus are mentioned among royal officers to whom grants of land and villages, recorded in copper-plate charters, are communicated. The Malkapuram pillar inscription records the tradition that Sadbhavasambhu of the Gölaki matha received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva (I). If correct, this would indicate that the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Dāhala, which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages.4 Though this princely gift has not been recorded in any Chēdi inscriptions, there is no doubt that the Kalachuris liberally patronised the mathas. Both the Bilharis and Gurgis inscriptions record the donations of several villages for the maintenance of temples and monasteries, made by successive Kalachuri kings. The former inscription mentions, besides, several taxes and rates levied on oil mills, and on elephants horses, vegetables, betel leaves and other articles sold in the local markets, which were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions.

Many of these Acharyas were engaged in austerities and, therefore, preferred to stay in solitary retreats far from the crowd. For them monasteries were built on the banks of holy rivers where they could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these Achāryas is given in the Chandrēhē inscription.7

The Acharyas utilised the wealth of the mathas and the income of the agrahara villages for the welfare of the people. Kalachuri inscriptions mention vyākhyāna-šālās (lecture halls), sattras (charitable feeding houses) and gardens with which the mathas were provided.8

¹ I owe this information to Mr. S. N. Sen, Curator of the Nepal Museum, who kindly supplied me with an extract from the MS, of the work in his possession.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

⁸ No. 64, Il. 14 ff.

^{*} It is noteworthy that the Acharyas of the South-Indian branches of the Golaks matha are described as belonging to the Lakshādhyāyi-santāna or Bhikshā-matha. A.R.S.I.E. (1923-24), p. 114. 6 No. 46.

⁵ No. 45.

⁷ No. 44, Il. 15 ff.

⁸ No. 60, Il. 23-24.

They do not, however, give us any information about the management of these mathas. For this we must turn to the Malkāpuram inscription, which gives a detailed description of the measures adopted by Viśvēśvaraśambhu for the maintenance and management of the institutions he founded in his agrabāra village, viz., a temple, a monastery, a college, a choultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. Elaborate rules were laid down for the appointment of an Achārya as the head of the Matha; his qualifications and the fee to be paid to him for his services were set forth in detail. The whole Saiva community of the village was given the right to appoint a new Achārya, if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour. As Viśvēśvaraśambhu was previously the head of the Gōlakā Matha, it would not be wrong to infer that similar rules were in force for the management of the mathas in the Chēdi country.

There were four well-known sects of Saivism, viz., Saiva, Pāśupata, Kāruka (or Kāruņika) Siddhāntin and Kāpālika. The Āchāryas of the Mattamyūra clan belonged to the Saiva, not the Pasupata sect. According to tradition, Siva first initiated Brahma, the Creator, into this faith after a sacrifice in Daruvana.2 From the latter sprang this line of Saiva Achāryas. In some inscriptions the first Achārya is said to be Durvāsas. His spiritual descendants called themselves Saiddhantikas, i.e., followers of the true doctrine. Madhumatī in Central India is described as the abode of the Saiddhāntikas.3 The Siddhāntas were revealed by Mahēśvara. According to this sect, there are three principles, viz., the lord (pati), the individual soul (pasu) and the fetters (pasa). The whole system has four pādas, viz., vidyā or right knowledge of the three padārthas, kriyā or ceremonies consisting of dīkshā (initiation) etc., yōga or meditation and charyā or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited. Charya and yoga are regarded as important as vidyā.4 The Achāryas of Madhumati are described as having an excellent discipline.5 Most of the inscriptions of this clan contain descriptions of the yogic practices of the Achāryas. These led to emancipation (siddhi). The Achāryas who attained emancipation were called Siddhas. Kadambaguhā, the original home of the Mattamayūra school, is called the venerable abode of the line of the Siddbas.

Though the Achāryas of the Mattamayūra clan were followers of the Saiva school, they were not bigotted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudraśiva, the guru of the Kalachuri king Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant not only with the siddbāntas of his own but also with those of others' schools; he was, besides, well-read in the authoritative works of Dinnāga and others. In the Gurgi inscription, the Saiva Achārya Praśāntaśiva is said to have spent his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adepts in the philosophy of the Pāñchārthikas or Pāśupatas.

There were several Pāśupata Achāryas living in the Kalachuri kingdom. One of them, viz., Rudrarāśi who came from Lāṭa, was placed in charge of the temple of Siva under the name of Vaidyanātha, and of the maṭha and the hall of teaching with gardens etc. attached to them, which the Kalachuri dowager queen Alhaṇadēvī had erected at Bhērā-Ghāṭ.8 Another Pāśupata Āchārya, known from the inscriptions, was Bhāvabrahman, who also had

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.; History of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 355.

^{*} No. 46, L 5.

⁴ Sarvadarsanasangraha (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 175.

⁵ Cf. Sach-chary-āchārya-varyāh in No. 46, l. 4.

⁶ No. 77, L 27.

⁷ No. 46, L 20.

⁸ No. 60, Il. 23-24-

hailed from Lāṭa and erected a temple of Siva at Tripurī¹. His mode of life was in accordance with the teaching of the Pāśupata system. He lived on scanty food which he obtained by begging, wore only a loin cloth, slept on pure ashes and lived a life of celibacy. He practised yōga as taught in the system of Patañjali, and cultivated the four bhāvanās (sentiments) of maitrī (benevolence), karuṇā (compassion), muditā (cheerfulness) and upēkshā (indifference). According to the Pāśupatas, salvation consists not only in the cessation of misery but also in the attainment of supernatural powers. Liberated souls live in an intimate union with Siva.²

As stated before, almost all Kalachuri kings were devout worshippers of Siva. Some of them went on a pilgrimage to distant holy places to offer worship to the god. We learn from the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja II marched in state with his whole retinue of feudatory princes and his army of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers all the way from Tripurī to Sōmanāth Paṭṭan, and bathing in the sea there, he worshipped the god Sōmanātha with lotuses of gold. He also offered to the god in worship the effigy of the serpent Kāliya, made of gold inlaid with precious stones, which he had obtained from the king of Orissa. He then himself composed a hymn of praise and concentrated his mind on Siva's glory. His son Yuvarājadēva II also dedicated to Sōmēśvara the wealth he had obtained by conquering the kings of the four quarters. He also composed an excellent hymn in praise of the

god.5 V

There was a great building activity during the age of the Kalachuris. The temples and monasteries, built by Yuvarājadēva I, his queen Nohalā and their son Lakshmaņarāja II, have already been mentioned. From a huge sculpture of Hara-Gauri, measuring 12' 8" long by 4' 7" broad on the mound at Gurgi, Cunningham conjectured that the structure in which it was enshrined must have been about 100 ft. in height.6 Banerji says that the height of the top of the sikhara of this temple, when it was intact, must have been a good 150 ft. above the surrounding ground level.7 From the Gurgi inscription we know that this temple was erected by the sage Praśantaśiva.8 By its side there was another temple erected by Yuvarājadēva I, which must have been still more lofty. The illustrious king Kama built a twelve- or sixteen-storeyed temple called Karnameru, which was probably dedicated to Siva. The ruins of this temple can still be seen near Rājghāt in Banaras. Another temple, said to have been erected by Karna, is at Amarakantak. It is a magnificent triple-shrined structure with profusely sculptured lofty sikbaras. Other temples of the age are those of Virāṭēśvara at Sōhāgpur and Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth, both in the former Rewa State. Most of these temples have a circular garbba-griba. Temples of this type were a speciality of the Chēdi country and were built for the first time by the Achāryas of the Mattamayura clan. Such temples have not been noticed outside the dominion of the Kalachuris.9

Several ministers and generals of the Kalachuri kings as well as private individuals living in the Chēdi country followed the example of their rulers and erected temples dedicated to Siva. The descendants of the aforementioned Kāyastha Amātya of Yuvarāja-

¹ No. 58, Il. 8 ff.

² See Sarvadarsangraba (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 171. See also No. 58, I. 8.

² No. 45, II. 23-24.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, 1. 7.

⁸ No. 45, Il. 28-30.

⁶ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 152. The great toraga erected in front of the Raja's palace in Rewa originally belonged to the temple of Siva at Gurgi.

⁷ H. T. M., p. 43.

⁸ No. 46, l. 14.

[&]quot; H. T. M., pp. 48; 53-54 etc.

deva I changed their religious creed and became Saivas. The last of them, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated K. 800, whose name is unfortunately lost, constructed a temple of an imposing height probably at Gurgi, which he dedicated to Siva.1 Vappulla, a brave general of Karna, who had distinguished himself in several battles, built a temple of the pañchāyatana type, in which the central shrine was surrounded by four small dēvakulīs. The image installed in one of them was of Lakshmi-Nārāyana. The names of the images in the other three are unfortunately lost.2 Besides Vishņu and Siva, Gaņēśa also seems to have been worshipped in this period. He is invoked in the beginning of some records of this period,3 but no specific mention of a temple erected in his honour occurs in the records of the Chedi country. The same is true of Karttikeya.4 Sculptures of both the gods have, however, been found in abundance at Tripuri and other places. Ambikā was regarded as a guardian deity and her image was installed when a new work like a ghat was constructed.5 Images of the Sun also have been found at Masaun and Bhērā-Ghāt, but there is no mention of any temple dedicated to him.6 A beautiful bronze image of Revanta, son of the Sun, was found at Tripuri and is now in the possession of the former Malguzar of the village.

Buddhism and Jainism also were flourishing in the Chēdi country. At Sarnath, Māmakā, the wife of Dharmēśvara, who was a follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the Ashṭasābasrikāprajītā to be written, which she made over to the Order of the Venerable Monks of the Mahābōdhi Mahāvihāra where the Buddha had turned the Wheel of the Law by his first sermon. At Gopālpur, about 3 miles from Bhērā-Ghāṭ, were discovered five Buddhist images. Four of these were of Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara, while the fifth was of his consort Tārā. From the inscription on one of them, it seems that the image was the gift of a woman named Dhēnuvā, who was a gate-keeper of one Satka, son of a lay worshipper named Subhaṭa Kāyastha. She was a follower of the Mahāyāna school. These images appear to be of the Magadha school. The inscription shows that there were some Buddhists living in peace and prosperity near the Kalachuri capital Tripurī.8 At Tewar itself was found the beautiful image of a Bōdhisattva of the Mahāyāna school, seated in the Vajrāsana posture, with his two hands in the attitude of teaching.9 The Buddha had come to be included among the ten incarnations of Vishņu and is figured on the prabhāvali of the images of that god.10

That Jainism also was flourishing in the Kalachuri dominion is shown by the Bahuribandh inscription of the reign of Gayākarņa. It records the construction of a temple of the Jaina Tirthankara Sāntinātha by one Mahābhōja, son of Sarvadhara, 11 The

¹ No. 51, L 28.

^{*} No. 53, ll. 14-15.

⁸ No. 60, Il. 4-5; No. 65, L 1.

⁴ Sec, e.g., H. T. M., pp. 86, 92 etc.

⁵ No. 62, 1. 4.

⁴ H.T.M., pp. 91 and 93.

⁷ No. 52, ll. 10-11.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 73 ff.

⁹ H.T.M., pp. 93 ff. According to S. C. Vidyabhushan, Gängeyadeva and Karna overthrew Buddhism and brought about the revival of Brahmanism in Mithilä. See his History of Indian Logic, p. 350. This view is based on the wrong identification of Gängeyadeva of Tirabhukti with the homonymous Kalachuri king. See above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 108.

¹¹ No. 59, C, l. 4. Recently another fragmentary Jaina inscription has been discovered at Tripuri. In the extant portion it mentions the Kalachuri king Karna.

colossal statue of Sāntinātha is still standing at Bahuribandh. Several other images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras have been found in the Jabalpur District. There were Jaina temples at Sōhāgpur also. At the palace of the *Thākur* of the place are collected a number of Jaina sculptures, among which there are some Sāsanadēvatās. All this leaves no room for doubt

that Jainism also had a considerable following in the Chēdi country.

Many of the grants made in this period were in the form of endowments to temples erected by kings, their ministers and Rājagurus. Some grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the attainment of religious merit. There is, however, no specific mention of the object as in the earlier grants, viz., that they were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. Some agrabāra villages were granted for the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas. These settlements were called the Brahma-stambas.² Karṇa invited some learned and pious Brāhmaṇas to settle at a newly founded town called Karṇāvatī, which, from its description, appears to have been situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Karaṇbēl was another town founded by the same king near Tripurī.

Of the ten grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra or their feudatories, two were made on the occasion of the śrāddba of the donor's father,3 three on the occasion of a sańkrānti,4 one on a lunar eclipse,5 and two on the tithis of Kārttika-pūrṇimā and Mārgaśīrsha-kṛishṇa-saptamī.6 The occasion and purpose of one are not known. One grant was made on the occasion of a yugādi.7 Curious as it may appear, no grant made by the Kalachuris to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in this

period has yet been found in the Chēdi and Sarayūpāra countries.

Dakshiņa Kōsala—The religious condition in Dakshiņa Kōsala did not materially differ from that in Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. The Kalachuris who ruled there believed that they had obtained their kingdom by the grace of the god Vaṅkēśvara.⁸ This was probably a Prakrit name of Siva. There was an old temple of Vaṅkēśvara at Tummāṇa, the old capital of the Kalachuris. The object of worship was an image, not a linga; for, the Amōdā plates state that the king Prithvīdēva I washed the resplendent feet of the god before he made a grant to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the construction of the chatushkikā (hall) of the temple.⁹ After the capital was shifted to Ratnapura, several temples were built there by the kings and their ministers. Jājalladēva I founded the town of Jājallapura (modern Janjgir in the Bilaspur District), and built there a temple of Sīva and a monastery for ascetics.¹⁰ He also repaired the old temple of Sīva at Pāli by constructing additional walls and pillars.¹¹ The temples of Sīva were erected by the princes, their feudatories and ministers as well as private persons at several places such as Mallāla, Sōṇṭhivapura, Varēlāpura, Nārāyaṇapura, Kumarākōṭa, Pathariā, Shēorinārāyaṇ, Vaḍada and Pōrathā.¹²

Saivism was thus the predominant cult in Dakshina Kosala, but Vaishnavism also was prevalent, though it played a subordinate rôle. At Janigir there is a beautifully sculp-

¹ H. T. M., p. 100.

² No. 43, l. 2; No. 56, l. 13.

⁸ No. 48, L 40; No. 65, L 14.

⁴ No. 56, L 27; No. 74, L 39; Appendix, No. 2.

⁵ No. 63, L 26.

⁸ No. 50, L 41; No. 68, L 13.

⁷ See below, p. 649.

⁸ No. 75, L 4.

⁹ No. 76, l. 28.

¹⁰ No. 77, L 26.

¹¹ Nos. 78-81. See also p. 418.

¹⁸ See No. 97, l. 24; No. 98, l. 21; No. 96, l. 25; No. 96, ll. 28 and 29; No. 98, ll. 22 and 25; No. 100, l. 23.

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tured temple of Vishnu which was unfortunately left incomplete. Above the door-way of the garbbagriba are carved the images of the Hindu/Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, which testify to the religious syncretism of the age. Vishau, to whom the temple was dedicated, appears in the centre. On the pillars and walls of the temple appear beautifully carved images of the several incarnations of Vishnu as well as of Sūrya, Dēvī and other gods. This is one of the most beautiful temples in Chhattisgarh. Its builder's name is unknown. Another old temple of Vishņu exists at Shēorinārāyan, perhaps erected by a collateral branch of the royal family. It is a simple structure, possessing no architectural beauty. Jagapāla, who distinguished himself in several battles of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repaired an old temple of Vishnu, originally built by a Nala king in the 8th century A.C.2 He renamed the god as Ramachandra and granted a village for his worship.3 Another temple dedicated to the god was built by a Môchi or Shoe-maker at Khalvāṭikā in the Raipur District.4 Several beautifully carved images of Vishnu have been discovered at Ratanpur and other places.

Besides Siva and Vishnu, other gods and goddesses like Pārvatī, Ekavīrā, Gaņapati and Revanta (son of the Sun) were adored by people, high and low, and had temples dedicated to them at several places such as Ratnapura, Vadada, Durga, Pahapaka and Vikarnapura.5 Of these the temple of Revanta at Vikarnapura, modern Kotgadh, deserves a special mention. It was built by Vallabharaja, a feudatory of the Vaisya caste, who distinguished himself in the wars of Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II. It was a fine structure, beautifully decorated with sculptures. Its ruins still exist at Kötgadh. Some of these temples were of the pañchāyatana type, and some others had charitable feeding houses attached to them. At some places like Jānjgir and Kharōd, monasteries were constructed for the residence of ascetics.7 They must have served as centres of learning and religious

teaching as in the Chedi country.

The cult of Devi also was prevalent in Dakshina Kosala. She and other Saktis like Vaishņavī, Vārāhī, Nārasirihī, Aindrī, Chāmuṇḍā and others, who were associated with her in her fight with the demons, were worshipped in several places, and their favour was invoked for success in fighting. Tantricism also had some followers.8 It was believed that by the practice of the Sākambbarī vidyā, one could obtain supernatural powers ensuring success in battles.9

A festival was celebrated in honour of Durgā in the bright fortnight of Aśvina. It continued for nine days. The Dīpāvali festival in Kārttika was marked by illuminations, gifts of cows and reading of the Purāṇas, as at present.10 Mahāmāyā and other similar

gods and goddesses were worshipped by the lower classes of the society.11

Buddhism was flourishing in Dakshina Kōsala before the advent of the Kalachuris. That Buddhist vihāras existed at Ārang in the Raipur District12 and Mallar in the Bilaspur District13 is known from inscriptions. Yuan Chwang tells us that there were over 100

² Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 271. 2 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

³ No. 88, L 14.

⁴ No. 108, L 12.

⁵ No. 96, L 26; No. 100, L 23; No. 95, L 26.

⁸ No. 90, l. 23.

⁷ No. 77, l. 26; No. 100, l. 22.

⁸ No. 114, ll. 1 ff.

⁹ No. 89, L 25.

¹⁰ No. 105, l. 10.

¹¹ Nos. 103 and 104 are on stones built into a wall of the temple of Mahāmāyā.

¹² J. R. A. S. for 1905, pp. 617 ff. and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 227, n. 2.

¹³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

Buddhist monasteries and about 10000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists, in Dakshiṇa Kōsala.¹ The reigning king Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna made grants to Buddhist vihāras, though he himself was a fervent devotee of Siva. But in later times Buddhism declined here as in other parts of the country. There is not a single reference to any Buddhist vihāra or Bhikshu in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakshiṇa Kōsala. The Buddhist canonical and philosophical works were, however, studied by some people. Rudraśiva, the spiritual teacher of Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant with the works of Dinnāga and others.² Kāśala, who composed the Kōni stone inscription, tells us that he had knowledge of three ratnas (i.e., probably Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and that he had mastered the āgamas of the Buddha and others.³ Some learned Brāhmaṇas also, who were required to take part in philosophical debates, must have been well acquainted with the Buddhist systems.

There are also no references to the Jainas in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakshina Kōsala, but there is no doubt that Jainism had some followers there. Images of the Jaina Tirthankaras have been discovered at Ārang, Sirpur, Mallār, Dhanpur, Ratanpur and

Padampur, these at Mallar being colossal.4

It is noteworthy that many of the grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kōsala were on the occasion of a solar or a lunar eclipse. Of the sixteen grants included here, as many as nine were made at the time of eclipses, five being lunar and four solar. Three grants were made on a sankrānti, one on the akshaya tritiyā which is regarded as a very holy day, and one on the irāddha-tithi of the donor's father. In the case of the remaining two, no auspicious occasion has been mentioned.

SOCIETY

Like religion, the social life also changed considerably in course of time. In the earlier period people had a broader outlook on social matters. The caste system had not become quite rigid. Foreign tribes like the Sakas were welcomed to the Hindu fold and were assigned their rightful place in the social structure. Hence they did not try to conceal their racial origin, but proudly stated it in their records. The Saka king Srīdharavarman, for instance, makes a specific mention of his race in both the records of his reign. The Gurjaras also make no attempt in their earlier grants to trace their pedigree from a mythological or legendary hero, but take pride in stating that they were born in the Gurjara-vaniša. The Sakas, the Gurjaras and the Hūṇas became completely absorbed in the Hindu society in course of time and had matrimonial relations with the most notable Kshatriya families. The Hūṇas came to be reckoned among the thirty-six Kshatriya families of the best blood, their foreign origin having been completely forgotten. We find that the Kalachuri Emperor Karna, who claimed to belong to the lunar race, had

¹ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 200.

² No. 77, l. 27.

⁸ No. 90, l. 27.

⁴ Raipur District Gazetteer, pp. 65-66; Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 61.

⁵ For lunar eclipses, see Nos. 82, 83, 86, 91 and 102, and for solar ones, see Nos. 89, 90, 117 and 122.

⁶ Nos. 75, 92 and 101.

⁷ No. 94, Il. 20-21.

⁸ No. 123, l. 27.

⁹ Nos. 76 and 99.

¹⁰ No. 5, l. 2; No. 119, l. 2.

¹¹ See, e.g., No. 16, l. 2.

¹² Prithvīrājarāsō, I, 135. 'The list with a few minor changes occurs in the Kumārapālacharita.

no objection to marrying the princess Avalladevi of the Hūna lineage. She was probably his chief queen. Her son Yasahkarna succeeded his father on the Kalachuri throne. The Abhīras also rose in social status and, like the Hūnas, were ranked among the best Kshatriya families.

In the social hierarchy, the Brahmanas occupied an honoured place. They were revered for their pious life and devotion to learning, and received royal patronage in the form of grants of land. In the earlier period, their sub-castes had not been formed and their surnames based on the places of origin had not come into vogue. The only distinctions recognised were those of the Vēdas, fākhās and götras. It would be interesting to see how the Brahmanas of the different Vedas and sakhas were geographically distributed. Unfortunately, we do not find these details mentioned in all grants. The earliest grants included here, viz., those of the Mahārājas of Valkha, Subandhu and the Traikūṭakas, mention the gotras, but not the Vedas and śākhās, of the Brāhmana donces.3 In later records they are generally mentioned, though some details are found lacking in a few grants. They are again conspicuous by their absence in the grants made after 1150 A.C. In this latter period, we find modern surnames gradually coming into vogue. We find that the Bahvrichas or Rigvēdins are mentioned in very few records.4 When their sākhā is named, it is only Aśvalāyana. The Rigvēdins, though few, were fairly wide-spread. We find them named in the grants from Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The Mādhyandina sākhā of the White Yajurvēda was predominant everywhere. Several Brāhmanas of this sākhā received grants of land in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh.5 The other Sākhā, Kanva, of this Vēda is rarely mentioned. There are only four references to it in our records.6 The Brahmanas of the Black Yajurveda or the Taittiriyas were rarer still. They had their home in South India and we find them mentioned only in the records of the south. One of them, residing at Kallivana, modern Kalvan in the Nasik District, received a grant of land situated in that district.7 A few others were residing near Nagpur.8 We no doubt find a Brāhmaņa of the Taittirīya śākhā receiving the grant of a village in Gujarat,9 but he originally hailed from Vanavāsī in the Kanara District, Bombay State. He bore a Kanarese name and had evidently gone to Gujarat at the invitation of the Chālukya prince, Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, who also originally came from Karnātaka. A few Sāmavēdins are noticed in the grants from Gujarat, Sarayūpara, and the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions of Madhya Pradesh. 10 When their śākhā is mentioned, it is invariably Kauthuma.11 The Atharvavēdins were extremely rare. They are mentioned only in one record, viz., in the Kairā plates of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga, dated K. 380.12 They all belonged to the Pippalada fakha and were residents of Bhērajjika, modern Borjai in the Broach District. They received a village in common with the

¹ No. 56, L. 15; No. 57, l. 13.

² Prithvīrājarāso, I, 135.

³ Nos. 2-4, 6, 8 and 9.

⁴ See No. 11, l. 8; No. 16, ll. 35-37; No. 56, l. 30; No. 74, ll. 41 ff.; No. 76, l. 26; No. 121, L. 19.

⁵ No. 14, l. 21; No. 19, ll. 16-17; No. 20, l. 15; No. 21, l. 20; No. 24, l. 36; No. 25, l. 22; No. 26, l. 25; No. 74, ll. 41-42; No. 91, l. 21.

⁸ No. 15, L 22; No. 16, L 37; No. 29, L 19; No. 120, L 10.

⁷ No. 12, l. 21.

⁸ No. 120, ll. 10-11.

⁹ No. 30, Il. 37-38.

¹⁰ No. 11, L 5; No. 16, L 39; No. 22, L 16; No. 74, L 44; No. 75, L 10; No. 82, L 17; No. 120, L 11.

¹¹ No. 16, L 39; No. 22, L 16.

¹² No. 16, l. 41.

Brāhmaṇas of the other Vēdas, but they seem to have fallen out with them. They were, therefore, omitted in a later grant of the same village, which virtually cancelled the earlier grant. It is well known that the Atharvavēda was looked upon with disfavour in ancient times.

The original places of habitation, from which the Brāhmaṇas had migrated, are generally stated in land-grants. Some of these places were well known in ancient times as the homes of particular śākbās. Thus, Kulāñchā in the Bogra District of North Bengal was famous as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāṇḍilya gōtra,1 most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. Similarly, Takārī in Madhyadēśa, which is probably identical with the homonymous village in the Gaya District, was known as the home of the Brahmanas of the Mādhyandina fākhā,2 though some Brāhmanas of other fākhās also resided there. In some cases we find Brāhmaṇas migrating from far off places in search of royal patronage. Thus, the Kalachuri court in Ratanpur attracted Brāhmaņas from such distant places as Sonabhadra3 in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhati4 in Madhya Bharat. Derivatives from place-names such as Māthura and Nāgara, which later became family-names of the Brāhmanas, are also noticed in one record.5 In the earlier period the Brāhmanas were distinguished from other castes by the prefix Brāhmaṇa,6 Bhatta or Bhattika7 and the suffix svāmin.8 Towards the close of the later period other prefixes such as Pandita, Thakkura, Rānta and Gaintā became common.9 The names generally ended in sarman. The modern surnames Miśra10 and Tripāthī11 occur in very late records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.C.

Many Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and Sāstras. Some of them mastered more than one Vēda. This was indicated by the prefixes like *Dvivēda* attached to their names, 12 which in the earlier period had not become mere family surnames. Those who had performed a sacrifice were known as *Dīkshita*. 13 In the earlier period, the Brāhmaṇas generally maintained the sacred fire and performed the *grihya* rites like the five great sacrifices regularly. It is interesting to read that Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, performed regularly the *Darśapūrṇamāṣa* and other sacrifices. 14 Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests (*Purāhitas*). The *Mahāpurāhita*, who was in charge of the Department of Religion, is mentioned with ministers and high State functionaries in the later grants of the Kalachuris. 15 Many members of the priestly caste obtained proficiency in the Mīmārisā, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vēdānta and other *darśanas* and even studied heterodox philosophical systems like the Chārvāka, Bauddha and Jaina. 16 Some of them took part in literary competitions and philosophical disputations at the royal courts. Some others became proficient in astronomy and mastered more than one

¹ See below, p. 268, n. 1.

² See below, p. 475, n. 4-

³ No. 83, L 16.

⁴ No. 97, l. 11.

⁸ No. 74, ll. 41 and 44.

⁸ No. 11, l. 5.

⁷ No. 13, 1. 7.

⁸ No. 14, 1. 22.

⁹ No. 99, L 37; No. 117, L 5.

¹⁰ No. 108, L 13.

¹¹ No. 105, l. 16.

¹² Np. 30, L 58.

¹³ No. 29, l. 20.

¹⁴ No. 42, ll. 10 ff.

¹⁵ No. 56, L. 25.

¹⁸ No. 97, ll. 16-18.

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Siddbānta. At the royal court, there was sometimes a competition among astronomers about the prediction of the correct time of an eclipse. The successful astronomer was rewarded with a grant of land.¹ Some Brāhmanas left the worldly life and took orders in some religious sect like the Saiva and the Pāšupata.²

From very ancient times the Brāhmaṇas have been allowed to adopt the profession of a Kshatriya if they are unable to earn a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or acceptance of gifts.³ In our records there are some instances of the Brāhmaṇas occupying influential positions in the State. The castes of royal officers are rarely mentioned in landgrants. So the information is very meagre. Still we find that in two cases the Brāhmaṇas acted as Dūtakas of land-grants.⁴ The office of the Dūtaka was a very high one⁵ and was held by State functionaries of the rank of Mahapīlupati and Mahābalādhikrīta. Some Brāhmaṇas are known to have filled with distinction the office of the Prime Minister also. Bhākamiśra, Sōmēśvara, Purushōttama and Gaṇgādhara were some of the learned and capable Prime Ministers of the Later Kalachuris.⁶ They are highly eulogised in our records. Some of them distinguished themselves on the battlefield also and won important victories for their masters. Others by their diplomacy saved the State in times of economic and political crises and restored peace and prosperity to the country. Some Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as the authors of royal prafastis.⁷ Their compositions reveal no mean poetic talent.

The Brāhmaṇas generally married within their caste, but marriages of the anuloma type, in which they took to wife a girl from a lower caste, were not unknown. Rāja-śēkhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Yāyāvara family, married Avantisundarī of the Chauhāṇa lineage. This was probably not a solitary instance.

The Kshatriyas, like the Brāhmaṇas, enjoyed a high social status. Many of the rulers in the earlier as well the later period belonged to this caste. The Chālukyas and the Kalachuris were known as Kshatriyas. The former claimed to have descended from Hārītī and mentioned their Mānayya gōtra in their land-grants. The Sēndrakas, who were matrimonially connected with them, also probably belonged to the same caste. The Kalachuris called themselves Haihayas, i.e., descendants of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. The latter was born in the family of the Moon. The Kalachuris, therefore, claimed to be of the famous lunar race. They had matrimonial relations with all the principal Kshatriya families of the age, viz.,

¹ No. 83, ll. 23 ff.

² No. 64, L 17; No. 58, L 7.

³ Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, II, 2, 69-70.

⁴ No. 2, 1. 8 mentions Nannabhatti, and No. 24, 1. 49, Bhatta śri-Dēiyaka as Dūtakas.

⁵ The Dātaka communicated the royal order about a grant to the office of the Sāndbisigrabika. Cf. rāj-ājñā-prada used instead of the usual dātaka in the Pönnuţūru plates of Sāmantavarman; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 220. The Dātaka of No. 12 was a Mahāpīlupati, and that of No. 14 was a Mahābalādhikrita.

⁶ See No. 42, ll. 3 ff. and 6 ff.; No. 90, ll. 15 ff.; No. 100, ll. 17 ff.

⁷ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁸ No. 27, IL 2-3.

⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar regarded the Kalachuris as of foreign extraction, because, in the *Harivanila* and the *Vīshnupurāṇa*, the Haihayas, when they seized the kingdom of the Indian king Bāhu, were assisted by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Khaśas. The argument has no force; for, though the Haihayas may have taken the help of some foreign tribes, they do not thereby themselves become *Mitchehbat*. If they had invaded India from the North-west after the Kushāṇas as supposed by Bhandarkar, we would have found traces of their rule in the north-western parts of the country, where they may be supposed to have first established themselves. But we do not get any records of the Kalachuris in North India till the 8th century A.C. For further discussion of this subject, see my presidential address in Section II of P. I. H. C., seventh session, pp. 157 ff.

the Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chandēllas and the Pālas. The Saka king Śrīdhara-varman and the Gurjaras, some of whom bore names ending in bhaṭa,¹ were also probably regarded as Kshatriyas. The latter, in their later records, claim to have descended from Karṇa, the son of Kuntī by the Sun. They were, therefore, probably regarded as born of the race of the Sun. That they claimed to be Kshatriyas is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, in which their ancestor Dadda I is spoken of as the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Kshatriya mother.²

Many of the important civil and military offices must have been held by the Kshatriyas. The State functionaries mentioned in early grants, whose names ended in *bhata*, probably belonged to the warrior caste.³ Some Kshatriyas followed peaceful vocations. Several records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention Kumārapala of the Haihaya lineage as a scribe. He was known for calligraphy, and out of curiosity wrote several *prašastis*.⁴ He had made a deep study of politics, literature and poetics, and himself composed *prašastis* of no mean literary merit.⁵

Next to the Kshatriyas came the Vaiśyas. They were doubtless engaged in trade and commerce, and exercised great influence at the royal court as well as in the Pañchakulas.⁶ Some towns which had predominantly a merchant population were known as vanin-nagaras (merchant-towns).⁷ All the affairs of such towns were managed by the Pañchakulas elected by them. Some merchants were appointed Mayors of towns⁸ and contributed liberally to the religious and charitable institutions in the State. Some Vaiśyas distinguished themselves in the military professions also. Several later records⁹ from Chhattisgarh give a glowing description of the victories won by Vallabharāja, a Vaiśya feudatory of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. He constructed several temples, excavated tanks and reared mango groves.¹⁰ He was specially favoured by Lāchchhalladēvī, the queen of Ratnadēva II, who treated him as her own son.¹¹

The Kāyasthas were another influential community. Their descent from a legendary sage named Kāchara who practised penance at Kulānchā in Gauda is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of the reign of Karņa. Gōllāka alias Gauda, the Amātya of Yuvarājadēva I, probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste. He is known from several huge rockcut images which he caused to be carved at Bāndhōgarh. Some of his descendants like Sōmēśvara served the Kalachuris of Tripurī by diplomacy as well as personal valour. Some Kāyasthas who settled in Chhattisgarh belonged to the Vāstavya family. Their ancestor Gōvinda had emigrated from the Chēdi mandala. His grandson Ratnasimha and greatgrandson Dēvagaṇa were learned persons who composed prafastis of considerable merit. The Kāyasthas were generally employed as clerks and are mentioned as scribes in some

¹ No. 21, 1. 7.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

² See No. 22, l. 38 which mentions Durgabhata and his son Sahabhata as military officers.

⁴ No. 93, L 22; No. 96, L 34; No. 97, Il. 27-28. The engravers of Nos. 34 and 120 belonged to the Kshatriya Caste.

⁵ No. 100, l. 27.

⁶ No. 72, L 9.

⁷ No. 31, L 47.

[&]quot; No. 77, l. 12.

Nos. 84, 85, 87 and 95.

¹⁰ No. 95, Il. 24 ff.

¹¹ No. 85, l. 14.

¹² No. 51, IL 20 ff.

¹⁸ Nos. 38-41.

¹⁴ Nos. 93 and 97.

inscriptions.¹ The Karaņikas mentioned in some records² were not different from the Kāyasthas.

Some lower castes like Sūtradhūra occasionally find a mention in our records.3 Of the untouchables, the Mōchī or shoe-maker is mentioned in a late record.4 Dēvapāla, who belonged to this caste, was a religious-minded person. He was rich enough to construct a temple of Nārāyaṇa at Khalvāṭikā, modern Khalāri in the Raipur District.

Women were honoured and treated with respect. Polygamy was in vogue. Kings generally maintained a large seraglio. From inscriptions as well as from literature⁵ we know that Yuvarājadēva I married a large number of princesses from different countries. Gāṅgēyadēva is said to have had as many as a hundred wives.⁶ The custom of the Satī was in vogue. If the description in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates is correct, all the hundred wives of Gāṅgēyadēva immolated themselves on his funeral pyre near the banyan tree at Prayāga. Another instance of the Satī is recorded in the Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription of K. 919. When the prince Ulhaṇadēva died fighting with Jayasiṁha of Tripurī, his three queens died as Satīs.⁷ The inscription describes vividly the grief which the people felt on that occasion. Such self-immolation was, however, not obligatory on women. Those who did not subject themselves to it led a restrained and pious life. We know of some queens who survived their husbands and helped their sons with advice in the administration of the State. The dowager queens Alhaṇadēvī and Gōsaladēvī are notable instances of this type mentioned in our records.⁸

That the joint family system was in vogue appears clear from the numbers of relatives mentioned in commemorative praiastis. The Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207, for instance, mentions, besides the Kāyastha Ratnasimha, his wife, one son, two daughters-in-law, two grandsons, one grand-daughter and two other persons whose relation to him is not stated explicitly. Another instance is that of Purushōttama, the Sarvādhikārin of Ratnadēva II. He lived to a good old age. His four sons, all of whom distinguished themselves in state-craft, continued to live with him. On the other hand, we have an instance of the division of even State property. Sarvadēva, the brother of Prithvīdēva I, we are told, obtained, as a share of patrimony, the territory round Sōnthiva, where he later established himself. Such partitions were, however, rare.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

In India from very ancient times trade and commerce have been carried on through guilds (śrēṇis). The first inscription included in this Volume mentions four guilds, viz., those of potters, makers of hydraulic engines, and oil-millers, and one more whose name is lost. These guilds acted also as banks and received deposits of money, on which they stipulated to pay a certain amount of interest in perpetuity. Pious persons deposited money

¹ Kirtidhara, his son Vatsarāja and grandson Dharmarāja, who wrote several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, belonged to the Vāstavya family and were evidently Kāyasthas.

² No. 45, l. 33; No. 50, l. 49.

² No. 64 l. 26; No. 105, l. 20 etc.

⁴ No. 108, l. 10.

⁵ See above, p. lxxvii.

⁸ No. 56, Il. 10-11; No. 57, L 10.

⁷ No. 98, L 20.

⁸ No. 60, l. 23 and No. 69, l. 1.

⁹ No. 93, Il. 10 ff.

¹⁰ No. 90, l. 20,

in these guilds to make perpetual endowments for religious purposes.¹ Traders and artisans also had their own corporations called ganas. There were, besides, other corporate organisations of persons who followed the same avocation. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja mention a corporation of elephant-drivers (mahāmātras).² This corporation seems to have been an influential one. It had its own assembly called samūba. Its President was called Sthavira, and members of the Executive Committee Pramukhas, among whom were included the Pilupati (Chief of the Elephant force) and the Hastivaidya (Physician of Elephants). The grant of land made by the corporation had to be approved by the reigning king, but it affixed its characteristic seal to the charter. This circumstance indicates how much power it wielded in the State.

There were, doubtless, several other guilds and corporations functioning in both the periods, but very few of them find a mention in our records. The Vāgūlikas and Pāyaṭis, who donated fifty leaves for each bundle sold in the market in favour of a temple at Kārītalāi, were probably guilds of traders in betel-leaves. The Kārītalāi inscription speaks of the Defi or foreman of the guild of five kinds of spirituous liquors (kashāya-paūchaka). These guilds and corporations had their own militia which could be called upon to serve the State when necessary.

There was a mandapikā or market pavilion in every town and village, where the various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed.⁵ A voucher called yugā was issued for the small fee of half a paura, paid for permission to exhibit the articles for sale in the market.⁶ It was valid for a day. There were markets (āpaṇas)⁷ and shops (vīthīs)⁸ where articles were offered for sale in stalls (āvāras).⁹ Our records incidentally mention several articles which were brought and sold in the markets of towns and villages. They include, besides food-grains, areca-nuts, betel leaves, salt, pepper, and other commodities such as liquor, oil, grass and vegetables. Elephants and horses also were sold in the markets.¹⁰ Traders and merchants were required to pay excise and octroi duties as well as a sales tax on the things sold in the market.

Our records mention different kinds of weights and measures. They varied from district to district. One grant mentions the larger measure (brihan-māna), in implying thereby that there was a smaller measure also in vogue there. The standard land-measure was the nivartana. Several varieties of it are mentioned in ancient works. The nivartana, current in the dominion of the Early Kalachuris, is described in the Abhōṇa plates as ubhaya-chatvārimsaka-nivartanin, i.e., measuring forty daṇḍas in length and breadth, or 1600 square daṇḍas. It was, therefore, larger than the nivartanas mentioned in ancient works.

Sometimes land was measured in balas. 15 A bala signified as much land as could be

¹ No. 1, ll. 8-13.

² No. 120, ll. 4 ff.

³ No. 42, l. 34. It is noteworthy that the inscription mentions the chief of the Vāgālikas.

⁴ Ibid., 1. 33.

⁵ No. 45, L 30.

⁶ Ibid., l. 31. See also p. 223, n. 6.

⁷ No. 31, L 35.

⁸ No. 45, l. 31.

⁹ No. 31, l. 35.

¹⁰ No. 42, L 33; No. 45, II. 30-36.

¹¹ Cf. tad-vishaya-mānēna in No. 19, l. 10.

¹² No. 20, Il. 9-10.

¹³ See below, p. 45, n. 6.

¹⁴ No. 14, L. 18. With this compare पञ्चिवशतिभिदंण्डेरभयोस्तु निवर्तनम् in SNS. adhyaya I, v. 200.

¹⁵ No. 90, l. v. 27.

ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. This is said to be equivalent to five acres. A third method of stating the intended extent of land was by mentioning the quantity of seed required for sowing it. The measures of capacity khārī,1 piṭaka2 and prastha3 are mentioned in this connection. Other measures of the same kind were khandi or khandikā, goni and ghati.4 Of the weights used in that age, only one, viz., bharakab is found mentioned. It was used for weighing ginger, areca-nuts, pepper etc.

The records do not shed much light on the vexed question of the ownership of land. We can draw some inferences from the conditions and descriptions of the gifts in copperplate charters. In most cases the gifts were of entire villages in favour of temples, monasteries and individuals. In such cases, what was transferred was evidently the royal prerogative of demanding land revenue and other dues in cash or kind. The donee plainly could not dispossess the individuals residing in the village of their homesteads and cultivated fields. The maxim of fallow land (bhūmi-chehhidra-nyāya),6 usually mentioned in land-grants to describe the gifts, signified full proprietary right, i.e., a complete freedom from the payment of revenue and other dues to the reigning prince. It also transferred some other privileges usually claimed by the king, but it did not carry with it the right to oust all tenants. When fields and small plots of land were, however, donated, the case was different. The cultivators who were formerly in possession of the pieces of land are generally mentioned in such cases. The words signifying their possession used in early grants are pratyaya, bhukta and satka.7 None of these signifies absolute ownership. Besides, it is clearly stated in all these grants that the donee was free to cultivate the land himself or to get it cultivated by others as he pleased. The previous cultivators of these lands were evidently temporary tenants who had no proprietary right to them. The fields were probably a part of the crown land in the particular villages. On the other hand, those fields which the cultivators owned absoutely were known as kautumba-kshētra. Two such fields are mentioned in a grant for the demarcation of the boundaries of the donated piece of land.8 Such fields were evidently held by the particular families from generation to generation and could not, therefore, be taken away from them except for the non-payment of land-revenue etc.

The bulk of the population then, as now, lived in villages. The chief village of a vishaya was called jyēshthikā-grāma. Some of the villages had banks which received endowments and paid interest on them in perpetuity. The boundaries of the villages were properly marked. There used to be a village common and a pasture-land surrounding it for the grazing of the cattle.9 Sometimes, pasture-lands were donated by private individuals. Their boundaries were clearly marked by erecting pillars with the image of the goddess Durgā carved on them.10 Among other things which constituted the common property of the villagers were the tank which irrigated their fields, the jungle which supplied them

¹ No. 42, l. 32.

² No. 19, l. 10.

³ No. 20, L. 10.

⁴ No. 42, Il. 31 and 33.

⁸ No. 45, L 31. The exact meaning of bharaka is uncertain. If derived from bhri to fill, it may signify a measure of capacity. Perhaps, the meaning of 'a weight' would suit the context better. Cf. bhard (Marathi), meaning 'a load'.

⁶ No. 7, l. 9; No. 11, l. 10. See also p. 21, n. 8.

⁷ No. 2, L 4; No. 3, L 4; No. 4, IL 4-5; No. 6, L 2; No. 22, L 20.

⁸ No. 22, Il. 20 and 24-

º Cf. सवनतृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्त: in No. 50, l. 59.

¹⁰ No. 31, Il. 56 ff.

with fuel, and the temple where they assembled for prayers. These are mentioned in some grants in connection with the boundaries of the donated fields. The king was, no doubt, the owner of all marshy and barren land, woodland and jungles, pasture-lands, tanks and watering places. When he donated a village, he transferred his rights to the donee; but in practice, the village folk used these in common. The king was also the owner of the mines of minerals and salt, of the mango and mahuā trees, and also of the treasure trove. He had further the privileges of ditya and vishți. The former probably signified the obligations of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess, and the latter, that of rendering occasional service free of charge. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated as prātibhēdikā. Besides, the villagers were required to provide for the lodging and boarding of royal officers on tour. Sometimes a small cess was levied for the purpose. The donated villages were free from all these obligations. They could also adjudicate their own law-suits and levy fines for the commission of the ten crimes (daś-āparādhas). They could not also be entered by soldiers and policemen except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.

The towns were in a flourishing condition. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa Rājašekhara ascribes the origin of Tripurī, the capital of the Kalachuris, to the fall from the sky of a portion of the three cities of Tripurāsura burnt by Siva. The description suggests the great magnificence of the capital which justified such a fancy. It is borne out by numerous beautiful sculptures and extensive remains of buildings discovered at Tewar. Tummāṇa, the earlier capital of a branch of the same family in Chhattisgarh, is said to have been beautified by Ratnadēva I with magnificent buildings, lofty temples of gods and beautiful groves of mango trees. Ratnapura, the later capital founded by the same prince, is said to have resembled the city of Alakā. The existing extensive ruins of buildings and temples and large tanks at both the places testify to the past splendour of the towns. Mallāla, Jājallanagara and Vikarṇapura were some of the other places in Dakshiṇa Kōsala, noted for their grandeur and prosperity.

As remarked in a private record at Mallar,9 the country was well governed, it was free from the infestation of troubles, and the people were happy under the rule of the Kalachuris.

LITERATURE

We have very meagre information about the literature of the earlier period. The only reference to a literary work occurring in the earlier inscriptions is that noticed in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha.¹⁰ His religious preceptor, who was an ascetic of the Saiva sect, but whose full name has, unfortunately, not been preserved, wrote a Sanskrit play called *Harapāravatīya*. This work has not come down to us, but its title indicates that it treated of some incident in the life of Hara and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. This is

¹ See, e.g., No. 50, Il. 38-39.

¹ Loc. cit.

⁸ No. 16, l. 34.

[&]amp; Loc. cit.

⁸ Some villages were exempted from these. See No. 32, ll. 33-34. See p. 156, n. 2.

⁸ No. 21, l. 27; No. 22, l. 28. See also p. 89, n. 3.

⁷ Bālarāmāyāņa, Act III, v. 38.

⁸ No. 77, ll. 9-12.

No. 97, IL 9-10.

¹⁰ No. 28, Il. 10-11.

one of the rare instances in which a member of an ascetic order is seen busying himself with the composition of a dramatic work.

We have comparatively more information about the literature of the later period. After the Kalachuris established themselves at the fort of Kālanjara, some of them took to literary activities. Māyurāja, whom Rājaśēkhara calls a Kalachuri poet,1 wrote a Sanskrit play named Udāttarāghava. This play also is not extant, but some references to and extracts from it occur in several Sanskrit works.2 As the name indicates, its theme was the life of Rāma. There are some incidents in Rāma's career, as described in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, which are open to criticism. Māyurāja seems to have altered or omitted them in order to present the hero as absolutely free from blemish. This object of the author is indicated also by the title of the play, Udāttarāghava, 'The Noble Rāghava'. From some references and extracts in later Sanskrit works, it appears that Mayuraja omitted the incident of Valivadha (the killing of Vāli). The Rāmāyaņa tells us that while Vāli and Sugrīva were engaged in a deadly combat, Rāma concealed himself behind some trees and discharged an arrow which fatally wounded Vali.3 The monkey chief reproached Rama severely for this unprovoked wrong and the latter was hard put to it in justifying his action. Some earlier playwrights like Bhasa4 had followed Valmiki5 in stating Rama's defence. Others like Bhavabhūti had given a different turn to the incident. Māyurāja seems to have cut the Gordian knot by omitting the incident altogether. In one more respect, Māyurāja is known to have deviated from the original story of Valmiki.6 He sends Lakshmana first to kill the māyāmriga (pseudo-deer). A Rākshasa, who had disguised himself as a sage, plaintively beseeches Rāma to go to the rescue of his brother who was in danger. Rāma hesitates at first to leave Sītā alone in the hermitage, but ultimately departs to save Lakshmana. In his absence, Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa. By this manipulation of the original story, Māyurāja has cleverly avoided the occasion for Sītā's unmerited reproach of Lakshmana.7 Judging by the available extracts,8 Māyurāja seems to have adopted the Vaidarbhi riti for the composition of his play. His style is lucid and charming, being unloaded with long compounds. Jalhana's Sūktimuktāvali cites two verses of Māyurāja without referring them to the Udattaraghava.9 They describe Ravana and are in the Gaudi style. That Māyurāja wrote also a kāvya is known from Hēmachandra's Kāvyānuśā sana.10 Some of the verses cited in the anthologies may have been taken from that kāvya.

Another king of Kālañjara, who also probably belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty, was Bhīmata. According to Rājaśēkhara's account, 11 he composed five plays, of which the

1 मायुराजसमो नान्यो जज्ञे कलचुरिः कविः । SM., p. 46.

³ Cf. यथा खुराना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदात राघवे परित्यवत: 1 in the Dalarüpaka, III, 24.

4 See Bhasa's Abbisheka, I, 17-21.

5 Rāmāyaņa, IV, 17, 33 ff.

⁶ Dašarūpaka, IV, 28.

8 Loc. cit., pp. 142-43.
9 SM., pp. 314, 318.

10 Kāryānuiāsana (ed. by R. C. Parekh), Vol. I, p. 457. Māyurāja inserted the word abairya in the last

verse of every canto.

11 Cf. कालङजरपतिस्थ के भीमट: पञ्चनाटकीम् । प्राप प्रबन्ध राजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥ SM., p. 46. Two Kalachuri princes named Bhimața are mentioned in the Kasia inscription (No. 73, II. 17 and 21), but they flourished much later.

² Dafarūpaka, II, 59; III, 24; IV, 13, 28; Vakrōktijīvita (ed. by S. K. De, 1928), pp. 223 and 244; Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nāṭyafāstra, ch. XIX; Nāṭyadarpaṇa, pp. 66, 116, 194.

Bhattasvamin shows that the plot of the Udättarāghava deviates much more from the story of the Rāmāyaņa than Bhavabhūti's Mahāvīracharita. He, therefore, concludes that Māyurāja flourished later than Bhavabhūti and earlier than Rājaśēkhara, somewhere between 750 and 880 A.C. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, p. 143.

Svapnadašānana was judged to be the best. Anthologies contain some verses of Bhimata,

which appear to be of the subhāshita type.1

Another renowned author of the later period was Rājaśēkhara. In the prologues of his plays as well as in the stray verses collected in Sanskrit anthologies, Rājaśēkhara has given a considerable information about his ancestors who flourished in the Chēdi court. This Brāhmaṇa family hailed from Mahārāshṭra.² Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim (properly Vāśīm) in the Akola District of Madhya Pradesh, was probably its original place of habitation.³ This family bore the ancient name of Yāyāvara,⁴ and was noted for its learning as well as poetic ability. Rājaśēkhara mentions, as his ancestors, Akālajalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kavirāja, all of whom distinguished themselves by their poetic composition.⁵ Akālajalada, the great-grandfather of Rājaśēkhara, probably flourished in circa 850 A.C. He may have been a court-poet of Kōkalla I (circa 850-890 A.C.), whose glorious reign must have attracted learned men, poets and artists from far-off lands. Akālajalada was not the poet's proper name. It was a sobriquet which he earned by composing an interesting verse containing the word akāla-jalada (an unseasonable cloud).⁵ According to Rājaśēkhara, his works were eagerly studied by later poets. Some of his verses were plagiarised by one Kādambarīrāma, who earned fame by inserting them in his play.²

1 SM., p. 157.

5 Bālarāmāyaņa, I, 13.

The verse appears to be of the anyōkti type, and suggests unexpected munificent gifts of a liberal donor which relieved a great distress.

7 Cf. अकालजलदश्लोकेश्चित्रमात्मकृतीरिव । जातः कादम्बरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥ SM., p. 46.

^{*}M. M. Ghosh has questioned the identification of this Mahārāshṭra with the modern country of that name on the ground that Rājašēkhara has mentioned it as distinct from Vidarbha and Kuntala. See his edition of the Karpūramañjarī, p. lxvi. It may be noted that there were three Mahārāshṭras known in ancient times, comprising modern Northern Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Kuntala (Southern Mahārāshṭra). Rājašēkhara sometimes mentions Mahārāshṭra separately from Vidarbha and Kuntala (vide KM., p. 93) and sometimes as including the latter two countries (vide Bālarāmājaṇa, Act XI, v. 74 and 75). His other arguments that Rājašēkhara does not mention Mahārāshṭra as the country of Prakrit, that he wrote in Saurasēnī and that he has great praise for Pānchāla, have little force; for, in the verse referred to, Rājašēkhara is only quoting the opinion of others (vide tad=uktam in KM., p. 51); if he wrote in Saurasēnī, that was because he was then at the court of the Pratīhāras; and he has praised Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha also in as high terms. Ghosh comes to the strange conclusion that Rājašekhara was not a native of Mahārāshṭra, though his ancestors might have come to Madhyadēša from some place in Mahārāshṭra! His attention is drawn to the passage in the KM., p. 10, which glorifies Vatsagulma in Vidarbha as the pleasure-resort of the god of love. See also the next note.

Rājašēkhara shows a special love for Vatsagulma. This city was formerly the prosperous capital of a branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It seems to have retained its importance down to the time of Rājašēkhara; for, it gave its name to a particular style. In the Karpīramañjarī, Rājašēkhara mentions Vachchhōmī (Sanskrit, Vātsagulmī) as a rīti together with Māgadhī and Pānchālī. The poet again mentions this place as situated in the Dakshināpatha. The heroine of the Karpūramañjarī was a princess of Vachchhōma. In the KM. (p. 10), Rājašēkhara states that the mythical Kāvyapurusha married Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. All these references show the poet's special admiration for the place. It may, therefore, have been his ancestral home.

⁴ The Yāyāvaras are mentioned in the MBH., Ādiparvan, adhyāya 11, v. 13, where the commentator Nīlakantha explains the term as meaning 'a householder living for only one night in a village'. Dēvala divides householders into Śālīna and Yāyāvara. The latter did not accumulate wealth and did not earn their living by teaching, officiating as a priest or accepting gifts as the former did. H. D. L., Vol. II, pp. 641 ff.

The following verse is ascribed to him in the Sārāgadbarapaddbati: भेकै: कोटरशायिभिगृतिमिव कमान्तगंतं कच्छपै: पाठीनै: पृथुपङ्कपीठलुठनाच्चास्मिन्मुहुर्मूच्छितम् । तस्मिञ्खुष्कसरस्यकालजलदेनागस्य तच्चेष्टितं यत्रा कुमनिमग्नवन्यकरिणां यूर्थः पयः पीयते ॥

This Kâdambarīrāma may be identical with Kâdambarīrāmakrishna, the author of the Aditikundalāharana, as suggested by J. B. Chaudhari. See Padyavēni, p. 83.

From a subhāshita of Rājaśēkhara, we learn that Surānanda was a contemporary of the Chedi prince Ranavigraha.1 As shown before, Ranavigraha was a biruda of Sankaragana II, son of Kōkalla I, who flourished in circa 890-910 A.C.2 This prince is probably identical with the poet Sankaragana, some of whose verses are included in the anthologies Subhāshitāvali and Sūktimuktāvali.3 One of them is also cited in Bhōja's Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa,4 which lends colour to the identification. The poet Surānanda, patronised by Sankaragana, is described as an ornament of the Chēdi country. Unfortunately, none of his kāvyas has come down to us. The anthologies also do not contain any subhāshitas composed by him. About Tarala and Kavirāja, two other ancestors of Rājaśēkhara, we have no information. From a subhāshita of Rājaśēkhara we learn that 'Tarala's poetry was known for its excellent alliteration.5

About Rājaśēkhara himself, we know much more, thanks to his garrulity. His father was Durduka (or Duhika), who held the post of Mahamantrin probably in the Chedi court. His mother's name was Silavati. His wife Avantisundari was born in the Chauhāṇa lineage.6 She was a learned lady. Her views on rhetorical matters are cited in Rājaśēkhara's Kāvyamīmāmsā.7 In his early career Rājaśēkhara was attracted by the prosperous court of the Pratihāras in Kanauj. Before he went there, he had written six prabandhas and earned the title of Bālakavi.8 These juvenile compositions, not even known by their titles, have long been lost. At Kanauj he received a high honour and the title of Kavirāja from the illustrious Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla, who regarded him as his guru.9 Rājaśēkhara composed there three plays-the Bālarāmāyaṇa during the reign of Mahendrapala, and the Balabharata alias Prachandapandava10 and the Karpiramanjari during that of his son and successor Mahipāla. The first two of these, to which he has prefixed his title Bāla, are in Sanskrit, and the third, which was staged at the instance of his wife Avantisundari, is in Prakrit.11

During the reign of Mahipāla, the power of the Pratihāras declined owing to the invasion of the Rashtrakūta king Indra III, who advanced up to Kanauj and devastated the Imperial capital. Just about this time, Yuvarājadēva I of Tripurī rose to power. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and dealt a staggering blow to the Pratihara Empire during the closing years of Mahīpāla's reign. Rājaśēkhara then returned to Tripurī, where he composed the Viddhafālabhañjikā and other works. This Sanskrit play was staged in the Kalachuri capital to celebrate the victory of Yuvarājadēva I over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the reigning Rashtrakūta Emperor Govinda IV.12 The Kāvyamīmānisā, which was planned to be a comprehensive work on poetics, has remained unfinished. This was evidently his last work, since it contains quotations from all his

¹ See above, p. lxxvi, n. 5.

³ Above, p. lxxvi.

³ SA., vv. 1516 and 1905; SM., p. 169.

⁴ Nirnayasagar ed. (1934), pp. 464 and 723.

⁸ Cf. यायावरकुळवेणेर्मुक्तायच्टेश्च मण्डनम् । सुवर्णबन्यस्विरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ SM., p. 47.

^{*} Karpliramafijari, Act I, v. 11.

⁷ KM., pp. 20, 46, 57.

⁸ Bālarāmāyaņa, Act I, v. 12.

⁹ Karpūramaūjarī, Act I, v. 9. According to Rājašēkhara, a Kavirāja is higher than a Mabākavi. He is proficient in several languages, various kinds of poetic compositions and different senti-

¹⁰ This play has only two acts. The author did not probably complete it. As its mangala-sloka is cited in the KM., it was plainly not the last work of the poet.

¹¹ Karpūrmaūjarī, Act I, v. 11.

¹² See above, p. lxxix.

Sanskrit plays.1 Two other works-the Haravijaya, a kāvya, and the Bhavanakosha, a

work on general geography-are known only from quotations.

As the author of a Rāma-play, Rājaśēkhara traces his literary pedigree from the Ādikavi Vālmīki. As a matter of fact, his enormous plays are more of the epic than of the dramatic type. He is conscious of this defect and asks the critic to read them if they contain any literary qualities. In the Karpūramaūjarī also, he defines kāvya as 'a beauty of expression'. Rājaśēkhara has shown some inventive power, but he has little skill in the arrangement of incidents and still less in characterisation. Some of the devices he employs such as the introduction, on the stage, of marionettes with parrots in their mouths are very crude. Above all, he knows no restraint, but goes on piling verse on verse, regardless of monotony and hindrance to action. It cannot, however, be denied that he has a considerable felicity of expression. The ease with which he handles long metres like the Sārdūlavikrīdīta and the Sragdharā is truly remarkable. He had an inexhaustible stock of legends about old writers and their works. It cannot be gainsaid that several Sanskrit authors would have remained unknown to us, if he had not written his commemorative verses about them. His Kāvyamīmāri sā is a veritable mine of information on a variety of subjects.

Rājaśēkhara's works continued-to be studied in the Chēdi country and have considerably influenced the composition of later poets of the Chēdi court. Some of them imitated his mannerisms. Again, some of his verses with suitable modifications are

found inserted in Kalachuri inscriptions.

The reign of the illustrious king Karņa saw a rare outburst of poetic activity. Several great poets of the age flocked to his court. According to a well-known subhāshita, Karņa's court-poet was Vidyāpati. Several Sanskrit verses of this poet, in some of which he praises Karņa in a clever manner, are cited in Sanskrit anthologies. Another poet of Karņa's court was Gangādhara. From the Vikramānkadēvacharita we learn that he was challenged and defeated, evidently in a poetic contest, by the celebrated Kāshmīrian poet Bilhaṇa, who visited Karṇa's court at Banaras in the course of his itineracy. While at Banaras, Bilhaṇa delighted the great king of Dāhala with his sweet poetry. He also composed a kārya in glorification of Rāma on the occasion of his visit to Ayōdhyā. That work also is unfortunately not extant.

Other poets of Karna's court were Vallana (or Vallana), Karpūra and Nāchirāja. Vallana was a great poet. Several subhāshitas composed by him are found in old antho-

2 Cf. उत्तिविससी कब्बं in the Karparamanjari, Act I, v. 7.

Bālarāmāyaņa, Act V, v. 5.

4 Below, p. 208.

6 Cf. कपॉर्डिप विद्यापते: | SA., v. 186. See also PCH., p. 50.

¹ For the chronological order of Rājašēkhara's works, see my article in the K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, pp. 359 ff.

^{*} For instance, the hemistich, यदेवदग्रेसरमम्बरस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः, occurring in the beginning of several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur (vide Nos. 76, 83, 86 etc.), is taken from the Bālarāmāyaņa, Act I, v. 22. Similarly the verse यः सत्यस्य निधिः श्रियां च सर्थिः etc. in the Banaras plates of Karņa (No. 48, ll. 19-20) is taken from the Bālabbārata, Act I, v. 62.

⁷ Cf. (i) त्वं द्वित्राणि पदानि गच्छिस महीमुल्लङ्घ्य यान्ति द्विषस्त्वं वाणान्दश पञ्च मुञ्चिस बहुत्यस्त्राणि मुञ्चिति हो। ते देवीपतयस्तवासिनिह्तास्त्वं मानुषीणां पतिस्ते निन्धास्तव वर्णनं कथमिति श्रीकर्णं निर्णीयताम् ॥ विद्यापते: । SKM., III, 13, 4

⁽ii) कर्णं चक्षुरजीगणतव पितुस्तताः पिता ते पुनः शक्त्याधारकुमारमप्यजगणतं कातरत्वेन सः। देवो गां महिषीति पश्यति जगत्तस्वं विवेकतुं पुनः प्रागरूमं प्रवयन्ति वस्तदिपं च प्रशावनाः साधवः॥ विद्यापतेः। Ibid., III, 54, 2-

^{*} VDC., XVIII, 95.

⁹ Loc. cit., v. 93.

¹⁰ Loc. cit., v. 94.

logies like the Kavindravachanasamuchehaya and the Saduktikarņāmṛita. In one of these, he praises Karṇa.¹ The other two poets are known from Mērutuṅga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi.² Nāchirāja also was a renowned poet. In a tribute which the poet Karpūra pays to him, he is said to be the only support of Bhāratī after the death of Muñja and Bhōja, the famous poet-kings of Dhārā.³ Both Karpūra⁴ and Nāchirāja⁵ have left us beautiful verses in praise of Karṇa.

It seems that there were competitions in samasyāpūrana (completion of incomplete verses) at the court of Karna. Those who completed the samasyās successfully were liberally rewarded. Several years ago, Sir G. A. Grierson published, under the heading 'Curiosities of Indian Literature', a strange story about 'King Dahāriā Karņa and the Paṇḍit's promise.'6 In this story a Pandit composes extempore five verses—one about the queen of Karna Dahāriā, who, being attracted by his melody, goes to him at dead of night, and four more which he recites next day before the king. The latter being pleased with them makes up his mind to give him his kingdom in all the four directions. He even allows the Pandit to take him as a prisoner before his mother in fulfilment of a promise made to her. The story is absurd as it stands, but some of the stanzas mentioned in it may have been recited at Karna's court. Two of them, which end in kritakan manyē bhayan yōshitām, are of the samasyāpūraņa type.7 They specifically refer to Karna and describe his fame as roaming about fearlessly. They were evidently composed by different poets. This is also shown by the remark kayor-api 'of some two poets', with which they are cited in the Subhashitāvali. The first of them, which does not explicitly refer to the king's fame, but apparently describes a lady coming out of the king's seraglio in pitchy darkness, seems to have given rise to the fantastic story mentioned above.

Karna gave a liberal patronage to Prakrit poets also. Some Mahātāshṭrī and Apabhranssa verses, describing the king and his victories, occur in the Prākrita Paingala.8 They were first brought to notice by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts.9 Unfortunately the authors of these verses are not named in the commentaries. Again, Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhranssa work Karakandachariu, tells us that he delighted the mind of the king Karna, who was probably none other than the homonymous Kalachuri king. 30

वल्लणस्य । SKM., III, 10, 2.

लक्ष्मीसवसरोजरेणुसुहृदः सेवावनभीभवद्भुमीपालिकरीटरत्निकरणज्योत्स्नानदीवालुकाः ।
 जीयासुः कलिकाल कर्णनृपते दरिद्वघदाख्दरव्यामुर्णद्षुभवृन्दलङ्घनमुषस्त्वत्पादयोः पौशवः ॥

^{*} PCH., p. 50.

³ Op. cit.

भूखे हारावाण्तिर्नयनयुगले कङ्कणभरो नितम्बे पत्राली सतिलकमभूत्पाणियुगलम् । अरण्ये श्रीकर्ण त्वदरियुवतीनां विधिवशादपूर्वोऽयं भूषाविधिरहह जातः किमधुना ॥ Ibid., p. 50.

⁵ कुक्षेः कोटर एव कैटमरिपुर्धत्ते त्रिलोकीमिमामन्तर्भूरिभरं विभित्तं तमिप प्रीतो भुजङ्गाधिपः। श्रीकण्ठस्य स कण्टसूत्रमभवद्देव त्वया तं हृदा विभागेन परेषु विकमकया श्रीकणं निर्णाधिता ॥ SM., Introd., ⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

ग (1) उन्नादाम्बुदवधितान्वतमसम्भष्टिदङ्गण्डले यामे यामिकजाबदुबसुभटव्याकीर्णकोलाहले । कर्णस्यारिमहार्णवाम्बुदब्धावह्नेयदन्तःपुरादायातासि तदम्बुलाखि कृतकं मन्ये भयं योषिताम् ॥

⁽ii) उदाद्प्राहमुदन्वति जलमतिकामत्यनालिम्बनि व्योम्नि भ्राम्यति दुर्गमक्षितिभृतौ मूर्यानमारोहित । व्याप्तं याति विवासुलैरहिकुलैः पातालमेकाकिनी कीर्तिस्ते मदनाभिराम कृतकं मन्ये भयं योषिताम् ॥

⁸ Prākrita Paingala (Bibliotheca Indica Series), I, 69, 96, 126 and 185.

O C. W. B., Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

¹⁰ Above, p. cii.

The Kalachuris of Dakshina Kōsala also patronised Sanskrit and Prakrit poets.¹ One of them, Nārāyaṇa who composed the Pujāripāli stone inscription of Gōpāladēva, tells us that he composed a kāvya named Rāmābhyudaya, which greatly delighted the Goddess of speech. Several Sanskrit works of this name, kāvyas as well as nāṭakas, are known, and some of them have come down to us; but this work of Nārāyaṇa seems to be different from all of them.²

Some of the authors of the praiastis included here were poets of no mean order. Dhāmsaṭa, the author of the Chandrēhē inscription,³ Śrīnivāsa who composed the eulogy of the first three kings in the Bilhāri inscription,⁴ the unknown author of the fragmentary Rewa inscription of Kama,⁵ Dēvapāṇi, the author of the Akaltarā inscription,⁶ and Kāśala who composed the Kōni inscription,⁷ to name only a few, had a considerable poetic talent. They have composed their respective praiastis in an ornate kāvya style, embellishing them with numerous arthālankāras. As the power and patronage of the Kalachuri courts declined, they ceased to attract poets of eminence. Many of the later inscriptions in this Volume are consequently written in a barbarous style.

COINS

The Nasik cave inscription of the Abhīra king Isvarasēna records the investment of certain amounts of Kārshāpaṇas with the guilds of Gōvardhana, but no coins of that king or his descendants have come down to us. Perhaps the Abhīras, like some other dynasties8 of ancient times, did not value highly the prerogative of minting coins for currency in their own dominion, and were content to use the issues of other contemporary or past kings. This is also indicated by the find of a hoard of Kshatrapa silver coins at Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State. The hoard contained several coins, but those of the following Kshatrapas only could be recovered-Vijayasēna (240-250 A.C.), Dāmajada-śrī (250-255 A.C.), Rudrasēna II (255-277 A.C.), Viśvasimha (277-279 A.C.), Bhartridāman (279-295 A.C.) and Viśvasēna (295-305 A.C.). It will be noticed that the last five of these Kshatrapas were contemporaries of the Abhiras. The Karhad hoard, therefore, plainly indicates that the Kshatrapa silver coins were current in Maharashtra and probably also in Gujarat and Konkan, during the rule of the Abhiras. The silver coins of Yajña Sātakarni, which were of similar fabric and weight,9 may also have continued in circulation. The potin coins struck by the Sātavāhanas perhaps supplemented this silver coinage, though no finds of them have yet been reported from these parts of the country.10

That these silver coins were called kārshāpaņas appears clear from the Nasik cave

¹ An inscription composed wholly in Prakrit was put up in the temple of Ekaviri at Ratnapura. It is much abraded and has not yet been deciphered.

² Below, pp. 589 ff.

³ No. 44, Il. 24-25.

⁴ No. 45, L 30.

⁵ No. 51, 1. 30.

^{*} No. 84, ll. 18-19.

⁷ No. 90, Il. 26-27.

⁸ The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as the Harischandriyas seem to have used the rūpakas of the Kalachuri Krishņarāja, who had flourished more than a century before. See No. 31, ll. 31 ff, and No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

O C. A. D., p. 45, pl. VII.

¹⁰ They were current in Berar and the Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.

inscription of Iśvarasēna. According to Manu,¹ the kārshāpaṇa was a copper coin, but some other Sanskrit and Pāli works² leave no doubt that it was a denomination of silver coins also. Prof. Rapson has shown that the references to gifts of kārshāpaṇas in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas must be understood as referring to the silver coins of those dynasties which circulated in Maharashtra and Konkan. The Kārshāpaṇas referred to in the Nasik inscription of Iśvarasēna must, therefore, have been silver coins, probably of the Western Kshatrapas. These coins have the head of the Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa with the date in the Saka era on the obverse, and the chaitya (or hill), the sun and the crescent with a legend along the edge inside a circle of dots on the reverse. Their average weight is about 34 grains. These silver coins, though called kārshāpaṇas, were not, therefore, struck to the standard weight of 32 ratis mentioned in Sanskrit works.³ They were evidently copied from the hemidrachmas of Apollodotus and Menander, which, according to the Periplus,⁴ were current in Barygaza (modern Broach).

The Coins of the Traikūṭakas

The Traikūṭakas, who succeeded the Abhīras in Maharashtra and Gujarat, had their own silver coinage. The first notice of this coinage can be traced back to 1862. In that year Mr. Justice Newton described, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, pp. 11 ff., a coin of Dahrasena which had been found at Karhad. He noticed on it the title Mahārāja of both Dahrasēna and his father Indradatta, but could not read the names of these princes completely as the letters were only partially preserved. Thereafter in 1886, in an article entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' published in the Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, p. 222, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji described a coin of this dynasty which he had obtained from Daman in Gujarat.5 He deciphered the legend on it as Mahārāj-Endravarmma-putra-paramavaishnavaśri-Mahārāia-Rudragaņa.6 He thought that Rudragaņa was the first king after the revival of the Traikūṭaka power on the downfall of the Kshatrapas. Afterwards in 1905, Prof. Rapson showed that the correct reading of the legend on this coin and on those acquired by the British Museum was Maharāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Maharāja-Dahrasēna. He identified this Dahrasēna with the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna, whose Pārdī plates dated in the (Kalachuri) year 207 had already been published.7 Prof. Rapson also described another silver coin of this dynasty which had been acquired by the British Museum in 1904 from the collection of Dr. Gerson da Cunha⁸. He correctly read the legend on it as Mahāraja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishnava-śri-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna and thus showed that it was issued by the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna, the son of Dahrasēna.

In 1905 a hoard of Traikūṭaka coins was discovered at Kāzad in the Indāpur tālukā of the Poona district. Only 359 coins were recovered from it. They were examined by Rev. H. R. Scott, who published an account of them in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. Of these, 353 coins were of Dahrasēna. On as

¹ MSM., adhyāya VIII, v.136.

² Cf. Kārsbāpanō daksbinasyām difi raupyah pravartatē, Nārada cited in the Vāchuspatyam. See also C. A. D., Introd., pp. clxxix ff., and D. R. Bhandarkar, Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 76 ff.

³ Cf. MSM., adhyaya VIII, v. 136.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 145.

⁵ A hoard of 500 such coins was discovered in 1887.

In a foot-note Bhagvanlal admitted the possibility of the reading -jendradanna or -datta.

⁷ J. R. A. S. (1905), pp. 801 ff.

^{*} J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff.

many as 350 of them the name of the Traikūṭaka king appeared as Dahragaṇa, and only on three, as Dahrasēna. Rev. Scott thought that Dahrasēna started his career as a feudatory of the Western Kshatrapas whose names usually ended in sēna, and later on, when he emancipated himself from the yoke of the Kshatrapas, he altered the termination of his name from sēna to gaṇa. The Kāzad hoard contained four coins of Vyāghrasēna also, but the royal name on all of them appeared as Vyāghragaṇa.

In a note which Mr. A. M. T. Jackson appended to Rev. Scott's article, he announced that he had obtained a Traikūṭaka copper-plate grant from Surat, in which the king's

name was clearly given as Vyāghrasēna.

Finally, in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc., (p. clxiii) published in 1908 Prof. Rapson admitted that gana (perhaps intended for gana) would be a more natural reading than sēna on most of the known coins of Dahrasēna and on all of those of Vyāghrasēna, but he contended that what appeared as ga might quite possibly be a conventionalised form of sa. This view seems to be the correct one in view of the undoubted readings Dahrasēna and Vyāghrasēna of the royal names in the Pārḍī and the Surat plates tespectively. If Dahrasēna had purposely changed his name to Dahragaṇa, he would not have named his son Vyāghrasēna.

A Coin of Dahrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 1. AR. Size in diameter-.5". Weight-34.4 grs.

Obverse-Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the left, and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots—

Mahārāj-Andradatta-putra-parama-vashņava-ŝra-Māhārāja-Dahra[sana] representing Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishņava-ŝrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna.

On some coins the sun appears to the right of the chairya.

A Coin of Vyāghrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 2. AR. Size in diameter ... 5". Weight _32 grs.

Obverse-Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the right and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots, viz., Mahārāja-Dahra[sana]-putra-paramavashnava-śra-Mahārāja-Vyāghra [sana], representing Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna.

As stated before, these coins were found in Southern Gujarat, and the Poona and Satara Districts of the Bombay State. They were evidently imitated from the Kshatrapa coins which had been current in Maharashtra and Gujarat during the rule of the Abhīras. We have no means of knowing their denomination, as they are nowhere referred to in the inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas. Perhaps, like Kshatrapa coins, they also were known as kārshāpaṇas.

The Coins of the Kalachuris.

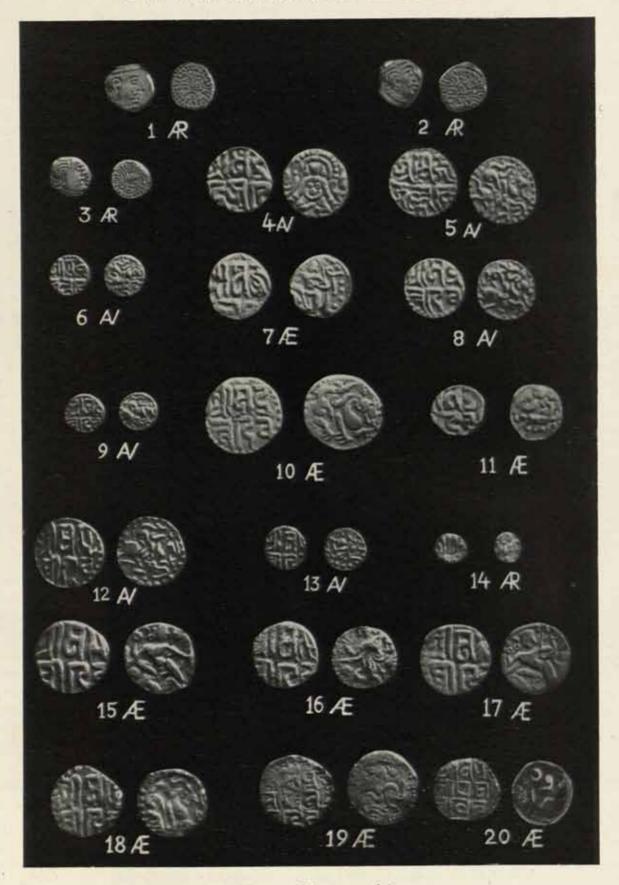
The Coins of Krishnaraja.

The coins of this king were first discovered about 1870 in the village Dēvlānā in the Bāglāṇ tālukā of the Nasik District. The hoard comprised 82 coins, which were sent to Dr. Bhau Daji for examination. He published his account of the hoard together with facsimiles of five of the coins in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI (1876), pp. 213-14. All the coins were of silver and round in shape. They varied in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

In his article Dr. Bhau Daji drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and especially to those of Skandagupta, but he read the legend

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

COINS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS AND THE KALACHURIS.



(From a Photograph)



COINS clxxxi

on the reverse as Rājā Parama Mabēśvara Mānasa Nṛipa-Deva Dhyāna-śrī-kasa (?), and interpreted it as 'Mānasa king, the great devotee of Mahēśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God'. He conjecturally placed this Mānasa king about the end of the fourth

century A. C.

The coins were next considered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his Archaological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX (1879), pp. 29 ff. He read the legend on them as Paramamāhāsvara-Mahāditya-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Krishna Rājā. He admitted that some of the coins in his cabinet had possibly the word Mahākshatra in place of Mahāditya, in which case, he said, the translation would be 'the reverencer of the great king.' Cunningham agreed with Bhau Daji's view that the coins belonged to about the end of the fourth century A.C., but he identified the king who struck them with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa whom he placed in the period 375-400 A.C.

In 1885 Dr. Fleet published his account of two silver coins of Krishnaraja from Cunningham's collection in the Indian Antiquary, Vol XIV, p. 68. He for the first time read the legend correctly as Paramamābēsvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Krishnarāja, which means 'the glorious Krishnarāja, who is a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents.' In the second edition of his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts (1896), Fleet suggested that in all probability the Dēvlānā coins were coins

of Krishnaraja, the Kalachuri king, who was the father of Sankaragana.

Prof. Rapson also discussed these coins in his *Indian coins* (1897), p. 27, Pl. IV, No. 17. He doubtfully read the legend on them as *Parama-Māhēśvara-mahādēvyōḥ pād-ānudhyāta-śri-Kṛishṇarāja*. As regards the date 375-400 A.C. proposed by Cunningham for this Kṛishṇarāja, Rapson pointed out that it was certainly incorrect, as it was too early for the style of the coins which were imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the western provinces. For the same reason he could not also assign them to Kṛishṇarāja Rāshṭrakūṭa, c. 756 A.C. Rapson was, however, unable to put forward any conjecture about the identification of this Kṛishṇarāja.

During his excavations at Besnagar in 1913-14, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar found seven coins of Krishnaraja. He supported Fleet's view that this Krishnaraja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. As stated before, this Krishnaraja flourished from circa 550 A.C. to 575

Pl. A, No. 3. AR. Size in diameter -. 45". Wt.-29 grs.

Obverse-Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, the legend Parama-mahaśvara-mata-patri-padanudhyata-śra-Krishnaraja representing Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātaśrī-Krishnarāja. In the centre, the figure of a couchant humped bull to right.

These coins of Krishnarāja resemble the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas, which were struck to the Graeco-Bactrian weight-standard of the hemidrachma. Their fabric is also similar. But while the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins have the symbols of a Chaitya (or a hill), the sun and the moon, these coins of Kṛishnarāja have, like some western issues of Skandagupta, the figure of a couchant bull (Siva's Nandi) facing right, in the centre of the reverse side. The coins of Skandagupta were evidently in circulation in the Anūpa country, the home province of the Kalachuris before the rise of Kṛishnarāja.

In the legend on his coins Krishnarāja, like Skandagupta, refers to his religious faith. He calls himself paramamāhēśvara, 'a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara'. He dropped all reference to the patronymic and the royal title which invariably appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He substituted instead an expression denoting his devotion to his parents, the like of which is noticed nowhere else in Indian numismatics.

As stated before, the coins of Krishnaraja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Maharashtra in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after the time of Krishnaraja; for, they are mentioned in the Anjaneri plates dated K. 461 (710-11 A.C.) of Bhogasakti. They were, therefore, in circulation for at least 150 years after the time of Krishnaraja. As might be expected, there were several issues of them; for, the inscription on the reverse does not always commence at the same place and differences in the shapes of some letters are also noticeable.

As stated before, the silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight-standard as the coins of Krishnaraja were called kārshāpanas. Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to rūpaka. The Anjanēri plates show that the coins of Krishnaraja, which were then in general circulation were called Krishnarajarūpakas, evidently to distinguish them from the rūpakas of the Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhanas and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.

The Coins of Gangeyadeva

The first coin of this king to be recorded was that figured in Pl. L, No. 1, facing page 668 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV (1835). Prinsep, who published the coin, read the legend on the obverse as Srīmad-Jādjēyadēva, and described the figure on the other side as 'a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head and some incomprehensible objects in the hands'. The legend was correctly read as Srīmad-Gāngēyadēva by E. Thomas1 in 1858, but he could not identify the king.

In his Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. X (1880), p. 21 and Coins of Mediaval India (1894), p. 72, Cunningham described, with illustrations, gold, silver and copper coins of Gangeyadeva. He identified the goddess on the reverse as Parvati and ascribed the coins to the Kalachuri king Gängëyadëva, mentioned by Albērūnī as the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. The coins were next described by Rapson in his Indian Coins (1897), p. 33, and by Vincent Smith, first in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVI (1897) pp. 305-6, and then in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum (1906), pp. 251 ff.

Size in diameter -- . 7" AV. Pl. A, No. 4.

Obverse-Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nagarī characters in three lines (1) [Srī-mad]-G[a]-(2) ngēyadē-(3) [va]. Reverse-Inside a circle of dots the figure of four-armed Lakshmi, nimbate, sitting cross-

legged, with lotuses in her two upper hands.2

Găngēya's coins exist in all the three metals: gold, silver and copper. Gold coins generally weigh 61 or 62 grains, but Dr. V. S. Agrawala informs me that the top weight of Gāngēya's gold coin in the Lucknow Museum is 65 grains. Gold coins were called tankas. The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha mentions tankakas stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (or rather Bhagavati, i.e., Lakshmi3). They were probably the gold coins of Gangeya. Another term denoting gold coins which seems to have been current in that period, though it does not occur in any record edited here, was gadyāṇaka. The Chandrāvatī plate dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.) of the Gāhadavāla king Chandradeva, who was a

1 See his edition of Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, p. 291.

The Kalachuri kings were no doubt Saivas, but the device on the seals of their copper-plate grants is a figure of Lakshmi with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head. The lotuses in the hands of the female deity on the coins of Gangeya plainly indicate that she was intended to represent Lakshmi.

B No. 67, IL 20-21,

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contemporary of Yasahkarna, mentions kumara-gadianaka1 which shows that the gadyanakas, were current in the north as they were in the south.2 According to the Lilavati of Bhaskarāchārya (I, 3), a gadyāṇaka weighed 48 ratis. The large gold coins of the Gāhadavālas weigh from 59 to 68 grains. They may be taken to be gadyōnakas, making allowance for the variation in the weight of the ratis and for the usual deviation from the standard type. The large gold coins of Gangeya which were the proto-type of the Gahadavala coinage seem, therefore, to have been known also as gadyānakas.3

Smaller denominations of half, quarter and one-eighth tanka (or gadyāṇaka), struck by Gangeya, are also known. The half-tanka was probably known as dharana.4 Whether

the lower denominations had any special names is not known.

Gangeya's gold tankas are frequently met with in the southern and eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and some have been found in Madhya Pradesh also.5 Of the lower denominations the quarter-tanka is sometimes found, but the half-tanka and one-eighth tanka described by Cunningham are believed to be rare.6 Silver coins were called drammas as they were struck to the weight-standard of the Attic drachma or 67.5 grains, though they rarely reach that standard. The silver coins of Gangeya are very rare. Vincent Smith says that all pieces which seem at first sight to be silver were perhaps regarded officially as gold.7 The Bēsāni stone inscription of K. 958 mentions certain contributions in drammas.8 From the Siyadoni inscription we learn that a quarter-dramma was known as pañchiyakadramma, because it was equal in value to five vimsopakas.9 In the same inscription a halfdramma is called drammardha and a three-quarter dramma dramma-tri-bhaga. Copper coins were known as panas. This name also is not noticed in the records edited here, but the Kāman stone inscription mentions drammas and panas, of which the former were of silver and the latter of copper.10 The standard weight of the pana was a karsha or 80 raktikās (146.4 grains), but the recorded copper coins of Gangeyadeva do not weigh more than 60 grains. Perhaps they were half-panas. The lower denominations of silver drammas and copper panas are wanting.

In the Numismatic Supplement, No. XVII (J.A.S.B. for 1912, p. 123, Pl. VI), Mr. Nelson Wright has described 8 gold coins of Gangeyadeva which had been found in the village Isurpur in tahsil Rehli of the Saugor District. These coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gangeyadeva. They were thick and in diameter half an inch. It is, therefore, suggested that they were struck by Karna, the son of Gangeyadeva. Except

for these, no coins struck by Gangeya's successors are known.

According to an interpolated verse in the Lilavati a tanka was equal to a gadyanaka, i.e., was 63 grains in weight.

4 According to the Lilavati, two dbaranas make one gadyāņaka. Gold dbaranas also are mentioned

in the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja. Loc. cit.

^a Cunningham has described one gold coin of Gangeya weighing 7 grains, and V. Smith another

which weighs only 5.6 grains.

* No. 71, Il. 2. ff.

10 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, p. 335.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 305.

^{*} The Khārepāṭan plates of the Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja mention the levy of gold gadiyāṇas on ships coming from foreign countries. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 301.

The legend on these coins found in Madhya Pradesh was read as Srīmad-Udayadēva by R. D. Banerji, who ascribed the coins to the Paramara Udayaditya. See J. A. S. B. for 1920, p. 84. But the type and the legend (which is somewhat crudely executed) are like those of the coins of Gangiyadiva.

⁷ J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI (1897), Part I, p. 306.

The Sīyadōṇī inscription lays down in line 37 a cess of a quarter-Ādivarāha-dramma and then in the next line expresses the same cess as pain dra 1, i.e., one pañchīyaka-dramma. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 175-177.

The Lakshmi type introduced by Gāṅgēyadēva became popular in North India. It was imitated by the Chandēllas of Jajjhauti, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and the Tōmars of Delhi. It was also introduced in distant Kashmir. See, for instance, No. 7 in Pl. XXXV, Numismatic Chronicle for 1937. This coin has on the reverse the figure of the four-armed seated Lakshmi as on the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. Allan ascribes it to Srī-Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.C.).

The Coins of the Kalachuris of South Kosala

The first coin of these kings to be published was that in Pl. XXXIX, facing p. 654 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V (1836). It was a copper coin of Prithvideva from the collection of Cunningham. It had the king's name on the obverse and 'the figure of a four-armed god1 crushing a demon' on the reverse. Prinsep read the legend correctly, but ascribed the coin to the king whose name occurs in the Dihli list as having reigned at Lahore in A.D. 1176-1192'. A hoard of 56 gold coins2 was next discovered in 1892 in the former State of Sārangarh, and some time later, three coins8 of the same type were found in the bed of the river Ang in the State of Patna. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them appears in the Proceedings of the Society for 1893, pp. 92 ff. and 141 ff. The coins were of three kings, Jajalladeva, Prithvideva and Ratnadeva. All the coins were round in shape. They had the particular king's name on the obverse and the same device on the reverse. Hoernle at first took the device to be the standing figure of Hanuman, but later on changed his opinion and thought that it represented an elephant, a horse or a bull. As more than one king bore each of these names, Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II.

The coinage of this Kalachuri branch was next noticed by Cunningham in his Coins of Medieval India (1894), pp. 73 ff. In this work Cunningham described the gold coins of the three kings mentioned above, as well as two unique copper coins which he had acquired in 1835 and 1885. He identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanuman, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins which he described as a number of shapeless objects surrounded by a circle of dots. Prof. Rapson, who edited Cunningham's work published posthumously, thought that the confused type on the reverse might perhaps be intended to represent a lion, facing right, rampant.⁵ In his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, pp. 254 ff., Vincent Smith has described only the gold coins of the aforementioned three kings. He follows Rapson in taking the device on the reverse to be the figure of a rampant lion. Since then some hoards of gold coins of these kings have been discovered from time to time in Chhattisgarh. The largest of them was of 600 gold coins discovered in 1921-22 at Sonsari in the tabsil and District of Bilaspur. It contained the coins of both the large and the small size of all the three kings together with

¹ This god is of course Hanuman, though Prinsep did not identify him at the time.

³ All the three coins (two large and one small) were of Jājalladēva.

This hoard contained 26 coins (9 large and 17 small) of Jäjalladeva, 29 coins (all small) of Ratnadeva, and one coin (large size) of Prithvideva. Coins of the large size weigh about 60 grains, and those of the small size about 15 grains.

⁴ In his descriptive table on p. 76 and in Pl. VIII, in C. M. I., Cunningham labels three of these coins (Nos. 9-11) as those of copper. But this is incorrect; for, as he has himself stated, the coins were from the British Museum and were found in 1893. Cunningham has also quoted Hoernle's opinion about the device on them. They were, therefore, identical with the coins discovered in 1892, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination. Some of them were apparently presented to the British Museum later on. As stated above, all these coins were of gold.

⁶ C. M. I., pp. 75-76, n. 45.

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two coins of the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra.¹ In nearly all the hoards of gold coins discovered so far, the coins of Pṛithvīdēva are seen to preponderate, which seems to indicate that he was the last of the three kings.

Copper coins also of the aforementioned three kings and of one more, viz., Pratāpamalla, have been discovered at several places in Chhattisgarh. The credit of preserving them and of bringing them to the notice of scholars belongs to Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary of the Mahākōshal Historical Society. The gold coins described below are from the Nagpur Museum, and the copper coins from the collection of Pandit Pandeya.

The Coins of Jājalladēva I.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size-dia- meter in inches	in	Obverse	Reverse
5	AV.	.8	61	Three-line Nāgarī legend written inside a circle of dots (1) Srīmaj-J[ā]- (2) jalladē-(3) va.	Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying prostrate below.
6	AV.	-47	151	Legend as above (1) Śrī- maj-J[ā] (2) jalladē	As above.
7	AE.	-7	431	Legend as above (1) Srī- maj-J[ā] (2) [ja*] [lladē-].	Two-armed Hanuman to left trampling a demon.

Only gold and copper coins of this king have been discovered. About the identity of the figure on the reverse of the gold coins there has been a great divergence of opinion. Hoernle thought at first that like the figure on the copper coin of Prithvideva which had been published before, the figure on the gold coins also was that of Hanuman. But on none of the gold coins examined by me does the figure appear like that of Hanuman. Hoernle himself changed his opinion later on and took the figure to be that of an elephant, a bull, a horse or a lion. As stated before, Rapson thought it might be that of a rampant lion. Vincent Smith has followed Rapson's view.

The figure on these coins is indeed crudely executed, and hence it has caused such a divergence of opinion among scholars. A close examination of coin No. 5 shows that its reverse has the figure of a lion with the tail upraised, facing right and jumping on an elephant which lies prostrate below.²

On the copper coins, the figure of Hanuman is, of course, quite clear. In the coin figured in Pl. A, No. 7, the god is turned to the left. The demon on the left, on whom he must be trampling, is cut out on this coin.

¹ Twenty-seven coins were discovered in the former State of Sonpur, some of which have been published in J. N. S. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

The device was correctly interpreted for the first time by Mr. B. N. Nath in J. N. S. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff. His view that this coinage was first introduced by Ratnadeva II does not, however, appear to be correct; for, it would relegate all coins with the legend <code>Srīmaj-Jājalladeva</code> to Jājalladeva II. This is precluded by the palmographic evidence detailed below.

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The Coins of Ratnadeva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size- diame- ter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
8	AV	-7	62 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) Srīmad-Ra-(2) tnadē- va.	Lion to right attacking an ele- phant.
9	AV	-45	151 ,,	As above.	As above.
10	AE	.9	100 "	As above.	Lion to right, with tail upraised.
11	AE	.6	231 ,,	As above:(1) [Srī] mad-Ra- (2) [Ina*]dēva.	A sheathed dagger below some indistinct object (debased figure of a lion?).

Of this king also, only gold and copper coins are known. I have not seen any copper coins of this king with the Hanuman device. The seal of the Paragaon plates of this king (No. 122) has a sheathed dagger as on some of his copper coins.

The Coins of Prithvideva II.

No. in PlateA		Size- diame- ter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
12	AV	-77	61 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) Srīmat-Pṛi-(2)thvī- dēva.	Lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below.
13	AV	-5	15 "	As above: (1) Srimat-[Pṛi]- (2)[tb]vīdē [va*].	As above.
14	AR	-35	6 "	As above: (1) Srīmat-[Pṛi]- (2) [thvīdē] [va*].	Some shapeless objects perhaps representing a lion.
15	AE		991 "	As above: (1) Srīmat-Pṛi- (2) thvīdē[va].	Four-armed Hanuman to left. He carries a mace in his upper left hand and something (a hill?) in his upper right hand. His other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on right (cut out) and the other on left, whom he tramples under his right foot.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size diame- ter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
16	AE	-75	68 grs.	As above (1) Srimat-Pṛi- (2) [thvi]dē[va].	Hanuman to right, with a de- mon on left.
17	AE	.85	994 »	As above (1) Srīmat-[Pṛi]- (2) thvīdē[va].	Hanumān to left. He tramples a demon on left and has an attendant on right.
18	AE	.8	73 ,,	As above (1) Srimat-[Pṛi]- (2) thvidē[va].	Lion with tail raised to right.

Of this king, coins in all the three metals are known, but his silver coins are very rare. Pandit L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three silver coins. All these are very small in size and resemble the one-eighth dramma pieces of Gāngēyadēva. This king's copper coins have both the devices of the lion and Hanumān (facing right or left).

The Coins of Pratapamalla.

No. in PlateA	Metal	Size	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
19	AE	.8	38 grs.	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) [Srī]mat-Pra- (2)tā- pama-(3) [lla]dēva.	Lion to left, looking backward.
20	AE	-75	29 "	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) Srīmat-Pra-(2)tāpa- ma-(3)[lla]dēva, with a sheathed dagger below.	Some indistinct device, perhaps a lion.

No gold and silver coins of this king have been reported till now. His copper coins were found for the first time in 1924. Pandit L. P. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Pendrābandh plates.¹ The seal of these plates has a sheathed dagger below the legend as on some coins of this king.

As the name Ratnadeva is repeated thrice and the names Prithvideva and Jājalladeva twice in the genealogical list of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the question of the attribution of these coins becomes very difficult. While describing the hoard from the Sārangarh, Dr. Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and of Prithvideva II, but he gave no reason to support his view. Cunningham, on the other hand, assigned the same coins to Prithvideva I, Jājalladeva I and Ratnadeva II. Vincent

¹ No. 101.

² P. A. S. B. for 1898, p. 93.

³ C. M. I., p. 76.

Smith was not certain about the matter. He doubtfully referred them to Prithvideva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III, but did not deny the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings.¹ No satisfactory reasons have, however, been given for any of these identifications. Mr. Allan has recently pointed out² that in view of the probability that Prithvideva I was still a feudatory³ and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladeva I, it is not improbable that some at least of the coins should be attributed to Prithvideva II. He thinks that the same is true of the distribution of coins between Jājalladeva I and II and Ratnadeva II and III.

An important clue to the identification of the kings who struck these coins is afforded by the form of the palatal f in the legends on these coins. On the gold coins of Jajalladeva the left member of this letter is either joined to the vertical on the right, or resembles the English letter S, which shows that this prince must be identified with Jājalladēva I.4 There is another piece of evidence which points in the same direction. Jajalladeva I was a powerful prince. The Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign states that the ruling chiefs of the neighbouring territories, viz., South Kōsala, Andhra, Khimidi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāņāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, paid him annual tributes, and that as he was valiant, his alliance was sought by the lords of Chēdi, Kānyakubja and Jējābhuktika.5 Jājalladēva I's alliance with the contemporary Chandella king, who is evidently meant here by the lord of Jējābhuktika, is reflected in his coinage. It is well known that Chandēlla coinage begins in the reign of Kirtivarman (circa 1060-1100 A.C.). Only gold coins of this king are known. Copper coins appear for the first time during the reign of Sallakshanavarman, the son and successor of Kirtivarman, who was a contemporary of Jajalladeva. Sallakshanavarman's copper coins are extremely rare. Cunningham had only one in his cabinet, which is figured as No. 16 in Plate VIII of his Coins of Mediaval India. It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the figure of Hanuman facing right on the reverse. The Hanuman type was apparently evolved in the Chandella kingdom6 where we find the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey-god in a stone inscription, dated in the Harsha year 316 (922 A.C.)7 This type seems to have been copied with a slight variation8 by Jājalladēva I after he formed an alliance with the Chandella king Sallakshanavarman.

The type 'Lion attacking an elephant' seen on the gold coins of this dynasty seems also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladēva I. It probably symbolises his victory over the contemporary Ganga king. The Ratanpur inscription of his reign mentions his conquest of Khimidi which lay in the kingdom of the Gangas. The latter were known as Gajapatis or Gajādhīśas, 'lords of elephants'. Jājalladēva's victory over the Ganga king was, therefore, fittingly represented by a lion attacking an elephant which lies prostrate below.

Some coins of debased gold with the legend Srīmaj-Jājalladēva may have been struck by Jājalladēva II, whose reign does not appear to have been very prosperous.

¹ L. M. C., pp. 254-55, Pl. XXVI.

² Numismatic Chronicle for 1937, pp. 298 ff.

² In his Amōdā plates dated K. 831, (No. 76, l. 25), Prithvīdēva I describes himself as Mahāmaṇḍalē-svara, which indicates his feudatory rank.

⁴ This form of s is no longer seen in grants of Jajalladeva II. See the facsimile of No. 99.

⁵ No. 77, Il. 22-23.

⁶ The Hanuman type was evidently suggested by the Adivaraha type used by Bhōja I of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty.

⁷ This date was read by Cunningham as Samvat 940, and by Kielhorn as Samvat 215. D. R. Bhandarkar read it as Samvat 316, which he referred to the Harsha era. See P. R. A. S., W. C., for 1903-4, p. 47.

^{*} On the coins of Jājalladēva, the god appears two-armed as on the Chandēlla coins, but is shown to be trampling on a demon. On those of his successors he appears four-armed.

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On the coins of Ratnadēva and Pṛithvīdēva, the left member of the palatal f has a somewhat longer serif at the bottom¹ than in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, but the letter has not yet assumed the form seen in later records.² These kings must, therefore, be identified with Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvidēva II. It is noteworthy that the Sonsari hoard mentioned above, which contained the coins of all these kings, had also two coins of Govindachandradēva. This Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj had a long reign of nearly 45 years (circa 1110-1155 A.C.) and so was a contemporary of Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvīdēva II. The Sonsari hoard seems to have been secreted some time during the reign of Prithvīdēva II.

Besides tankas and drammas, some other coins are mentioned in the Kalachuri inscriptions, to which we shall now turn. The Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja, dated K. 965, mention 130 Sarāhagaḍām āchhu³ which may mean 130 gold coins minted in Sarāhagaḍa⁴ (modern Sāraṅgarh). It is noteworthy that a similar Marathi word āsu occurs in inscriptions⁵ found in Maharashtra and in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century A.C. From several passages in the Lālācharitra,⁶ the Marathi biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, āsu appears to have been a gold coin current in Maharashtra in the 13th century A.C. The Lālācharitra speaks in one place of a pāuṇa āsu or three-quarter āsu, which shows that lower denominations of one-quarter, one-half and three-quarter āsus were also current.

The Bilhāri stone inscription mentions sõdasikā, which seems to have denoted a copper coin equal in value to one-sixteenth of a dramma just as vimsõpaka denoted one-twentieth of a dramma. Another coin mentioned in the same inscription is paura, which was probably a small coin of silver. A tax of four pauras was levied on every elephant, and that of two pauras on every horse, sold in the local market. Kaparda and dyūta-kaparda were other coins current at the time. Kauṭilya also mentions kaparda as a copper coin. It was probably identical with kākiṇi mentioned by Bhāskarāchārya as equivalent to twenty cowries. Four kākiṇis made one paṇa. Dyūtakaparda was probably so called because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling. Some of these coins may be represented by the smaller Kalachuri coins which are often found in Chhattisgarh. But they are so much worn and so irregular in weight that it is often difficult to say what denominations they represent.

1 V. Smith, I. M. C., pp. 254 ff., Pl. XXVI.

² In the time of Prithvideva II the earlier form of s had no doubt gone out of use, but it seems to have continued on his coins; for, conservatism in regard to forms of letters is a characteristic of Indian coinage.

³ No. 116, l. 6.

- 4 The Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla mentions this place as Sarabarāgadha. No. 88, l. 10.
- ⁶ See, e.g., the Pāṭan inscription of the time of Yādava Singhana (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 343), which mentions āsu, dāma and visōvā. These appear to be coins of gold, silver and copper respectively.

8 See Lālācharitra (Marathi) ed. by H. N. Nene, part III, pp. 50-51.

7 Visövä mentioned in the aforementioned Pätan inscription is derived from Sanskrit vimiöpaka. The vimiöpakas were so called because they were equal in value to one-twentieth of a dramma. This appears quite clear from l. 20 of the Siyadöni inscription which first mentions in words a monthly tax of half a Vigrahatmigiya-dramma and then states the same as vi 10 (i.e., 10 vimiöpakas). One dramma was, therefore, equal to 20 vimiöpakas. Similarly, it may have been equal to 16 födasikäs. It is noteworthy that Bhāskarā-chārya's Līlāvatī (I, 2) states that sixteen paņas make one dramma. Perhaps sodasikā was another name of the copper paṇa. According to the Sārngadhara-samhitā, it was so called because it weighed sixteen māshas.

8 Similar taxes are laid down in other inscriptions of the period. See, e.g., the Bayana stone inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 122 ff), which in line 23 mentions the gift of one dramma per horse (sold locally) in favour of a god, installed at Bayana.
9 Arthasastra, II, 12.
10 Lilävati, I, 2.

¹¹ It is perhaps identical with the smallest copper coin ardba-kākiņī mentioned in Kauţilya's Artha-Jāstra, II, 12.

12 The smallest of them may be māshas. According to Nārada cited in the Mitāksharā on Yājhavalkya-tmṛiti (II, 159), a māsha was one-twentieth of a copper paṇa.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES1

I The Mahārājas of Valkha

Svāmidāsa K. 67. Bhuluņda K. 107. Rudradāsa K. 117.

II The Traikūţakas

Indradatta (415-440 A.C.)

Dahrasēna (440-465 A.C.) K. 207.

Vyāghrasēna (465-492 A.C.) K. 241.

III The Early Gurjaras

Dadda I (570-595 A.C.)

Jayabhata I-Vitaraga (595-620 A.C.)

Dadda II-Praśāntarāga (620-645 A.C.) K. 380; K. 385; K. 392.

Jayabhata II (645-665 A.C.)

Dadda III-Bāhusahāya (665-690 A.C.) K. 427.

Jayabhata III (690-715 A.C.) K. 456; K. 460.

Ahirōla (715-720 A.C.)

Jayabhaṭa IV (720-738 A.C.) K. 486,

IV The Sendrakas

Bhānuśakti alias Nikumbha (620-625 A.C.)

Adityaśakti (625-650 A.C.)

Allaśakti (650-675 A.C.)

K. 404; K. 406; S. 577.

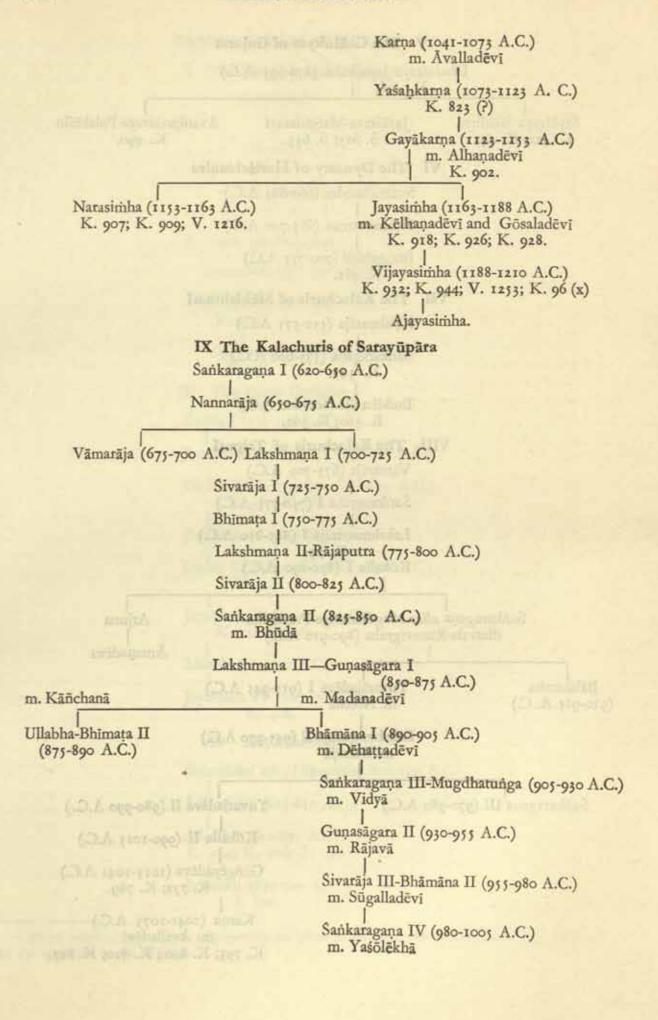
Jayaśakti (675-700 A. C.)

S. 602.

¹ Where possible, approximate reign-periods are given in brackets. The known dates are given under the respective names of kings.

V The Chālukyas of Gujarat

Dharāśraya-Jayasimha (670-695 A.C.) K. 436. Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya Jayāśraya-Mangalarasa Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin K. 421; K. 443. S. 613; S. 653. K. 490. VI The Dynasty of Harischandra Svāmichandra (660-685 A.C.) Simhavarman (685-700 A.C.) Bhōgaśakti (700-715 A.C.) K. 461. VII The Kalachuris of Māhishmatī Krishnarāja (550-575 A.C.) Sankaragana (575-600 A.C.) K. 347. Buddharāja (600-620 A.C.) K. 360; K. 361. VIII The Kalachuris of Tripuri Vāmarāja (675-700 A.C.) Sankaragana I (750-775 A.C.) Lakshmanarāja I (825-850 A.C.) K. 593. Kōkalla I (850-890 A.C.) Sankaragana alias Mugdhatunga-Presiddha-Arjuna dhavala-Raṇavigraha (890-910 A.C.) Amanadeva Bālaharsha Yuvarājadēva I (915-945 A.C.) m. Nõhalā (910-915 A. C.) Lakshmanarāja II (945-970 A.C.) m, Rāhadā Sankaragana III (970-980 A.C.) Yuvarjadēva II (980-990 A.C.) Kōkalla II (990-1015 A.C.) Gängēyadēva (1015-1041 A.C.) K. 772; K. 789. Karna (1041-1073 A.C.) m. Āvalladēvī K. 793; K. 800; K. 810; K. 812.



Sańkaragana IV (980-1005 A. C.)

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Bhima (or Bhimata III) (1005-1031 A.C.)
                                 m. Lāvaņyavatī
                                 Vyāsa (1031-1055 A.C.)
                                  V. 1087.
                                 Sõdhadeva (1055-1080 A. C.)
                                  V. 1134; V. 1135.
                   X The Kalachuris of Ratanpur (Ratnapura)
                     Kalingarāja (1000-1020 A.C.)
                     Kamalarāja (1020-1045 A.C.)
                     Ratnadēva I (1045-1065 A.C.)
                      m. Nonallā
                     Prithvideva I (1065-1090 A.C.)
                      K. 821; K. 831.
                     Jājalladēva I (1090-1120 A.C.)
                      m. Lāchchhalladēvī
                      K. 866.
                     Ratnadēva II (1120-1135 A.C.)
                      K. 878; K. 880; K. 885.
                     Prithvideva II (1135-1165 A.C.)
                      K. 890; K. 893; K. 896; K. 897; K. 900; K. 905; K. 910; K. 915.
                                             Jājalladēva II (1165-1170 A.C.)
Jagaddēva (1170-1175 A. C.)
      m. Somaladevi
                                                     K. 919.
Ratnadeva III (1175-1200 A.C.)
        K. 933.
Pratāpamalla (1200-1225 A.C.)
      K. 965; K. 969.
    Lakshmīdēva (1325-1355 A.C.)
    Simhana (1355-1375 A.C.)
  (Ratanpur Branch)
                                                     (Raipur Branch)
  Danghira (1375-1400 A.C.)
                                                   Rāmachandra (1375-1400 A.C.)
  Madanabrahman (1400-1425 A.C.)
                                                   Brahmadēva (1400-1425 A.C.)
                                                         V. 1458; V. 1470.
  Rāmachandra (1425-1450 A.C.)
  Ratnasēna (1450-1480 A.C.)
   m. Gundāyi
  Vāhara (1480-1525 A.C.)
    V. 1552; V. 1570.
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TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTION OF THE ABHIRAS

No. 1; PLATE I

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 9

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Messrs. Edward W. West and Arthur A. West in their article entitled 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions' published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII (1864), pp. 37 ff. They published a fairly correct eye-copy of the record and, though they gave no transcript of it, they noticed correctly the date which occurs in lines 2-3. The record was first transcribed, with notes and an English translation, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his Notices published in the Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1874, pp. 341 ff. It was next copied by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. Though the Pandit did the work with his wonted skill, his facsimile published in the Archaelogical Survey of Western India, Vol. IV, Plate LIII, No. 12, is considerably worked up by hand. In 1883 Pandit Bhagvanlal published a transcript of the inscription together with a Sanskrit rendering and an English translation in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVI (Nasik District), pp. 579 ff. In the same year Dr. Bühler also, working on Pandit Bhagvanlal's facsimile, published a transcript and an English translation of the epigraph in the aforementioned volume of the Archaelogical Survey of Western India. The inscription was finally edited with a purely mechanical facsimile by Prof. E. Senart in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, pp. 88 ff. and Plate VII (15). Prof. Senart's edition has remained the standard one to the present day. The record is edited here from the Plate accompanying Prof. Senart's article as well as a fresh estampage supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle.

The epigraph is incised on the left wall of the court in Cave No. X on the so-called Pānḍu-lēṇa hill, 5 miles south-west from Nasik, the head-quarters of the Nasik District in the Bombay State. It seems to have originally consisted of 15 lines, but only the first thirteen of them can now be read. Even in this part, the record has suffered considerably on the right-hand side by exposure to weather, and three or four aksharas at the end of almost every line have now become almost illegible. In several cases they can, however, be read from the traces left behind, or restored conjecturally. The average size of the

letters is 1.2".

The characters belong to the Brāhmi alphabet of a slightly later age than in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas. In some respects, however, as in the subscript tripartite y, they show archaic forms; see Māḍharīputrasya, l. 1; -vāstavyasya, l. 7, etc. Notice also p in gaṇapaka-, l. 4, which has a long vertical on the left. As Dr. Bühler has already noticed, some of the letters are cursive; see, e. g., the forms of t and n, derived from looped types, in parvata-, l. 7 and Iśvarasēnasya, l. 2, as well as the form of jīta in rājītaḥ, l. 1. Some of the other peculiarities worthy of notice are as follows:—u in upāsikāyā, l. 6, has a horizontal stroke at the top; the rare ō occurs in ōdayamtrika-, l. 10; the medial u in dubitrā, l. 4, is formed by a curve open on the right, like the medial rī of later times. Kb has a loop on the right; see sukb-ārtham, l.7; y is generally flat as in Kushāṇa records, but the

¹ I.P., p. 43.

round form also occurs sporadically; see upāsikāyā-, l. 6 and ōdayamtrika-, l. 10; l is bent towards the left; see tilapishaka-, l. 11. Finally, the palatal l has two forms, the earlier one with a vertical middle stroke occurs in viśvavarmasya, l. 5, while the later one in which the stroke is placed horizontally is noticed in other places; see e.g. Sak-Agnivarmmanah, l. 4. The numerical symbol for 1000 occurs in l. 10, that for 500 in l. 11, those for 10, 4 and 3 in l. 3 and that for 2 in l. 10. A symbol denoting 9 seems to have occurred at the end of line 2, but it is now rather indistinct.

The language is Sanskrit with some admixture of Prakrit forms. See, e.g., Gimba-pakhe and chothe in l. 3, [eta] yā purvayā in ll. 3-4; gilāna-, l. 8, etc. As for orthography, the only point which calls for notice is the reduplication of m after r in Sak-Agnivarmmanah, l. 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king (Rājan) Išvarasēna, the son of the Ābhīra Šivadatta and Māḍharī. The object of it is to record the foundation, by an upāsikā or lay devotee named Vishņudattā, of a perpetual endowment to provide medicines for the sick among the community of Buddhist monks from the four quarters, dwelling in the monastery on the Triraśmi mountain. Vishņudattā belonged to the Śaka race. She was the daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka (Accountant) Rēbhīla and mother of the Gaṇapaka Viśvavarman. For the aforementioned perpetual endowment, the following amounts in kārshāpaṇas¹ were invested with the various guilds evidently of Gōvardhana, viz., a thousand kārshāpāṇas with the guild of kularikas (potters), two thousand with the guild of manufacturers of hydraulic machines, five hundred with another guild whose name is lost, and some more with the guild of oil-millers.

The record is dated on the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the season Grishma in the ninth (regnal) year of the Ābhīra king Iśvarasēna. As shown in the Introduction, Iśvarasēna was probably the founder of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era. This date must, therefore, be referred to that era. Later dates of the era cite some lunar month, fortnight, tithi and week-day, but this first known date of the reckoning is recorded in season, fortnight and day in accordance with the prevailing custom of the time. According to the epoch of 248-49 Å. C. with the year commencing on Kārttika śu. di. 1, the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Grishma would fall in 258 Å. C. if the year 9 was current, and in 259 Å. C. if it was expired. The date does not admit of verification.

Of the geographical names which occur in the present record, Triraśmi-parvata (or the three-rayed hill) is plainly identical with the Pānḍu-lēṇa hill where the epigraph is incised. Pandit Bhagvanlal has suggested that its pyramidal or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of its name Triraśmi³. Gövardhana which was probably mentioned in line 8 is identical with the modern village Gövardhan-Gaṇgāpur⁴ on the right bank of the Gödāvarī, about 6 miles west of Nasik. It is mentioned in four other inscriptions on the cave-hill and was, in ancient times, the head-quarters of a territorial division (ābāra) named after it.

¹ Kārshāpaņa was a silver coin weighing about 34 grains. The kārshāpaņas mentioned here were probably those of the Western Kshatrapas which appear to have circulated in Maharashtra during the time of the Ābhīras.

² Most of the Kshatrapa and Sātavāhana inscriptions in the Nasik caves contain similar season dates, but two records, viz., Nos. 12 and 14, mention the lunar months Vaiśākha, Kārttika and Chaitra. Season dates survived down to the time of the Vākāṭakas. See the date of the Dudia plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. XVI, p. 541.

⁴ The village is in two parts, Gövardhan or Gördhan above and Gangapur below; loc. cit., p. 538.

TEXT¹

- ा सिघं [।*] राज्ञः [मा]ढरीपुत्रस्य² शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
- अाभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य³ संवत्सरे नव[मे]⁴ [९] [गि*]-
- 3 म्हपले वोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १० ३ [एत*]8-
 - 4 या पुर्वया⁷ शकाग्निवम्मंणः दुहित्रा⁸ गणपक[स्य*]⁹
 - ऽ रेभिलस्य [भा]यंया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य [मा*]-
 - 6 त्रा शकनिकया¹⁰ उपासिका (क) या विष्णुदता (त्त) या सर्वसत्व (त्त्व) हि-
 - 7 [त]सुखार्थं त्रिरिक्मपर्वतिवहारवास्तव्यस्य [चातुर्दिश]¹¹[स्य]
 - 8 भि[क्ष]संघस्य गिलानभेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता .व..[वास्त-]12
- 9 व्यासु आगता[नागता]सु¹³ श्रेणिषु यतः कुलरिकश्रेण्या हस्ते क (का)षीपण-
 - 10 सहस्रं १००० ओदयंत्रिकश्रेण्यां सहस्राणि हे २ ¹⁵.....
 - 11 [ण्यां] शतानि पंच ५०० तिलिपिषकश्चे [ण्यां] 16
 - 12 एते च क (का) पिपणा चताली [पि] 17
 - 13[त]स्य [मास]वृद्धि[तो]¹⁸......
- ¹ From 'Nasik Inscriptions'—Plate VII (15), facing p. 88 in Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, and a fresh estampage.
- ² Pandit Bhagvanlal was the first to read this name, but he admitted that the first two letters of it were doubtful. The facsimile shows clear traces of dba. Mā appears to be very much cramped for want of space and may have been added subsequently.
- ³ Dr. Bhandarker read आभीरस्य वीरसेनस्य Here, again, Bhagvanlal first read the name which appears to be quite certain.
- ⁴ The last character में of नवमें is somewhat indistinct. Bhagvanlal and Senart read नवम, but the Plate shows a slanting stroke to the left on the top, denoting medial है. This word seems to have been followed by a symbol denoting 9 (cf. chothe 4 in l. 3, below), but it is now rather indistinct. The last character in this line may have been gi. Bühler read gi in the beginning of the next line.
- ⁵ Here and in some places below, Prakrit forms have been used. As they are easily intelligible, they have not been rendered into Sanskrit.
 - 6 These two aksharas, though now completely gone, can be conjecturally restored from the context.
- ⁷ The superscript r of rva in purvaya, though not noticed before, is as clear here as in parvata in line 7, below.
 - 8 This akshara, though indistinct, appears like tr in Trirasmi, 1. 7.
- Here and in the next line, Bühler read ganāpaka, but the ā stroke is clear in neither case. Sya is partially seen on the right border.
- Bhandarkar read bhrātri-kani(nya)kayā. Bhagvanlal's reading [mā]trā Sakanikayā accepted by Senart is, however, supported by both the facsimile and the context.
- ¹¹ These four aksharas are rather indistinct. There appears one more akshara, viz. sya, at the end of the line.
- 12 The aksharas lost here were conjecturally restored by Bühler as Gövardhanavästa-. Västa is faintly seen at the end of this line.
- is Bühler read Sugatāgatāsu, but it gives no good sense. Besides, the Plate shows the akshara nā between tā and ga. Like Senart, I have adopted the above reading, first proposed by Bhandarkar.
- 14 Bhagvanlal read ödayamtrika, but as Senart has already observed, the letters da and da can hardly be distinguished in so defaced an inscription. The anusvāra on nyā is clear in the estampage.
- The facsimile in A.S.W.I. as well as the fresh estampage shows the figure 2. One would rather expect here the symbol for a thousand with a horizontal stroke added on the right. The name of the freni which must have occurred at the end of this line is now illegible.
 - 16 The facsimile in A.S.W.I. shows two more aksharas satā which are omitted in the Plate in Ep. Ind.
 - 17 See below, p. 4, n. 6.
- 18 The facsimile in A.S.W.I. has traces of seven more aksharas which can be read as सर्व रक्षति विद्या, but they are omitted in the Plate in Ep. Ind. The aksharas in the next two lines are completely effaced.

TRANSLATION

Success! In the ninth—9—year of the king, the Abhīra Iśvarasēna, son of the Abhīra Sivadatta (and) son of Māḍharī, on the thirteenth—to (and) 3—day in the fourth—4—fortnight of summer, on this aforementioned (day) the lay devotee Vishņudattā of the Saka race¹, mother of the Gaṇapaka² Viśvavarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka Rēbhila (and) daughter of the Saka Agnivarman, has invested the (following) perpetual endowment in the present and future guilds,³ dwelling at Gōvardhana, in order to provide medicines for the sick among the community of monks from the four quarters dwelling in (this) monastery on Mount Triraśmi, for the well-being and happiness of all creatures, viz., a thousand—1000—kārshāpaṇas in the hands of the guild of Kularikas⁴, two thousand—2000—kārshāpaṇas in the guild of the manufacturers of hydraulic machines⁵, five hundred—500—in the guild of (and) in the guild of oil-millers.

(Line 12) All these four (investments of) kārshāpaņas by the monthly interest of

¹ Sakanikā seems to be used here in the sense of a woman of the Saka race. Nikā was added as a suffix in the sense of a woman, like the later ambā. Cf. Vijayā and Vijayanikā in inscriptions Nos. 1, 9 and 19 at Kuḍā. I.C.T.W.I., pp. 4 ff.

² Bühler took Ganapaka to mean 'the protector or leader of a gana'. A gana, according to him, consists of three gulmas or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of 'a colonel' or 'a brigadier-general.' Senart derived the word from ganāpayati (irregular for ganayati) and understood it to mean 'an accountant' or 'an astrologer'. Mr. Bakhle, on the other hand, thinks that it means the President of a gana or republican state. J.B.R.B.A.S. (N.S.), Vol. IV, p. 78.

Bühler, who read Sugatāgatāsu, translated, 'with the Buddha (?) companies dwelling in (Gövar-dbana)'. The expression āgatānāgatāsu is intended to commit the specified guilds existing at the time and their successors to the payment of the perpetual interest.

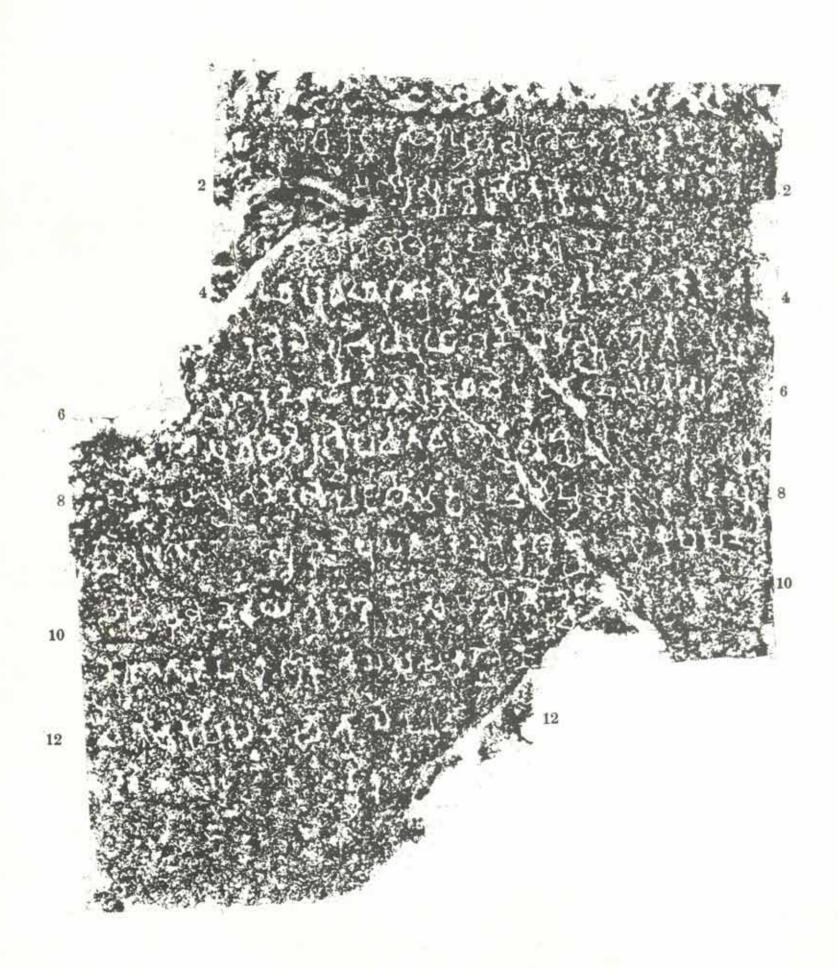
⁴ Kularika may be identical with kulāla, a potter, as conjectured by Bühler, or with kaulika, a weaver, as suggested by Bhandarkar. The guild of the kaulikas (kölika-nikāya) is mentioned in l. 2 of the Nasik cave inscription No. 12.

⁸ Odayantrika is properly audayantrika. It probably signified 'a worker fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others' (Senart).

⁶ Previous editors, who read chatālāpa or chatālepa, failed to understand it and omitted it in their translations. The correct reading appears to be chatālo-pi and signifies 'all the four'. Chatālo is plainly to be equated with chattāro meaning 'four'. Cf. SHC., VIII, 3, 122. The reference is evidently to the investment of the four amounts of kārshāpaṇas in the four guilds named in the epigraph.

⁷ The last two lines of the record, now completely effaced, may have stated how the interest was to be utilised. Compare II.3 ff. of Nāsik cave inscription No. 12. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 82.

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 9.





INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJAS OF VALKHA

No. 2; PLATE II A

INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67

THIS was one of the two copper-plates obtained by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar from Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore. Dr. Bhandarkar handed them over to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who edited them together in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 286 f. and plates. Their contents and dates were discussed by me in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f. The inscription on the present plate is edited here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The inscription is incised on one side only of a single copper-plate measuring 7.6" broad and 4.1" high. It has no ring-hole and shows no sign of a seal having ever been attached to it. The plate has nine lines of writing, of which the last, containing the sign-manual of the reigning king, is incised in the margin on the left. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with knobs at the top. They show considerable development over those of the Nasik cave inscription of Iśvarasēna, which was incised only about sixty years before. The letters a, k, \(\tilde{n} \) and r, for instance, have developed curves at the lower end of their verticals, distinctive of the southern alphabet; th is shown by a curling curve open to the right; see -pathakē, l. 3; n has developed a loop, while the vertical of I curves to the left; see -pād-āmuddhyātō, l. 1 and Sāndilya-, l. 3; the subscript y has assumed a bipartite form; see Āryya-, l. 4. As regards medial vowels, i now forms a complete curve; its long form is indicated by a curling curve turned to the left; the mātrās for ā, ē, ai and ō appear in some cases above the line; and the medial an is bipartite in -pautra-, l. 5. The symbols for 60, 7 and 5 occur in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. There is now little admixture of Prakrit forms, the only cases occurring in this epigraph being santaka, l. 2 and krishāpayataḥ, l. 7, which however persisted for a long time. As regards orthography, the only peculiarity which calls for notice is the reduplication of the consonant before y and after r; see pād-ānuddhyātō, l. 1 and sarvvān=, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Svāmidāsa. The object of it is to record confirmation, by Svāmidāsa, of the gift of a field in the village Dakshina-Valmika-tallavāṭaka (South Valmika-tallavāṭaka) which was situated in the territorial subdivision Nagarikā-pathaka. The plate was issued from Valkha, which was evidently then the royal capital. The Dūtaka was Nannabhaṭṭi. The record is dated on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year 67 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era. It may be noted that the year in this case is introduced with the

See Ep. Ind., Vols. XV, p. 286 and XXIV, p. 52. The other copper-plate was issued by Bhulunda. See below, No. 3.

² Above, No. 1.

The use of the words samanujānīyō(mō) in Il. 2-3 and krit-ānujñasya in I. 6 as well as the absence of any statement that it was a royal grant indicate that Mabārāja Svāmidāsa only confirmed the gift. Who the donor was is not known. The plate of Bhulunda (No. 3, below), which bears close resemblance to the present record, mentions a person named Āshādhanandin at whose request the gift was confirmed.

word varsha in stead of the usual samvat. The plate is signed by the Mahārāja, the illustrious Svāmidāsa.

Svāmidāsa who issued the present plate was only a feudatory chief; for he describes himself as parama-bhattaraka-pad-anudhyata 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', though he does not name his suzerain. The latter probably belonged to the Imperial family which started the era in which the date of the present inscription is recorded. The date does not admit of verification in the absence of such details as a week-day or a nakshatra. We must therefore identify the era to which it refers, on other evidence. Unfortunately, the provenance of the plate has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. The present grant bears close resemblance to the Sirpur grant1 of Rudradāsa, dated in the year 107, in several respects, viz., (i) the names of the princes in both the cases end in dāsa; (ii) both the princes bear the title Mabārāja and acknowledge their feudatory status in the same words; (iii) the characters and phraseology of the two grants are strikingly similar; (iv) the date is similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word varsha in both the grants. These similarities2 leave no doubt that the two grants belong to the same royal family and came originally from the same part of the country. As the grant of Rudradasa is known to have been found at Sirpur in the Khandesh District, that of Svāmidāsa also must, in all probability, have originally belonged to the same district of Northern Maharashtra. Pandit Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting manuscripts and ancient historical records in different parts of the country, seems to have obtained the plate somewhere in Khandesh and taken it to Indore.

Dr. Majumdar referred the date of the present plate to the Gupta era on the ground that its characters resemble those of the Sānchī inscription of Chandragupta II. This view cannot now be upheld; for we have no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era to Northern Maharashtra where, as we have seen, the plate was probably found.³ The use of the word varsha in recording the year of the grant may perhaps be taken to point to the Saka era⁴, but that era is out of the question here, as the characters of the present grant are far more developed than those current in the second century A. C. The only other era to which the date can be referred is the so-called Kalachuri era founded in 249 A. C. by the Ābhīra king Iśvarasēna. Accordingly, the date would correspond, for the expired year 67, to the 2nd May 317 A. C.⁵ It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Valkha, which was probably the

² The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Sirpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line where two or three letters have been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the left. The sign-manual of Mahārāja Rudradāsa, which must have been incised in the margin on the left, is also lost.

¹ No. 4, below.

³ In fact there is no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era south of the Narmadā except the solitary grant of Bhīmasēna II (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. and Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.) That grant, however, belongs to Kōsalā or modern Chhattisgarh, the ruler of which had submitted to Samudragupta. Khandesh, on the other hand, was never under the direct or indirect rule of the Guptas. The old identification of Ēraṇḍapallī mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Ēraṇḍōl in Khandesh, proposed by Fleet, is now held to be untenable. See Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 59 f.

⁴ Dr. Kielhorn has shown that the word varsha is characteristic of the Saka era. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVI, p. 150. The use of that word in the present grant seems to be in imitation of the older grants dated in the Saka era which was previously current in Maharashtra.

⁵ In the case of early records of the Kalachuri era (Nos. 1-34), the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 249-30 A. C. for an expired year,

royal capital at the time, may be identical with Vāghlī, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G.I.P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions.¹ One of these inscriptions² in three parts, edited by Dr. Kielhorn, shows that Vāghlī became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family which originally hailed from Valabhī in Kathiawad, and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.³ Nagarikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division (pathaka) named after it, may be identical with Nagar Dēvlā, about 10 miles north-east of Vāghlī, which also contains an old Hēmāḍpanti temple of Mahādēva.⁴ Finally, Valmika-tallavāṭaka may be Talwāḍ khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Dēvlā.⁵

TEXT6

- वल्ला[त्*] परमभट्टारकपादानुद्वचातो महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासः समाज्ञा—
- पर्यात सर्व्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकाना⁷यक्तकाद्वि⁸ज्ञातमस्त् व[:*] समन्जा—
- 3 नीयोस्मि⁹ शाण्डिल्यसगोत्रमुण्डब्राह्मन (ण)स्य नगरिकापथके दक्षिणव-
- 4 ित्मकतल्लवाटके आय्यंवानि (णि) जकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपदं ब्रह्मादेयमाचन्द्रा-
- कंतारककालीयं पुत्रपौत्रन्वयभोज्यं भोगायव भोगायव भामिदानि (नी) मस्य (स्या) स्मा-
- 6 भिक्कृतः नज्ञस्यो¹²चितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[:*] कृपतः कृपा-
- 7 पयतश्च:18 सर्वेरेवा[स्म]पक्षतक्तृल्यादिभि¹⁴स्समनुमन्तव्यं (व्यम् ।)
- 8 नन्नभट्टि दूतक:¹⁵ [1*] वर्षे ६० ७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ [1*]
- 9 (In the margin) महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From Valkha—the Mahārāja, the illustrious Svāmidāsa, who meditates on the fee of the Paramabhattāraka (Great Lord), issues the (following) order to all his16 officers—

"Be it known to you that We (hereby) give Our assent to the brahmadēya gift of a field, belonging to the merchant Ārya and situated in the southern Valmika-tallavāṭaka in the pathaka of Nagarikā, to this Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa of the Sāṇḍilya gōtra, to be enjoyed

¹ K. D. G., p. 478.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.

³ Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit suggested that Valkha might be identical with Bāhal in the Chalisgaon tālukā, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently found.

⁴ K. D. G., p. 457.

The place-name seems to have dropped Valmika in course of time. Dr. Majumdar's identification of Nagarikā with Nagar which lies 75 miles from the borders of the former Indore State, and of Tallavāṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nagar, or with Talorā, 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be accepted as the plate did not come from North India.

⁶ From the facsimile facing p. 289, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV.

⁷ This should properly be स्वसन्तका-.

⁸ Read -नायुक्तकान्विज्ञात-.

[&]quot; Read समनुजानीमोऽस्य as in the plate of Bhulunda (No. 3).

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वसभोग्यं.

¹¹ Read भोगाय । एविमदानी-.

¹² Read -स्माभिः कृतानुतस्यो-.

¹³ Read क्षंयत्रच.

¹⁴ Read -स्मत्पक्षतत्कृत्यादिभि-.

¹⁵ Read नम्मद्रिर्तकः

¹⁶ Lit., Our,

(by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 5) (Wherefore) all persons connected with Us, those born in their families and others should consent to this grant, (since) he has now been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys (the field), cultivates it and causes it to be cultivated according to the conditions for enjoying brahmadēya (land)."

(L. 8) The Dūtaka¹ is Nannabhaṭṭi. In the year 60 (and) 7, (in the month of) Jyēshṭha (and) the bright fortnight, (on the lunar day) 5.

(In the margin) Of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Svāmidāsa.

No. 3; PLATE II B

INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107

This copper-plate, like the preceding one of Svāmidāsa,² was in the possession of Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore, from whom it was obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The two plates were edited together by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 ff. and plates. I edit the record here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The present record also is on a single copper-plate and is incised only on one side of it, measuring 8.25" broad and 3.75" high. The plate has no ring-hole and does not appear to have ever had a seal attached to it. It has 9 lines of writing, of which the last one containing the royal sign-manual is incised in the margin on the left as in the case of Svāmidāsa's plate. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .5".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, generally resembling those of the preceding plate, though more cursive in form. The only peculiarities worth noting are—(i) medial \bar{t} (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions as also by a curve curling to the left; see samanujānīmā, l. 2; -kālīnam, l. 5 etc.; (ii) d and d are not clearly distinguished; see Bhuluṇḍaḥ, l. 1 and Skandō, l. 8; (iii) the jihvāmū-liya occurs in l. 6 and numerical symbols for 100, 10, 7 and 2, in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. The wording of the grant closely resembles that of the grant of Svāmidāsa. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

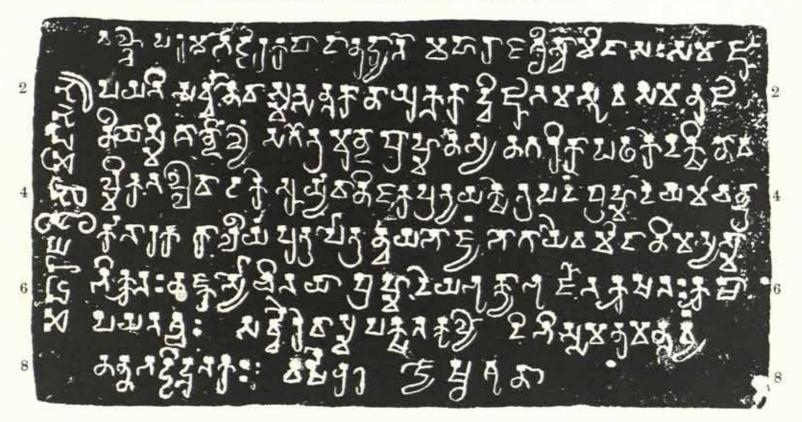
The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa. Like Svāmidāsa, he also describes himself as paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-āmudbyāta and therefore seems to have owed allegiance to some lord paramount.³ The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa, to the brahmadēya gift of a field belonging to one Khuddataka together with the surrounding kachebha (bank), to a Brāhmaṇa named Kusāraka, at the request of Āshāḍhanandin. The field was situated on the boundary of a place named Ulladana. Āshāḍhanandin seems to have purchased the field from the owner, donated it to the Brāhmaṇa, and applied to the king for the confirmation of the gift. The royal order was issued from Valkha. The record is dated in the year (varsha) 107 (expressed in numerical symbols only) on the 12th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. The Dūtaka of the grant was the Pratihāra Skanda. The plate is signed by the Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa in the margin on the left.

Dataka, also called Ajñapii in some grants, mentioned generally at the end of early copper-plate charters, was an officer charged with the execution of the royal order. Compare kārāvaka used in the same sense in a grant of the Vākāṭakas. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

² No. 2, above.

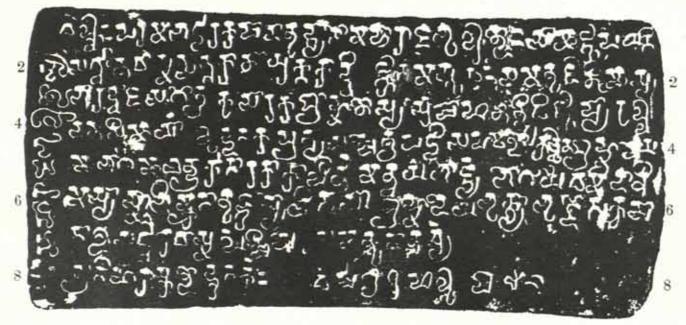
³ See above, p. 6.

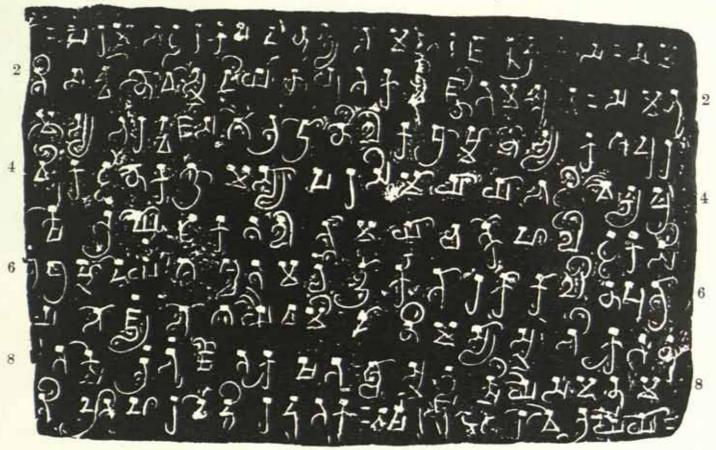
A .- INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67.



ACTUAL SIZE

B.—Indore Plate of Bhulunda: (Kalachuri) Year 107.





ACTUAL SIZE.

The close similarity in the characters, phraseology, royal sign-manual and mode of dating of the plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa and Bhulunda leaves no doubt that they originally came from the same part of the country, which, as already stated, was probably the Khandesh District. The date of the present plate must therefore be referred to the same reckoning, viz., the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., it corresponds, for the amānta Phālguna in the expired year 107, to the 4th March 357 A. C. The date does not admit of verification.

As for the places mentioned in the present record, Valkha, as shown before, is probably identical with Vāghlī near Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District. Ulladana may be the same as Udhli, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal. The description in the present plate that the field in Ulladana was granted together with the surrounding kachehha suits Udhli very well; for it is situated on the bank of the Tāpī.

TEXT2

- वल्लाः (ल्लात् ।) परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धचातो महाराजभुलण्डः समाज्ञापयित
- 2 सव्विनेवास्मत्सन्तका³नायुक्तकाद्वि⁴ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनुजानीमोस्य
- 3 भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसारकब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण (न) न्दिविज्ञाप्या⁵ उल्ल-
- 4 दन⁶सीमायां खुद्दतकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपट्टि (ट्टि) सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय-
- ममागमाचन्द्राकैतारकाकालीनंमन्वयभोज्यं⁷ भोगायैं श्विमदानी—
- 6 मस्यास्माभि×कृतानुज्ञस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[:*] कृषा-
- 7 तारच⁹ स[र्व्व]रेवास्मत्पक्षीयै¹⁰ समनुमन्तव्यं (व्यम्) [1*]
- 8 प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतक: [1*] वर्षे १०० ७ फल्गु¹¹ व १० २ [1*]
- 9 (In the margin) मा (म) हाराजभूल व्हस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From Valkha—Mahārāja Bhulunda, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhatṭāraka (Great Lord), issues the (following) command to all his 12 officers:—

(Line 2) "Be it known to you that at the request of Āshāḍhanandin, We (bereby) give Our assent to the entire brahmadēya gift of a strip of land consisting of the field belonging to Khuddataka, together with the surrounding kachehha (bank), on the boundary of Ulladana, to the Brāhmaṇa Kusāraka of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, to be enjoyed by (him and) his descendants as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(L. 5) (Wherefore), all persons connected with Us should consent to this grant, now

¹ Above, p. 6.

From the facsimile facing page 289, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV.

This should properly be सञ्जानेव स्वसन्तका-.

⁴ Read -नायुक्तकान्व-.

⁸ Read आषाढ्निन्दिविज्ञप्त्या.

⁶ Dr. Majumdar read ६ल्लदन, but the first akshara is clearly u. In ru, the curve should have been turned to the left, and another, turned downwards, added to the vertical stroke.

⁷ Read -कालीनमन्वयमोग्यं.

^{*} Read भोगाय । एविमदानी-.

⁹ Read कृपत-.

¹⁰ Read -स्मत्पक्षीयै:.

¹¹ Read फाल्ग्न.

¹² Lit., Our.

that he has thus been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys and cultivates the field according to the conditions for enjoying brahmadēya (land)."

The Dūtaka is Pratibāra Skanda,

(L. 8) In the year 100 (and) 7, in the month Phalguna (and) the dark fortnight, (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 2.

(In the margin) Of the Mahārāja Bhulunda.

No. 4; PLATE II C

SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117

This copper-plate was discovered in 1884, in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Sirpur¹ in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 98 ff. It is edited here from the same

lithograph.

It is a fragmentary plate, the extant piece measuring 7" broad and 4.5" high. It is intact at the top, the bottom and the right side; but from the left side a narrow piece, about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down, so that about three aksharas have been lost at the beginning of each line. There is no hole in the extant piece; and from the close resemblance which the record on this plate bears to the last two grants, it does not seem likely that there was any hole in the lost piece also. In any case no ring or seal was discovered with the plate. The present inscription is incised only on one side of it, but on the other side, Pandit Bhagvanlal found seven faintly cut shell-characters.

The inscription consists of nine lines. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .3". The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the plate of Mahārāja Svāmidāsa,² though they are somewhat more angular. Like the latter, they have knobs at the top of the letters. They include, in line 9, the symbols for 100, 10 and 7. In some cases we see an admixture of different forms; v, for instance, has generally the triangular form as in the inscriptions of Svāmidāsa and Bhulunda; see sarvvāņ=ēva in line 2 and bhōgāy=aiva in line 7; but in yāvat, l. 5, it has the same shape as in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. Pandit Bhagvanlal referred the present record to the beginning of the sixth century A. C., but in view of the earlier forms of some letters like d and m, I would date it about the middle or end of the fourth century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout. The wording of the grant resembles, mutatis mutandis, that of the preceding grants of Svāmidāsa and Bhulunda, but it is written very carelessly. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Rudradāsa. He describes himself as paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-āmudhyāta 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', which clearly indicates his feudatory status. The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by Mahārāja Rudradāsa, to the gift of a field named Ghōṭakatala situated on the western boundary of the village Vikaṭṭāṇaka. This village seems to have been included in the Kaśapura sub-division(?). The boundary of the field extended as far as Kōhalaṭṭaka, which may have been the name of a field or a village. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja gōṭra. The place of issue is not named in the extant portion. It must

2 Above, No. 2.

¹ This place-name is spelt as Shirpur in the Degree Map No. 46 K.

have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece on the left, and was, in all probability, Valkha. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue are still seen in the beginning of the first line, as on the plate of Bhuluṇḍa. The signature of Mahārāja Rudradāsa, which must have occurred in the margin on the left as on the plates of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, is also lost.

The inscription is dated in line 9 in numerical symbols which are carelessly incised. The intended date appears to be the third tithi of the month Vaišākha in the year 117.1 The fortnight has not been specified, but it may have been the bright one, as the tithi was probably akshaya-tritiyā (Vaišākha śukla tritīyā). The date is introduced with the word varsha as in the preceding two grants. In view of the close resemblance which the present grant bears to those of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.² According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early dates of the era, the present date would correspond, for the expired year 117, to the 18th April 367 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Vikaṭṭāṇaka may be Viṭnērā, about 20 miles south by east of Sirpur. The other places cannot be traced in the vicinity of Sirpur.

TEXT3

- [वल्खा*4]: परमभट्टरकपदनुद्धधतो⁵ महरजरुद्रदसः⁶ समा—
- 2 [ज्ञापय*7]ति सर्व्वाणेवा⁸समदीयानयुतक⁹[न्वि]ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनु-
- 3 [जानी*]मोस्य भरद्वज¹०सगोत्रद्रोणिलकद्राह्मणस्य कशपुरा—
- 4 [न्तर्गत*]विकट्टाणकग्रामस्यापरसीमाया (यां) या11 भट्टिवैद्यप्र-
- (त्ययं*) क्षेत्रं घोटकतलत्ताम¹² यावत्कोहलट्टकसी—
- 6 [मासन्धि^{13*}] ब्रह्मदेयं शाश्वतमचन्द्राकंतारकाकालीन्¹⁴ पुत्रा¹⁵—

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the date as 118, but the unit figure is 7, not 8. See the figure in No. 12, line 34, below.

² It may be noted here that Dr. Fleet also has, though doubtfully, referred to the Kalachuri era the date of this record, which he, following Pandit Bhagvanlal, read as 118. See Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii, p. 294.

³ From the photo-lithograph accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 f.

^{*}As the beginning of the second line shows, two or three letters are lost here and at the commencement of each subsequent line. The initial aksharas may have been Valkhā (for Valkhāt) as in the previous two grants. The horizontal stroke at the top of the second akshara can be marked in the upper left corner.

⁶ Read परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धचातो.

⁴ Read महाराजरुद्रदासः.

⁷ The aksharas marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets in the beginning of lines z-9 are supplied conjecturally on the analogy of the previous two grants.

⁸ Read सर्वानेवा-.

Read —नायुक्तकान्वि—.

¹⁰ Read भरद्वाज-.

¹¹ This akshara is redundant.

¹⁸ Read घोटकतलं नाम.

¹³ Bhagvanlal suggested – मासान्ध्यं here.

¹⁴ Read -माचन्द्राकैतारकाकालीन.

¹⁵ Read 97-.

- 7 [पौत्रान्व*]यभोज्यं भोगायैविमदानी भस्यास्माभि [:*] कृतन् 3-
- 8 [ज्ञस्यै*]तक्षेत्रं भुञ्जत[:*] कृषतः श्चा स्मत्पक्षीयै[:*] समनुम-
- 9 [न्तव्यिम*]ति [1*] प्रतिहरदोद्धिरदुतकं ।। वर्षे । १०० १० ७ वै तृयाया ।।

TRANSLATION

[From Valkha]9-Mahārāja Rudradāsa, who meditates on the feet of the Parama-

bhattaraka (Great Lord), issues the (following) order to all his10 officers-

"Be it known to you that We (bereby) give Our assent to the brahmadēya gift of a field, called Ghōṭakatala, which belonged (formerly) to Bhaṭṭi Vaidya, which is situated on the western boundary of the village Vikaṭṭāṇaka included in the Kaśaputa (sub-division?), extending as far as the boundary of Kōhalaṭṭaka, to the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja gōṭra, to be enjoyed (by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 8) (Wherefore), all persons connected with Us should consent to it while he is

enjoying and cultivating that field, (since) he has now been permitted by Us.

(This charter has been issued), the Pratihara Doddhira being the Dutaka, in the year 100 (and) 10 (and) 7, (in the month of) Vaisakha, on the third (lunar day).

4 Read कृषतस्चा-

* Read av. The following danda is superfluous.

¹ Read - HITH.

[&]quot; Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी-.

³ Read कृतानृज्ञस्यैतत्वेत्रं-

a Read प्रतिहारदोदिरद्वत . Some words like लिखितिमदं are required to be supplied here. See the concluding portion of Nos. 9, 11, 12, etc.

⁷ The unit symbol denotes 7, not 8 as supposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal; for it is exactly like the one used in l. 34 of the Abhōna plates of Sankaragana (No. 12).

⁸ Read वैशासन्तीयायाम्. Bhagvanlal suggested the reading द्वितीयायां which he thought was supported by the two dots at the end. But the latter may be a sign of punctuation like those after दूतकं.

[&]quot; See above, pp. 10 ff.

¹⁰ Lit., Our.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF MAHISHMATI

No. 5; PLATE III A

KANAKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 102

THE inscription was discovered by one of the Assistants of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India at Kānākhērā, a village near Sānchī in the Bhopal State, Central India.¹ It is now preserved in the Sānchī Museum. The inscribed stone was found built into a well. The record was first briefly noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year 1917-18, p. 37, and later edited by him in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 ff. It was re-edited by Mr. N.G. Majumdar, first in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol XIX (1923), pp. 337 ff., and later in the Monuments of Sānchī, Vol. I, pp. 392 ff. and Vol.III, Pl. CXXXIX. Mr. Majumdar corrected some mistakes in the transcript of Mr. Banerji and gave a different reading of the date at the end. The record is edited here from an excellent ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of six lines of writing, and covers a space, 6.75" broad and 2.5" high. It is in an imperfect state of preservation. Several aksharas towards the end of the first line have either become illegible or have been completely lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right edge of the stone. Besides, many more have been damaged in the middle of lines 4 and 5 by the flaking off of the surface of the stone. The size of the letters varies between 1.25" and .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. Their striking features are the elongated verticals of k, r and l, the beautiful superscript curves denoting medial i (short and long) and rarely medial ā, and the ornamental forms of the subscript y and r. The following peculiarities may be noted:—n and n have a loop in the lower part; see tridasa-gaṇa- and senāpatēr=, both in l.x; dh has generally an oval shape; see dharmma-vijayinā, l. 2, but its archaic form is also noticed; see Srīdharavarmmaṇā in the same line; y, though still tripartite, has a hook for its left limb; see -nāyaka- l. 2; and s has generally a short horizontal bar, but in ligatures it assumes a tripartite form; see śrāddhayā, l. 3 and śāśvatē, l. 4. On the evidence of palaeography, the inscription may be referred to the 4th century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record begins in prose, but is rounded off with a verse in the Sārdūlavīkrīdīta metre, composed in a good kāvya style. The influence of Prakrit is seen in the forms trayōdasamē and khānāpita. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following r; see Srīdbaravarmmaṇā, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Mahādandanāyaka Saka Srīdharavarman who was the son of the Saka Nanda. Though Srīdharavarman belonged to the Saka race, he was a follower of the Hindu religion; for he was apparently described in the mutilated line 1 as a worshipper of Svāmi-Mahāsēna (Skanda or Kārttikēya), the commander of the celestial army. The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by Srīdharavarman for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the acquisition of religious merit and fame, and the everlasting attainment of heaven.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 230.

The inscription contains in lines 2 and 3 the following date, viz., the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the victorious thirteenth year. This date is mentioned in close connection with the name of the Mahādaṇḍaṇāyaka Śrīdharavarman to whose reign it apparently refers, but Banerji thought that as Śrīdharavarman did not claim any royal title, it was extremely improbable that the year 13 was of his reign. He therefore referred the date to the reign of Jīvadāman, the father of Rudrasimha II and the founder of the third dynasty of the Satraps of Saurāshṭra, whose name, he thought, he could read in line 1. But, as Majumdar has shown, this view is untenable; for (i) the existing traces of letters in line 1 show that the correct reading of the passage where Banerji read the name of the Kshatrapa ruler is vīryy-ārijjita-vijaya³; (ii) no title like Śvāmin is prefixed to the name of Jīvadāman even according to the reading of Banerji; and (iii) the victorious thirteenth year mentioned in line 2 is described as augmenting the reign evidently of Śrīdharavarman who is named immediately before in that line. It seems therefore that Śrīdharavarman, though he held only the military title of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, was, to all intents and purposes, an independent ruler, since he does not mention any overlord in this epigraph.

There is another date towards the close of the record which has been differently read by Banerji and Majumdar. The former called attention to the two symbols which immediately follow the aforementioned verse in the Sārdālavikrīdita metre. The first of these, he thought, was 'the Western Kshatrapa symbol for 200 written at one stroke', while the second signified the unit. The date was thus 201 which Banerji referred to the Saka era and took as equivalent to 279 A. C. Mr. Majumdar, on the other hand, thought that the first sign had no resemblance to a 200 figure and that it was unlikely to be a numerical symbol since it was not introduced by a word like varsha or samvatsara. He, therefore, took it to be a sign of interpunction indicating the end of the verse. Mr. Majumdar, however, drew attention to the letter sa which occurs at some distance from this sign followed by 'apparently three numerical symbols'. He was not certain about the reading of the first of these, but took it tentatively as signifying 200. The other two signs he read as 40 and 1. The date of the epigraph was thus, according to Majumdar, 241. He referred this year to the Saka era and took it as equivalent to 319 A.C.⁵

Whatever may be the correct reading of this date, the attribution of it to the Saka era is not plausible; for there is no other early date of that era coming from either Eastern or Western Malwa. The Saka era was, no doubt, used by the Kshatrapas in Kathiawad, but no records of their rule have been found in Malwa. In fact Kshatrapa supremacy in Malwa seems to have terminated about the middle of the third century A.C.? It seems therefore better to refer the date to the so-called Kalachuri-Chedi era which was undoubtedly current in the adjoining Anūpa country as evidenced by the inscriptions of Subandhu.8

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, 231.

² J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 340 ff.

Banerji read here s-āditya-vīryya-Jīvadāma-.

⁴ An analogous instance is that of the Sunga Emperor Pushyamitra, who retained his military title of Sēnāpati to the last. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 57; Kālidāsa, Mālavikāgnimitra, Act. V.

⁵ J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XIX, p. 342.

⁶ Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar also gives this date doubtfully under the Saka era. See I.N.I., p. 144. The earliest date of the Saka era found in Central India is the year 784 in a Jain inscription from Deogad in the Jhansi District. I.N.I., No. 1085.

⁷ Kshatrapa copper coinage of the Malwa fabric ceases about 240 A.C. Rapson, C.A.D., Introd., p. cxxxiii.

⁸ Nos. 6 and 7, below.

The first of the two signs, which immediately follows the completion of the verse in line 6, is definitely not a sign of interpunction as supposed by Majumdar; for, so far as I know, such a sign is not used for this purpose anywhere else. Banerji seems to be right in taking it to be a numerical symbol,1 notwithstanding the unusual omission of an introductory word like varsha or sanivat. The symbol, however, signifies 100, not 200; for the horizontal stroke which is generally attached to the top of its vertical in order to convert it into a symbol for 2002 is not noticed in this case. This symbol is followed by two horizontal strokes, one below the other,3 signifying the unit figure 2. This is followed by some aksharas which are indistinct. The first appears to be sa and the last stu. They may be remnants of Siddham=astu.4

The date of the record is thus the year 102, which, being referred to the Kalachuri era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. The tenth tithi of amanta Svavana va. di. 10 in the expired year 102 fell on the 22nd July 352 A. C. The date does not admit of verification, but it is supported by the palæographical evidence stated above.

- सिद्धम्⁶ [।*] भगवतस्त्रिदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामिमहासेनमहा [कुमारस्य*⁷][दिव्य]— वीय्यर्जितविज[य*]....
- 2 धरमंतिजयिना शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्म्मणा व[र्षं श्रह]स्राय स्वरा-ज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे*]
- 3 श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्व्वकमेतिद्द्वसं¹⁰ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृ[द्धचर्यम]क्षयस्वग्गीवािप्तहेतोद्धंम्मं-यशोर्त्थं धम्मासिसंबद्धया श्रा(श्र)द्व[या*]
- 4 शास्त्रतो¹¹ चन्द्रा[दित्य¹²][कालि]कोयं......(।*)--- ००-¹³ प्रसन्नसलिल: सर्व्वाधिगम्य: सदा

See e.g. the symbol denoting hundreds in the plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8).

- 3 These strokes are rather indistinct in the plate accompanying Banerji's article in Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, but they appear clear in Pl. cxxxix of the Monuments of Sanchi, Vol. III, and also in the fresh estam-
- ⁴D. C. Sircar has suggested the reading swasty = astu. S.I., Vol. I, p. 181. It has, however, to be admitted that the first akshara shows no trace of the subscript p, and the second does not look like stya. Mr. Majumdar takes the last aksbara stu as a numerical symbol denoting 40. But see the forms of the symbol for 40 in Plate IX in Bühler's Indische Palaographie. The shape of that symbol is clearly different.

From an inked estampage.

This word is incised in the margin on the left, between lines 3 and 4.

7 These four aksharas are damaged but can be read from the traces left. The following two aksbaras divya are fairly clear. Banerji reads तेजसादित्य which yields no good sense. Majumdar first read s-ādtitya- and subsequently -tējab-prasādāt. See J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XIX and M.S., Vol I, p. 393.

8 Majumdar read [rsbsba], but as the aksbara is much defaced, it is difficult to say whether the consonant sh was reduplicated.

There are some traces of an akshara after sa, which may be of me as supposed by Banerji and Majumdar. Read त्रयोदशे.

10 Read दशस्यामेतहिवसे.

11 Read शास्वतं.

- 12 Banerji read चतु:सत्य-. and Majumdar चन्द्रसूर्य-. But the reading चन्द्रा- is quite clear. Besides, there is no trace of the medial # of s#. The correct reading appears to be चन्द्रादित्य-, which was later adopted by Majumdar.
- 18 These six aksharas are illegible. I would restore आकारेडप्रतिम:. The upper part of kā, the medial i of ti and the visarga are clearly seen.

¹ Majumdar's statement that this sign is not used as a numerical symbol is incorrect. As a matter of fact, it is the usual symbol denoting a hundred and is used in several records edited here. See, e.g. the dates of Nos. 3, 6, etc.

5 सत्वा (त्वा)नां प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धम्मी[भृतः¹] शाश्वतः (।*)---- [प्रणम्य मनसा द्रव्यस्य²] [कृत्वा व्ययम्*]

6 [क्]पः श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो[यं] शुभः³ (॥*) १०० २⁴[।*] [स] . .स्तु⁵ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! [This well], lasting for ever as long as the sun (and) the moon would endure, [has been excavated] by the Mahādanḍanāyaka Saka Srīdharavarman, the son of the Saka Nanda, the righteous conqueror, [who meditates on the feet of] the Great [Kumāra], the divine Lord Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya), the Commander of the celestial hosts, whose army has never been vanquished and who, by his celestial prowess, attained victories on this day (namely) the tenth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the victorious thirteenth year augmenting his dominion for a thousand years, [being actuated] by religious faith awakened by the sword of righteousness, for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the eternal attainment of heaven (and) the acquisition of religious merit and fame.

(Line 4) This excellent well containing clear water, [matchless in shape], which is always accessible to all, has an appearance pleasing to all living beings, and is a perennial store of water, has been caused to be excavated, for the acquisition of religious merit, by the meritorious Srīdharavarman, having mentally paid obeisance to (and) spent (a large sum of) money.

(L. 6) (The year) 100 (and) 2. May there be success !

¹ Banerji and, following him, Majumdar read -डेम्मॉमछ:, but the third akshara appears more like bb than m, and the following one has no resemblance to I. Besides, dharmāmalab has a queer comparison.

² These nine aksharas, read here for the first time, appear to be quite certain from the traces stillextant.

³ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

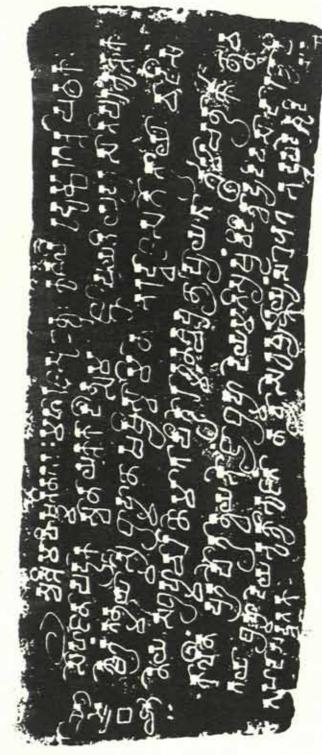
⁴ For the reading of these symbols, see above, pp. 14 ff.

^{*} Read सिद्धमस्तु.

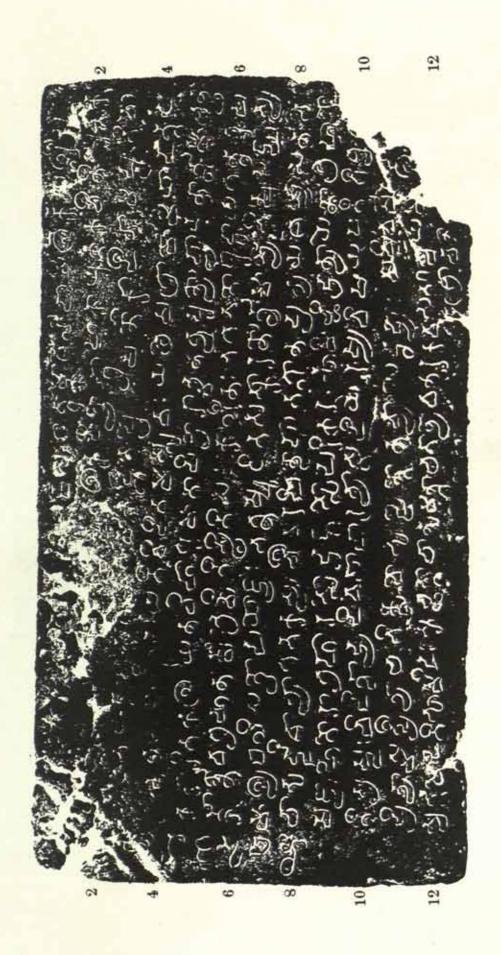


SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

B.—BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU: (KALACHURI) YEAR 167.



ACTUAL SIZE



No. 6; PLATE III B

BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU: (KALACHURI) YEAR 167

This Copper-plate was found in the Barwani District in Madhya Bhārat. Its exact findspot has not been recorded. The inscription on it was first noticed very briefly in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for 1924-25, and was later on edited, without any facsimile or translation, by Mr. R. R. Haldar in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 f. Its contents and date were discussed by me in an article entitled 'The Age of the Bāgh Caves' in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. The record is edited here from an excellent facsimile which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a single copper-plate and on one side of it, measuring 8" broad by 3.2" high. The plate has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of eight lines, of which the last, containing the sign manual of Subandhu, is incised in the margin on the left.

The characters resemble those of the so-called Indore plate of Svāmidāsa and have knobs or boxes at the top. The numerical symbols for 100, 60 and 7 occur in line 6. The language is Sanskrit. There is no admixture of Prakrit forms in the wording of the grant. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding and following r, see $gartt\bar{a}$ -pathakab, 1.1 and -paddrak \bar{e} , 1.2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Subandhu. Unlike Svāmidāsa and other princes of Khandesh, he gives no indication that he acknowledged the suzerainty of any other ruler, though, as shown below, his grant is probably dated in the same reckoning as theirs. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Mahārāja Subandhu, of a field owned by a person named Sāti in the village (padraka) Sōhajanā which was included in the pathaka of Udumbaragartā. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Shashṭhisvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. The order was issued from the city of Māhishmatī. As no word like vāsaka is attached to the place-name, Māhishmatī was probably the royal capital at the time. The Dūtaka was Guhadāsa. The royal sign manual Srī-Subandhōh occurs in the margin on the left as in the case of the Khandesh plates. The record is dated in the year 167 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era, on the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. The date does not admit of verification.

Mr. Haldar, who first edited the present inscription, referred its date to the Gupta era and took it as equivalent to 486 A.C.² He thought that *Mahārāja* Subandhu was a subordinate of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta whose Eran Stone inscription is dated in the Gupta year 165 (484-85 A.C.), i.e., just two years before the date of the Barwani grant.

This view, however, presents several difficulties. If Mahārāja Subandhu was a feudatory of the Guptas, it looks strange that he does not name his liege-lord or even generally refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas as in the grants of the so-called Parivrājaka Mahārājas. As a matter of fact, Gupta suzerainty seems to have received a setback in Central India in the second half of the fifth century A.C.; for we have several records from Mandasor and the adjoining places in the ancient Daśārṇa country, which are dated not in the Gupta era, but in the Mālava sanīvat. Further, we learn from the Bālāghāṭ plates of Prithivīshēṇa II (circa 470-90 A.C.) that the king of Mālava was one of the vassals of his father Narēndrasēna. If Daśārṇa and Mālava had broken away from the Gupta

¹ Above, Nos. 2 and 3.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 262.

Empire, it is not likely that Anūpa which lay further to the west continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy.\(^1\) The year 167 is not, therefore, likely to be of the Gupta era.

The general resemblance that the present grant bears to the three preceding grants from Khandesh in respect of characters, phraseology, royal sign manual etc., indicates that it belongs to the same period as the latter. The era in which these four grants are dated must therefore be identical. As shown above, the three grants from Khandesh are dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era founded by the Abhīra king Īśvarasēna in 249 A.C. The date of the present grant, if referred to the same era, would correspond to the 5th August 417 A.C. As stated above, it does not admit of verification.

Māhishmatī, from which the plate was issued, is generally identified with the holy place Onkāra Māndhātā on the Narmadā, in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradēsh. The description of the city given by the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his Raghwaniṣa (VI, 43), namely, that it was surrounded by the river Narmadā like a girdle, suits Onkār Māndhātā very well. Udumbaragartā, which was the chief town of a pathaka named after it, may be Umarbār, now a small village on the western border of the Barwani District. It lies on the Jharkhal, a small tributary of the Narmadā. Sohajanā may be Sejwānik, about 4 miles south-east of Barwani.

TEXT2

- सिद्धम्³ [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] माहिष्मितिनगरः महार(रा)जसुबन्धः कुशली उदुम्बर-गत्तिपथकः(के)
- सोहजनापद्के स्वानायक्तकादीन्समाज्ञापयित यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक—
- अंत्रं तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणपष्ठिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राया⁵ वा[जि]स-
- 4 नेय⁶सब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायता (ना) त्थंमाचन्द्राक्काण्णा (ण्णं) व—
- 5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं⁷ ब्रह्मदेयमितसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [।*]विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्योपि (चि)-
- 6 तया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुज (ञ्ज)तां न व्यासेघव्य×काय्य8(।*)सं १०० ६०७ भ (भा)द्रपदे [शु]दि स[प्त] [।*]
- गृहदासदूतक: [।*]
 (In the margin) श्रीसुबन्धो: [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the city of Māhishmatī—Mahārāja Subandhu, being in good health, issues the (following) order to his (officers), Ayuktakas and others, at the village (padraka) of Sohajanā in the pathaka (district) of Udumbaragartā:—

The field, which is at present enjoyed by Sāti here (i.e., at the village Sohajanā), has been granted by me as a brahmadēya gift to this Brāhmaṇa Shashthīsvāmin of the Bhara-

¹ For a detailed discussion of this matter, see my aforementioned article on the age of the Bagh Caves in I.H.Q., Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f.

From an excellent photograph of an inked estampage of the plate supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read माहिष्मतीनगरात्.

^{*} Read संगोत्राय.

a Read वाजसनेय.

⁷ Read पुत्रपीत्रान्वयभोग्यं.

⁸ Read व्यासेष×काय्यं: 1

dvāja gōtra who is a religious student of the Vājasanēya śākhā, (to be enjoyed by him) as long as the moon, the sun and the ocean would endure, for the increase of religious merit of my parents and myself.

(Line 5)—Having known (this), you should not cause from this day, (any) obstruction while he is enjoying it according to the condition of enjoying brahmadēya land.

(L. 6) (In) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 7, in (the month) Bhadrapada (and) the bright (fortnight), on the (lunar) day seven. The Dūtaka is Guhadasa.

(In the margin) Of the illustrious Subandhu.

No. 7; PLATE III C

BAGH CAVE PLATE OF SUBANDHU

This copper-plate was found in the debris of Cave No. II at Bāgh in Madhya Bhārat. The inscription on it was first brought to notice in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State for 1928-29, pp. 15 and 28. Its date was discussed by me in an article on the age of the Bāgh Caves published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. It is edited here from an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of the Archaeological Department of Madhya Bhārat.

The record is on a single copper-plate and, like the preceding inscription of Subandhu, it is incised on only one face of it, measuring 8.3" broad by 4.5" high. It has no ringhole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of fourteen lines, of which the last containing the royal sign manual is incised in the margin on the left. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the first three lines where a few aksharas in the upper left corner have now become illegible. Again, the plate has lost a small triangular piece with its two arms measuring 1.5" each in the lower right corner which has resulted in the unfortunate loss of an important portion of the grant mentioning its date. The size of letters varies from .15" to .3".

The characters are of the western variety of the South Indian alphabets resembling those of Svāmidāsa's plate¹ except that most of the letters have nail-heads instead of knobheads. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the length of the medial i is shown by a double curve as in the Vākāṭaka grants, see chīvara, 1.8, and that t, which is generally unlooped, shows a loop in āchchhettā 1.12. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following r, see chandr-ārkk-ārnnava-, ll. 5-6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Subandhu. The object of it is to register the grant, by Subandhu, of a village situated in the pathaka of Dāsilaka-pallī.² The grant was made for providing materials for the worship of the Buddha and maintaining an alms-house in the vihāra called Kalāyana,³ for repairing the broken and dilapidated portions of the vihāra and for supplying clothing, food, medicine, beds and

¹ Above, No. 2.

² The name of this pathaka was read at first as Datithakapalli. See A.R.A.D.G.S. for 1928-29, p. 28.
3 Kalāyana "the Abode of Art is a fitting name for the caves at Bāgh which, like those at Ajantā, are well known for their beautiful paintings. See Bāgh Caves published by the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.

seats to the Community of Venerable Monks hailing from all the four directions. The order was issued by the king personally from Māhishmatī which was evidently his capital at the time. His sign manual Mahārāja-Subandhōb occurs in the margin on the left as on the preceding Barwani plate.

The plate bore a date at the end of lines 12 and 13, but owing to the breaking off of a piece of it, only the name of the month Śrāvaṇa now remains. All other details are now lost. The date of the Barwani grant made by the same Mahārāja Subandhu shows, however, that the inscription can be referred to the early decades of the fifth century A.C. Māhishmatī, as stated before, is probably identical with Onkār Māndhātā in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradesh. Dāsilakapallī may be identical with Dēswāliā which lies about 14 miles almost due south of the Bāgh Caves.

TEXT1

- ा सिद्धम्2 (।*) [स्वस्ति] (।*)माहिष्मतीनगरान्महाराजसुबन्ध्xक्शली दासिलकपल्लीप-
- 2 [थके*]³ ग्रकांश्च (स्थान?)लकदित्योद्ग्राहकायुक्तकविनियुक्तक-
- 3 चाटभट[गो]ष्ठिकगमागिमकद्रतप्रेषणिकादीन्ग्रामप्रतिवा—
- 4 सिनश्च समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्त वः यथैष ग्रामो मया दत्तट-
- ऽ ककारितकला यनविहारे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायनात्थंमाचन्द्रा-
- 6 क्कीर्णावग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः भगवतो बुद्धाय गन्धधूप-
- 7 माल्यबलिसत्रोपयोज्यः भग्नष्फु (स्फु) दितसंस्का (स्क) रणात्वंमार्व्यभिक्षसङ्घस्य
- 8 चातुर्द्दिशाभ्यागतकस्य चीवरिपण्डपातग्लानप्रत्ययशेय्यासनभै—
- 9 षज्यहेतोराग्रहार⁸स्सोद्र ङ्गस्सोपरिकरः⁹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाग्रहारो¹⁰
- 10 तिसुष्ट: 11 विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्यास्मदीयैरष्य (न्य) विषयपतिभिश्च . . 12
- ग्रा प्रि(प्री)त्यास्मत्त्रीत्या च भिक्षवो भुञ्जन्तो न व्यासेद्वव्याः [1*] षष्टिवर्षसह . .¹³
- 12 स्वर्गो मोदित भूमिदः (।*) आच्छत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक (के) वसत (वसेत्) ।। स्वय-[माज्ञा] [।*] ¹⁴

(In the margin) महाराजसुबन्धो: [1*]

2 Expressed by a symbol.

¹ From an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bhārat.

³ About four aksharas are illegible here. They must have contained the name of the village granted.

⁴ The stroke denoting medial a of la is rather faintly seen in the impression, but it is there.

⁵ Read कालीनो.

⁶ Read भगवते.

⁷ Read -त्रोपयोज्यो.

^{*} Read -रग्रहार.

[&]quot; Read -स्सोपरिकरो.

¹⁰ This word is redundant. ¹¹ Read अतिसुध्ट इति विदित्वा

¹² Two aksharas are lost here. They may have been 444-

¹³ Two aksharas are lost here also. Read सहस्राणि.

¹⁴ Three or four aksharas appear to have been lost here. They must have been Sam followed by two or three numerical symbols denoting the year.

¹⁸ About four or five aksharas have been lost here. They must have contained the name of the fortnight followed by symbols denoting the tithi.

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From the city of Māhushmatī—Mahārāja Subandhu, being in good health issues the (following) order to Sthānalakas¹ (?), Dityōdgrāhakas,² Āyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Chāṭas, Bhaṭas, Gōshṭhikas³, Gamāgamikas⁴, Dūtapreshaṇikas,⁵ and others as well as villagers at...in the pathaka of Dāsilakapallī.

(Line 4) Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my parents and myself, this village has been granted by me together with udraiga and uparikara, as an agrahāra according to the maxim of waste land, in order that it may be used for (defraying the expenses of) perfume, frankincense, flowers and offerings as well as for maintaining an alms-house, for repairing broken and rent portions (of the vihāra) and for providing the Community of Venerable Monks coming from (all) the four quarters, with clothing, food, nursing of the sick, beds, seats as well as medicine in the Monastery called Kalāyana (the Abode of Art) caused to be constructed by Dattaṭaka, as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, planets, constellations and the earth would endure.

(L. 10) Having known this, our officers and rulers of other countries should not cause obstruction out of their love [for religion] and regard for us, while the monks (of this Vihāra) are enjoying (the village).

(Here occurs a benedictive and imprecatory verse.)

(L. 12) My own command in (the month) Srāvaņa (In the margin) Of the Mahārāja Subandhu.

¹ I have not come across the name of this officer elsewhere. His name appears like that of the officer Purillaka mentioned in the recently discovered plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja.

² Dityödgrābaka was the collector of the royal cess called ditya which is mentioned in the records of the Guriaras. For chāṭa and bhaṭa see below, p. 43, n. 12.

3 Gösbthikas were members of the Managing Committee. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 332 f.

⁴ Gamāgamikas were officers who issued passports for egress and ingress. See also No. 25, l. 19.
⁵ Dūtaprēshaņikas were officers who despatched dūtas.

the following meanings:—the place where anything is kept, a store-room or receptacle. S-ōdranga in this sense would correspond to sa-sibaram in 1. 12 of No. 20, below; but it is noteworthy that it is mentioned there in addition to the latter. S-ōdranga and s-ōparikara are generally used together to qualify the village or the land granted. They correspond to sa-klipta and s-ōpaklipta which occur in a similar context in other records. In line 17 of the Hyderabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Pulakēšin II (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73) the expression sa-kliptah s-ōparikarah is used in place of s-ōdrangah s-ōparikarah which shows that udranga has the same meaning as klipta. Kautilya's Arthasāstra (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) mentions klipta as one of the sources of royal income. Its derivation from klip to fix seems to point to the meaning of 'fixed assessment'. Udranga which, as shown above, is a synonym of klipta, has therefore probably the meaning of a land-tax.

⁷ Uparikara is the counterpart of antab-kara or antar-āya, which is mentioned in some southern records. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 27. It seems therefore to denote an external or additional tax, probably levied in kind such as is mentioned in the MSM., adbyāya VII, vv. 130-32. It corresponds to bhōga

mentioned in some early records. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8.

8 Bbūmi-ebebbidra is explained in the lexicon Vaijayanti as krishy-ayōgyā bbūb i. e., land unfit for cultivation. The person, who brought such land under cultivation by cutting down trees etc., became the owner of it. Cf. stbānu-ebebbēdarya kēdāram in MSM., adb. IX, v. 44. Bbūmi-ebebbidra-nyāyēna therefore means 'with full proprietary rights'.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS

No. 8; PLATE IVA

PARDI PLATE OF DAHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 207

PARDI is the headquarters of a tālukā of the same name, 50 miles south of Surat, in the Surat District of the Bombay State. The present plates, which were found in 1884 in the course of digging a tank at Pārdī, were first brought to notice by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji who edited them with a translation, but without a lithograph, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff. They were subsequently published, with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X, pp. 51 ff. I edit them here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

'The plates are two in number, each measuring about 913 by 3". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but, as may be seen from the facsimile, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. They are somewhat thin, so that the letters, though not very deep, show through on the backs of them, to such an extent that some of them can be read there. The interiors of the letters show the marks of the working of the engraver's tool.

"There is no ring of the ordinary kind, with a seal on it. But at each of the two ringholes the plates were held together by a long copper wire, \(\frac{1}{8}\)" thick in the thickest part, which, after being passed through the ring-holes, had its ends twisted over and round and round so as to form a kind of complicated tie, without the ends being soldered together. As the ring-holes are not much larger than the wires, and as the plates appear to have been secured as soon as they were discovered, it would seem that these wires are the means by which the plates were fastened together ab initio.

"The weight of the two plates is 31 tolas, and of the two wires 11 tolas; total, 321 tolas=123 oz."

The record consists of nine lines only, of which four are inscribed on the first and the remaining five on the second plate. The outer sides of the plates are blank. The engraver seems to have found the metal somewhat hard to work upon; his tool seems to have slipped occasionally (see e.g., kh of Vaišākha 1.9) and his strokes and curves are not properly formed. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. Most of the letters have knobs at the top. The mātrās for the medial ā, ē and ai generally appear above the line (see e.g., skandhāvārād- and Traikkuṭakānām both in 1.1), while those for the medial ō appear as a horizontal stroke on either side, see karmmakarō, 1.2, pitrōr-, 1.4, yašō-, 1.5 etc. Medial au, which occurs only once, is bipartite as in Vākāṭaka records, see pautr-, 1.6. No distinction is made between the short and the long medial i. The signs for medial short and long u are added to the right of the vertical stroke in some cases and to its left in others. As instances of the former, see śuddha, 1.9 and bhūmidaḥ, 1.8 and for those of the latter, notice pād-ānuddhyātō, 1.1 and dūtakam-, 1.8. The curve for medial ri is curled in pitri 1.1, but in other cases (as e.g. in-bhivriddhayē, 1.5, samatisrishtō and kṛishatō in 1.6), it is exactly like that for r. The right hand hook of n is added to its subscript ch which is open on the left, see uktañ=cha, 1.7. The subscript

¹ From Dr. Fleet's description of the plates in Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 51.

n appears in two forms, see Nanna, 1.3 and -ārnnava-, 1.5. The superscript n is unlooped in -antarggata, 1.4. The sign for b has a round top in brāhmaṇa-, 1.3. Sh generally appears with a notch in its left limb, see shashṭi-, 1.7, but notice its subscript form in kshiti, 1.5. The sign for the jihvāmūlīya occurs in ll.6 and 7, and the numerical symbols for 200, 10, 7 and 3 in 1.9.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse towards the close, the record is in prose throughout. Attention may be drawn to the word santaka in 1.2 which is used here as in Vākāṭaka records in the sense of an official, and bhōjya, 1.6 which, contrary to Pāṇini VII, 3, 69, is employed in the sense of what is to be enjoyed. The expression Buddhagupta-dūtakam in 1.8, which is evidently copied from an earlier record where it must have qualified some word like likhitam, is here wrongly connected with ājñā. As regards orthography we may note that a consonant following r, with the exception of sh, is doubled in several cases, see karmmakarō, 1.2, -ārṇṇava, 1.5, etc. Similarly dh is doubled before y in anuddhyāta, 1.1. Rules of sandhi have either not been observed, or violated in a few cases, see svāmina atr-, 1.3, -bhivriddhayē ā-, 1.5, and kṛishatō pravišata-, 11.6-7.

The plates were issued from the victorious camp at Āmrakā by Mahārāja Dahrasēna (of the dynasty) of the Traikūṭakas. The object of the inscription is to record the donation, by Dahrasēna, of the village Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā in the Antar-Maṇḍalī vishaya to the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura. The grant was made for the increase of religious merit and glory of the king and his parents. The dūtaka was Buddhagupta.

The date of the grant is given in line 9 as the thirteenth tithi (expressed both in words and in numerical symbols) of the bright (fortnight) of Vaišākha in the year 207 (expressed in numerical symbols only). The palaeography of the present inscription leaves no doubt that this date refers to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year² 207, to the 23rd April 457 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Dahrasēna calls himself Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. He was, therefore, a worshipper of Vishņu. He is identical with Dahrasēna, the son of Indradatta, 'the most devout worshipper of Vishņu', whose silver coins were discovered at Daman in the Surat District, Kāzad in the Indāpur tālukā of the Poona District, Karāḍ near Sātārā and some other places.³ He was apparently an independent king, as he is said, in the present grant, to have performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice.

The localities mentioned here were identified by Dr. Fleet.⁴ According to him the Antar-Maṇḍalī vishaya denotes 'the district of the territory between' the rivers Miṇḍhōlā on the north and the Pūrṇā on the south. I would rather take the expression to mean the district on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī (modern Miṇḍhōlā) river on the

¹ Santaka and bhōjya occur in the earlier records also. See e.g. Nos. 2 and 3, 1. 2,

The date was first calculated by Dr. Fleet. It would correspond to the 4th April 456 A.C. if the year is taken to be current. In the case of the early records of the Kalachuri era, Nos. 1-34, the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C.

^a Rapson, C.A.D. Introd., p. clx, f. n. 2. On some coins the name appears as Dahragana, from which Rev. R. Scott conjectured that the king altered the termination of his name from sina to gana at an early period of his reign. But even in the later Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna his name appears as Dahrasēna. As Rapson has pointed out, some letters of the coin legends have assumed conventional forms, which has caused the confusion: See Rapson, C.A.D. Introd., pp. clxii f.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 53

analogy of Antar-Narmadā vishaya mentioned in the Sunao Kalā plates of Sangamasimha.1 Kāpura² is a village of the same name, three miles south-south-west from Vyārā the head-quarters of the Vyārā subdivision of the Surat District. Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā means Smaller Tadākāsārikā and may be represented by 'Tarsāri, fifteen miles almost due west of Kāpura and about half way between the Mindholā and the Pūrņā'. Āmrakā, where the king's camp was fixed, cannot be definitely identified as there are several villages of the name Ambachh or Ambachh in the neighbourhood, but of them the nearest to Kāpura is Ambachh, about 2 miles towards the south-west.

TEXT3

First Plate

- स्वस्ति [1*] विजयस्कन्यावारादाम्प्रकावासकात्त्रैक्क्टकानां मातापितपादानृद्धचातो भग-
- वत्पादकम्मंकरोश्वमेधाहर्ता श्रीमहाराजदह्नसेनः सञ्जनिवास्मत्सन्तकानन्त-
- म्मण्डलि⁵विषयवासिनस्समाज्ञापयति यथा कापूरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणनण्णस्वामिन⁶
- अत्रैव विषयान्तर्गतकिन यस्तडाकासारिकाग्रामो मा[ता]पि त्रो]रात्मनश्च पृण्य-

Second Plate

- प्रशोभिवद्वये आचन्द्र (न्द्रा)क्र्काण्णंव[क्षि]तिस्थितिकालिका इचोरराजापत्थ्यकारिवर्जं ?
- 6 सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहारेण प्त्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹0स्समितसुष्टो यतोस्य भुञ्जतxकृषतो¹¹
- 7 प्रविशतश्च न कनचि¹² प्रतिषेधxकार्य्यं इत्युक्तञ्च¹³ भगवता व्यासेन [1*] पष्टिवर्षसहस्रानि¹⁴
- 8 स्वर्गों वसति भिमद: [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति¹⁵[11*] बढुगप्त-दुतकमाज्ञा16
- 9 सं २०० ७ वैशाखशृद्धत्रयोदश्या १० ३ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Amraka, the illustrious Maharaja Dahrasena (of the family) of the Traikūtakas, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat and who has performed an Asvamedha, issues the following order to all his18 officials residing in the vishaya (district) of Antar-Mandalī.

¹ Below, No. 11.

² As Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out (J. B. B. R. A.S., p. 346), this is identical with Kapura mentioned as the chief town of an abara in two Nasik cave inscriptions.

³ From the facsimile facing p. 53 in Ep. Ind., Vol. X.

⁴ Read त्त्रेकटकानां.

⁵ Read -नन्तरमण्डली-.

Read स्वामिनेत्रैव.

⁷ Read कनीय-.

⁸ Read 事情事一.

^{*} Some expression like अचाटभटप्रावेश्य: is omitted after चोरराजापतथ्य-. See text of No. 9, lines 10-11, p. 27, below. 10 Read भोग्यस्समतिस्ष्ट: । यतो-.

¹¹ Read क्षत : .

¹² Read प्रदिशतस्य न केनचित्.

¹⁰ Read कार्य इति । उक्तञ्च.

¹⁴ Read सहस्राणि.

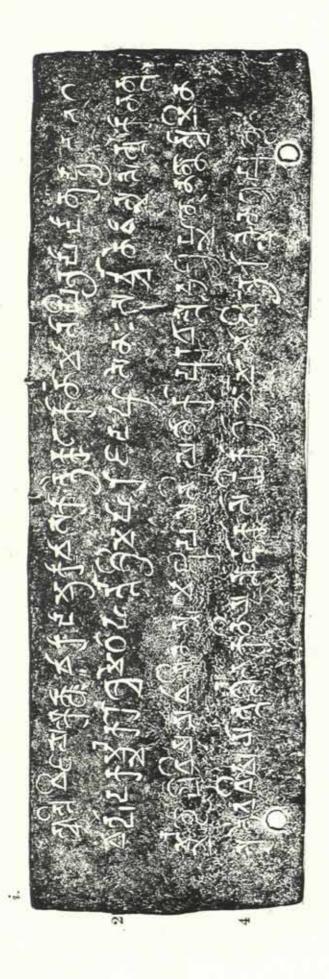
¹⁵ Read बसेत्। इति । Metre: Anusbtubb.

¹⁶ Read बृद्धगुप्तदूतकाज्ञा.

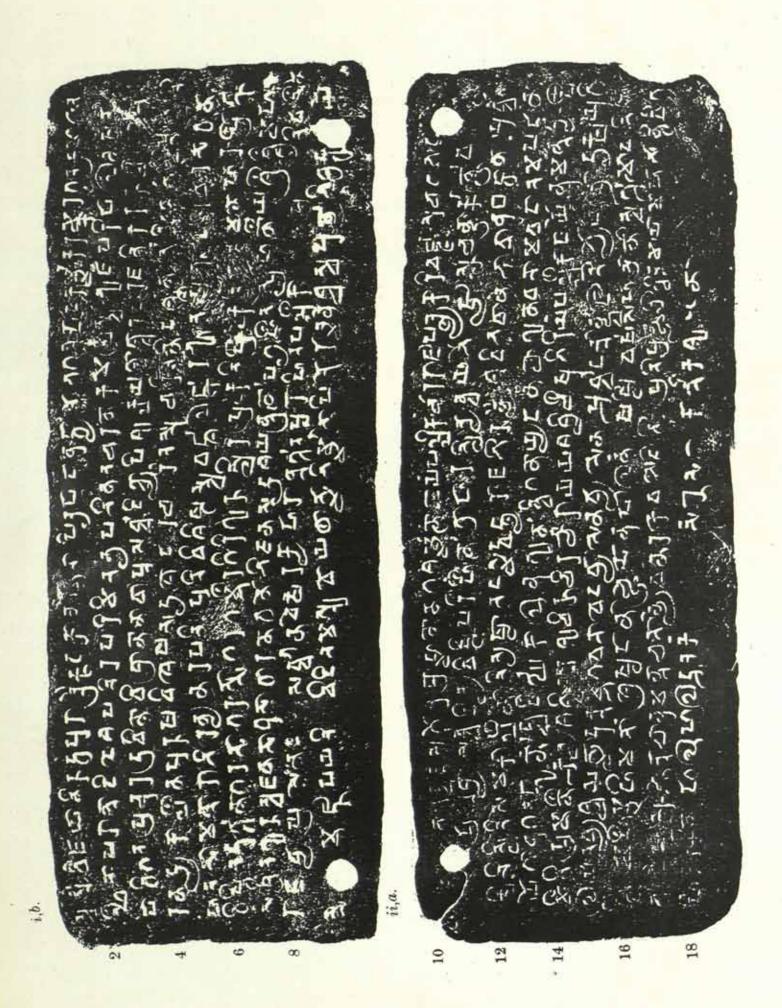
¹⁷ Read त्रयोदस्यां.

¹⁸ Lit. our.

A.—PARDI PLATES OF DAHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 207.







(Line 5) For increasing the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, the village Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā (Smaller Taḍākāsārikā), situated in this very vishaya, has been conferred (by Us) on the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura, for as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas¹) except (to punish) thieves and rebels, to be exempt from all taxes (ditya) and forced labour (and) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons.

(L. 6) Wherefore, none shall cause obstruction while he enjoys, cultivates and assigns (this village).

(Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse).

(L. 8) (This) order (is issued), Buddhagupta being the dūtaka, (in) the year 200 (and) 7, on the thirteenth, (in figures) 10 (and) 3, (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Vaisākha.

No. 9; PLATE IV B

SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 241

The plates were first brought to notice by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S., in a note which he added to Rev. H. R. Scott's article entitled 'Traikūṭaka coins from the Poona District' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently edited with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff. I edit the inscription here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

The copper-plates were found at Surat, 'They are two in number, each measuring between 9½ and 9½ inches in breadth and about 3½ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍī plates there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.²² The record consists of eighteen lines, nine being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is about .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Pārḍī plates³. Attention may be drawn here to the following additional peculiarities. The medial ā which is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right is brought down like a vertical stroke in -ārāti-, 1.5, while in the case of m and l it is shown by a curve attached to the bottom of the letter, see pramāṇī-, 1.14, Hālāhala, 1.18. Notice also the curve denoting the mātrā for medial ā and ā in the case of m and n in śarmmaṇē, 1.10 and mādati, 1.16. The length of medial ī is in some cases (e.g., in trī-Mahārāja, 1.7) indicated by a dot and in others (e.g., in pallīkā-, 1.14), it is indicated by two curves turned in opposite directions. The medial ri is generally denoted by curled curve, but in one case (viz. pramāṇīkritya, 1.14) the vowel is shown by a curve

¹ See above, p. 24, n. 9 Chāṭas and bhaṭas were charged with the maintenance of peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers. See below, p. 43, n. 12.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 219.

³ Above, No. 8.

turned downwards and added to the left of the vertical. The subscript th is shown by a double curve open on the left, see sthira, 1.6 and sthiti, 1.12. The sign for the jihvāmūliya occurs in 1.1, and that for the upadhmānīya occurs in 11.4, 5, 6 and 14. The numerical symbols for 200, 40, 10, 5 and 1 occur in 1.18.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. In copying the formal part of the grant from previous records, the official draftsman has forgotten to change the genders of some adjectival expressions to make them conform to the feminine name of the donated village. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the anusvāra is in most cases correctly replaced by a class nasal, but in vansā, 1.5 and vansya, 1.12 it is wrongly changed to the guttural nasal. The consonant following r is doubled in such cases as karmma, 1.1, sarvva, 1.3 dīrggha, 1.13 and that preceding y is doubled in -anuddhyātō, 1.1 and rāj-āpatthya, 1.10.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (of the dynasty) of the Traikūṭakas from the victorious Aniruddhapura. The king is described as the servant of the feet of Bhagavat (i.e., Vishņu) and the lord of the Aparānta and other countries. Aparānta is North Konkan, the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats. It is, therefore, interesting to read in line 6 that the king had stationed an army of many great warriors to guard the sea as well as forts and towns.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Vyāghrasēna, of the village Purōhitapallikā in the Iksharakī āhāra to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bharadvāja gōtra. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents. The writer of the grant was the Mahāsāndhivigrahika Karka and the dūṭaka, Hālāhala.

The date is expressed in numerical symbols only in 1.18 as the fifteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika of the year 241. Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna of the present plates who was a devotee of Vishņu is clearly identical with the Paramavaishņava Vyāghrasēna whose silver coins have been found at Kāzad in the Indāpur Taluka of the Poona District¹ and other places² in Western India. From these coins which resemble those of Dahrasēna, we learn that he was the son of Mahārāja Dahrasēna. The date of the present plates, therefore, must, like that of the Pārdī plates, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 249, to the 14th October 490 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Aparānta, Ariake of Ptolemy and the Periplus, is, as already remarked, identical with North Konkan. As the Traikūṭakas were ruling over Aparānta, Trikūṭa, their home land, must have been situated in the west. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta and the lexicographer Kēśava gives Sahyādri as a synonym for Trikūṭa. The victorious Aniruddhapura was probably the Traikūṭaka capital as no word like vāsaka (camp) is attached to it. As Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, it is probably identical with

³ If the year 249 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 25th October 489 A.C. As the Kalachuri year began on Karttika su. di. 1, the date of the present plates (Kārttika su. di. 15)

cannot in any case fall in 491 A.C., as supposed by Hultzsch.

¹ J. B. B. R.A.S., Vol. XXIII, p. 2. For the latter part of the name which Rev. R. Scott read as gana, see above, p. 23, n. 4.

² J.R.A.S. (1905), pp. 801 ff.

⁴ Cf. Sahyāchalas=tu Mūrddhādris=Trikūṭas=Trikakuch=cha saḥ. Kalpadrukōśa (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vol. I, p. 342. For the exact location of Trikūṭa, see below, No. 31, l. 38.

the victorious Aniruddhapurī mentioned in the Bagumrā plates¹ of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. He identified it with Sūrpāraka, Sopārā in the Thāṇā District, on the authority of the lexicon Vaijayantī.² But the statement in the lexicon only places Sūrpāraka in the Aparānta country. It does not state that it was the capital of Aparānta at any time, much less at the time of the Traikūṭakas. Besides, the mention of Aniruddhapurī as the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee of the Bagumrā grant indicates that it should be looked for not very far from the donated village which was near Bagumrā. It was, therefore, probably situated in South Gujarāt. I have not, however, been able to trace any placename similar to it in that part of the country. Purōhitapallikā, the donated village, is probably identical with Pāl, two miles to the west of Surat.³ Iksharakī, the headquarters of the āhāra in which it was situated, is probably represented by Achchhāran, about 9 miles north of Surat.

TEXT 4

First Plate

- स्वस्ति [।*] विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्त्रैकूटका[नां] [म]।तापितृपादानुद्धचातो भग[व]त्पादकम्मैकर—
 प्रकरगतकमागत—
- 2 स्फीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितन्पतिनतचरणकम[लस्स्व]भुजपरिपालन[प्र]ता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तसर्व्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्लयशाश्शा[रद]रजनिकररु[चिरवपु]—
- 4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचरितस्सुचरितनिदशंना[त्थंमि]व [निर्मित×प्रति]-
- 5 हतसामन्तारातिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्स्ववङ्शा⁵लङ्कारभृत[×प्रभृतप्रवी]रसाधना-
- 6 धिष्ठितदुर्गंना (न) गर⁴सागरस्सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृति≍प्रकृ[तिजन]मनोहर≍प्राज्ञ—
- त्र संश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्पृहणीयश्रीकश्रीमहा—
- १ राजव्याध्यसेनः सर्व्वानवे⁷क्षरक्याहारान्तग्गंतपुरोहितपल्लीकाप्रतिवासीनो⁸—
- 9 स्समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिम्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 10 [भरद्वाज]सगोत्रब्राह्मणनागशर्म्मणे इयं पल्लिका चोरराजापत्थ्यकारिवर्ज्जं अचाटभट-
- 11 प्रा[वे]श्या सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणो¹¹ग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या ¹²आचन्द्रार्क्काण्णंव-
- 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनो 13ितसृष्टा [1*] तदस्मद्वङ्श्य 14राजिभरन्यैश्च विभवानभावानुबद्धा— नायुर्व्यि—

¹ Below, No. 26, line 25.

Cf. Aparāntās=tu pāschātyās=tē cha Śūrpārak=ādayaḥ cited by Mallinātha on Raghuvainfa, Canto IV, v. 53.

³ From the name *Purōhitapallikā* of the donated village, Dr. Hultzsch inferred that the donee Nāgašarman was the king's family priest (*purōhita*). But the conjecture appears improbable, as the village bore the name even before the grant.

⁴ From the facsimiles facing page 221 of Ep. Ind., Vol. XI.

s Read वंशा-

⁶ Dr. Hultzsch reads नगर but the sign of the medial ā is clean in his lithograph.

⁷ Read सर्वानेवेश....

^{*} Read पिल्लकाप्रतिवासिन-...The length of ī in pallīkā is quite clear in the lithograph.

⁹ Read शम्मंण इयं.

¹⁰ Read वर्जमचाट-

¹¹ Read परिहीणाम्राहार....

¹³ Read कालीनाति...

¹⁴ Read - 194-.

- 13 योगानुगतङ्गणांश्च दीर्ग्यकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-
- मिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिक्चिरिङ्चराय यशिक्चिषुभिरियं¹ पल्ली (ल्लि)कादायो-नुमन्तव्य

 पा—
- छियतव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तम्भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्व्वदत्तान्द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]—
 द्रक्ष युधि—
- 16 [ष्ठिर][।*] महीम्मिह्मतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्)² [।।१।।*] षष्टिवर्षंसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति
- 17 [भूमिदः] [1*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति (वसेत् ॥२॥ इति) प्रतिपृच्छच लिखितं मया महासान्धिवग्र-
- 18 [हिककक्कें]ण हालाहलदूतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious Aniruddhapura,—the illustrious Maharaja Vyaghrasēna (of the family) of the Traikūtakas—who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat; who is the lord of the Aparanta and other prosperous countries acquired by his arms and (of those) inherited (by him); whose lotus-like feet are bowed to by countless kings; whose bright fame, acquired by bestowing (in charity) abundant wealth obtained by the protection (of his subjects) with his arm (as well as) by his prowess, has pervaded all quarters; whose body is lovely like the autumnal moon; whose noble actions resemble those of distinguished men of bygone times; who has been created as if to show an example of good conduct; who has overcome neighbouring foes; who is more distinguished than other kings; who is an ornament of his family; who, by his armies of many great warriors, has occupied forts, cities and seas; who by nature is as grave as the sea (is deep), and as firm as (Himālaya,) the chief of mountains; who is naturally attractive to people; whose wealth is shared by learned men, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons; whose enviable fortune is allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth - issues this order to all residents of Purohitapallikā included in the Iksharakī āhāra.

(Line 9)—"Be it known to you, that for augmenting the religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, We have given this village, (which is) not to be entered by policemen and soldiers except for (arresting) thieves and rebels, which is exempt from all taxes and forced labour, (and is) to be enjoyed as an agrahāra by his descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bharadvāja gōtra.

(L. 12) "Therefore, considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are noble deeds, kings born in our family and others, (who are) desirous of accumulating, for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this gift of the village."

(L. 15) For, the holy Vyāsa, who arranged the Vēdas, has said— (Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses).

¹ Read -रयं.

² Metre of this and the next verse: Anusbtubb.

(L. 17) Having inquired again (about the details of the grant) I, the Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika Karka, have written (this charter), Hālāhala being the dūtaka.

The year 200, 40 (and) 1, (the month) Kārttika, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

No. 10; PLATE V A

KANHERI PLATE OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS: (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

Kanheri is situated on the island of Salsette, about twenty miles from Bombay. It is well-known for its numerous Buddhist caves. The place was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who has left us a description of a five-storeyed cave temple there. The present plate was discovered in 1839 by Dr. James Bird. He gives the following account of its discovery in his article entitled 'the opening of the Topes at the caves of Kānari and the relics found in them', which was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. X, pp. 94 ff. 'Immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small Thopas or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stone at the base. They were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stones. Several years ago I thought of opening some of them, in expectation of obtaining coins or other relics; but found no favourable opportunity until lately, when several lengthened visits in company with Dr. Heddle gave me the desired means of doing so.

'The largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet in height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. After digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were small ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper-plates containing legible inscriptions in the Lath or cave character, accompanied the urns and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper-plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed.'

Dr. Bird kept the plates with himself and published a small lithograph in his Historical Researches. He subsequently wrote the aforementioned article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was accompanied by an eye-copy of the record with an interlinear transcription in Dēvanāgarī and an English translation. Later on Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D., attempted a transcript and a translation from the same eye-copy, as the plate could not be traced after Dr. Bird's death. His article was published in July 1853 in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, pp. 10 ff. The work of both Dr. Bird and Dr. Stevenson was very imperfect, though the former recognised that it was a Buddhist inscription and the latter gave a correct reading of its date. The record was first correctly read by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji with his wonted ingenuity, from the eye-copy published in the J.A.S.B. His transcript, which was accompanied by an English translation and an enlarged facsimile of Dr. Bird's lithograph, was published in the Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, pp. 56 ff. The plate is edited here from the same facsimile. It will be seen that the transcript given here differs from Pandit Bhagvanlal's text in very few places.

The record consists of nine lines written breadthwise on one side of the plate.¹ The latter does not seem to have been properly cleaned before Dr. Bird's facsimile was prepared; for several curves, mātrās and anusvāras, which were probably filled with verdigris on the original plate, do not appear at all in the lithograph. In making the transcript given below I have, however, taken the lithograph to be an accurate copy of the original plate, as it is now impossible to say which of the mistakes in the lithograph are due to the fault of the copyist.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other Traikūṭaka plates. The only points worth noticing are that the length of the medial i is denoted by a curve curling to the right in kshīrōdaḥ, 1.7 and to the left in kshīra-tōyō in the same line; the medial i is shown in a peculiar way in ghūrnṇat-, 1.7; the sign for the upadhmānīya occurs in 1.2 and that for the jihvāmūlīya in 1.7. The language is Sanskrit and except for a verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following r is reduplicated in many cases; see e.g., pravarddhamāna-, 1.1, -antarggata-1.2, etc., and that v is doubled seemingly after an anusvāra in $sa[m^*]vvatsara$, 1.1.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous regime of the Traikūṭakas and records that in the year two hundred and forty-five (expressed in words only) Buddharuchi, the son of Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman and a devoted servant of the holy Sākya Sage (Buddha) and the venerable monk who heard his law, who hailed from the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu vishaya, erected at Kṛishṇagiri the Chaitya, in which the plate was found, and which he dedicated to the venerable Sāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the great sage (Buddha). After invoking the blessings of gods, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyādharas, Māṇibhadras, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañchika, Vajrapāṇi, etc., the record closes with the hope that the fame of Pushyamitra's son (i.e., Buddharuchi) would last as long as the milky ocean, the Mēru mountain and rivers would endure. The last line contains only two letters which seem to read dāḍhā and perhaps refer to the tooth relic of Sāradvatīputra on which the stūpa was erected.

Pandit Bhagvanlal, who first read correctly the dynastic name Traikūṭaka, connected it with the expression containing the date, and understood it to mean the two hundred and forty-fifth year of the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas. He, therefore, thought that he had found in the present plate a clear statement that the era known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era was founded by the Traikūṭakas, who, in later times, assumed the dynastic name of Haihaya or Kalachuri². This view was at first accepted by Fleet³, but later on⁴ he pointed out in his article on the era that the real meaning of the expression, in accordance with an early Hindu method of expressing dates, may just as well be 'during the augmenting sover-eignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 (of an unspecified era).' As a matter of fact, we find no dynastic or regional name associated with the era till the eleventh century A.C. The date of the present inscription would correspond to 493-94 A.C. or 494-95 A.C., according as the year 245 was current or expired. It does not contain any details for calculation.

¹ No details about the plate, e.g., its breadth, height and weight, have been recorded,

² See his article 'Two new grants of the Traikūṭaka dynasty' in the P.V.O.C., pp. 222 ff.

^{*}D.K.D. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II), pp. 294-95.

⁴ See his article 'Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi Era', J.R.A.S. (1905), pp. 566 ff.

As for the localities mentioned in this inscription, Krishnagiri is evidently Kanhēri, and Sindhu vishaya the district of Sindh in North India. The village Kāṇaka, from which Buddharuchi hailed, I am unable to identify.

TEXT1

- नमस्सर्व्व[ज्ञ]य ॥ तत्र (त्रै) कूटकाना (नां) प्रवर्द्धमानराज्य (ज्ये) स³व्वत्सरशतद्वये पञ्चचत्वा— रि(रि) शदुत्तरे कृ [ण्ण] गिरिमहाविहारे
- 2 सि[न्धु]⁴विषया[न्तर्गं]तग्रा⁵मिकाणकवास्तव्य[:*] सुप्रभायाः बुद्धश्रियाद्रपुष्यवम्मंणक्च [पु?]त्रो दशवलवल(लि)-
- 3 नो भगवतक्शाक्यमुनेस्सम्यक्सम्बृ[इ]स्य तद्धम्मं[थ]।वकार्यं भ (भ)[क्षोर][:*] च[र]ण-परिचरणकुश[लो] बुद्धक्चिरि-
- 4 दं तस्यैव परममुनेरग्रचश्रावकस्यार्व्यकार[द्व8]तीपुत्रस्य चैत्य(त्यं) घटितपाषाणेष्टकाभिराच-
- 5 [न्द्र⁹]ाक्कण्णिवप्रि (क्षि)तिस्थितिसमकालीन (नं) प्रतिष्ठापितवा (वां)स्तदस्य देवय[क्ष]— सिद्धविद्याधरगणमाणिभद्रपू—
- 6 ण्णभद्रपञ्चिकार्य्यवेष्यपाणिवाङ्कण[का?]दयः स्वस्ति दिशन्त्विप च[।*] [य]।[व]द्वीचि-(ची)सहस्रप्रचिल[त]मकरा-
- ७ व्यण्णं (िर्णं) तावर्ततोय[:*] क्षीरोदः क्षीरतोयो वृहदुपलचित×कवकंशो वाणि मेरः [।*] यावद्व-(द्वा) यान्ति नद्य-
- 8 स्सुविमलसलिल (ला)स्सागरं तोयवत्यः तावत्कीत्ति । स्थिरेय (यं) भजत् शुभकरी सत्सुतं पुष्यनाम्न $[:*॥१॥]^{12}$
- 9 दाडा13(?)[1*]

¹ From the lithograph in the Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, A. S. W. I.

^{*} Neither of the two mātrās on tira can be seen, but there is no uncertainty about the dynastic name which occurs in the two other records (Nos. 8 and 9). Pandit Bhagvanlal read विकटनाना.

^{*} There was evidently an anumara on sa which is responsible for the reduplication (wrong, of course,) of v. Pandit Bhagvanlal took the upper sign for w. Read संवत्सर—.

^{*} The vertical stroke joining what now looks like an anuvära to the horizontal stroke of the superscript n has not come out in the lithograph.

⁵ Perhaps ग्रामकाणक was intended. Bhagvanlal read ग्रामे काणक-

The superscript r has been wrongly written like the medial i. The sign for the medial i on bb has not come out in the lithograph.

[†]The superscript k of ksb is cursive like that in ksbiti, in line 5 of the Pardi plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8). Pandit Bhagvanlal proposed to read ηυη, but the first aksbara is probably bba. See Supra-bbāyāb.

^{*} The subscript letter appears like \$a\$, but there is no uncertainty about the name.

⁹ The subscript curve appears like that of medial ri, but it is clearly a mistake of the scribe.

¹⁰ Pandit Bhagvanlal read 可要明新证明, but the first akshara has clearly the sign of medial ā. Vānkaņaka may be a follower of Vankaṇa. The latter is, perhaps, the presiding diety of the Vanka mountain mentioned in some Jātakas. See, for instance, the Vessantara Jātaka (Eng. Tr. by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, p. 266) The Kathātaritsāgara mentions the Vankaṭaka mountain.

¹¹ The visarga is dropped here by the Varttika on Panini, VIII, 3, 36.

¹¹ Metre: Sragdbarā.

¹⁸ D is generally acute-angled in this record, but its rectangular form occurs in pravarddhamāna-, l. 1. The second aksbara of this word has the same form as db which occurs twice in l. 24 of the Sunao Kalā plates of Sangamasimha (No. 11). It can also be read as phā (See sphā in l. 2 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, No. 9, above), but dāphā gives no sense.

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha)! In the augmenting kingdom of the Traikūṭakas, in the year two hundred increased by forty-five, in the Great Monastery at Kṛishṇagiri, Buddharuchi, a resident of the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu vishaya (district), the son of the glorious Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman, skilful in serving the feet of the holy Sākya sage who was mighty by the possession of the ten powers and attained complete enlightenment, (and) of the venerable monk who heard his law, has erected this Chaitya with dressed stones and bricks to last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (which is) dedicated to the venerable Sāradvatīputra the chief disciple of the same great sage (i.e., Buddha).

(Line 5) Therefore, may gods, yakshas, siddhas, vidyādharas, gaṇas, Māṇibhadras, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañchika, the venerable Vajrapāṇi, Vāṅkaṇaka and others bless it!

(L. 6) Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirl-pools of which are whirled by the alligators tossed about by thousands of (its) waves, is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Mēru is piled with huge rocks, as long as rivers of very clear water flow with (their) water into the ocean — even so long may this lasting and auspicious fame resort to the excellent son of him (who is) named Pushya!

(L. 9). A canine tooth (?)

¹ A Yaksha is a semi-divine being who is described as an attendant of Kubëra in Hindu mythology.

A Siddba is a person possessed of eight supernatural powers, animā and others.

³ A Vidyādhara is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himālayas.

⁴ A Māṇibhadra is a follower of Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kubēra, the prince of yakshas. Perhaps the intended reading in the text is Maṇibhadra. Cf. Purṇabhadra.

⁵ Purņabhadra is the name of a yaksha, the father of Harikēša.

⁸ Pañchika is the chief of the generals of Kubëra or Vaiśravana. For his form, see the Gods of Northern Buddhism, pp. 156 ff.

⁷ Vajrapāņi (Thunderbolt-bearer) is in Buddhist records sometimes identified with and sometimes differentiated from Sakra, the lord of gods. Ibid., pp. 50 ff.

^{*} He is perhaps a follower of Vankana (the deity of the Vanka mountain?).

A .- KANHERI PLATE OF TRAIKUTAKAS: (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

23 3-110 & C 345 A 57 FLW: 838 49 ROLA 28 ALCAHOURS F dentaght jist x tax a rychit = 93 garg Da & seby 3 2 A DUC 184-31 CFRY 25x3TSNAANAA KULD 22 SPASS 37 FR PX C8 F. - gajutati 15843 23 3 w たみもかみるとろのチダハるよりし : शिर्म प्राप्ति शिक्ष Day 50 20 AL 15:

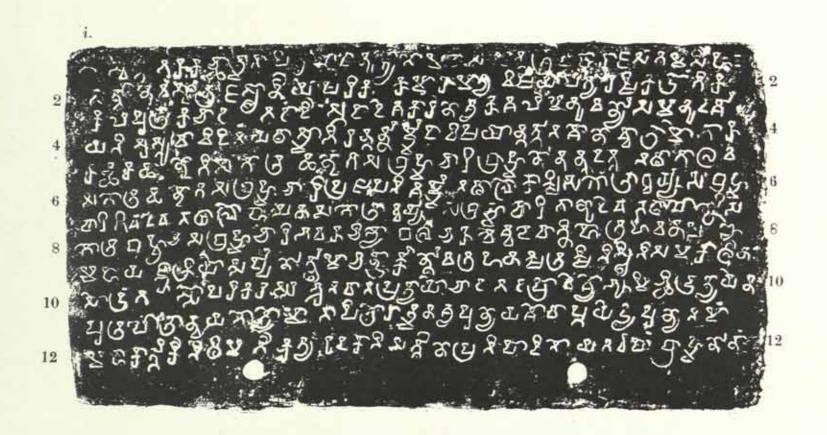
(From Photographs).

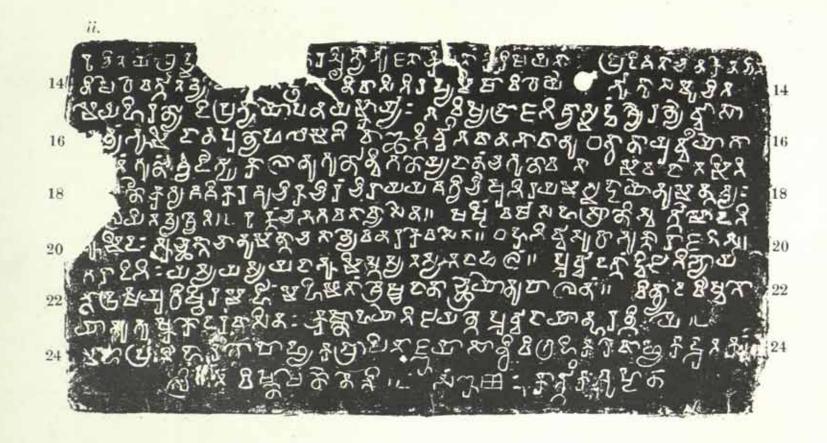
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SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Copper Plate Inscription from Kanheri

Copied from D. J. Birds "Historical Researches





INSCRIPTION OF SANGAMASIMHA

No. 11; PLATE V B

SUNAO KALA PLATES OF SANGAMASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 292

THESE plates were discovered in November 1898. They were first published, with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX, pp. 211 ff., and subsequently with a translation and photo-lithographs by Prof. Sten Konow in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X, pp. 72 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs accompanying Prof. Sten Konow's article.

The copper-plates are two in number. "They were found buried about two feet below the surface of a cart track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahāl of the Broach District... The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching of the seal, which has destroyed a few aksharas in the first line and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one akshara in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6 and one in line 7... The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring has been wrenched off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates." Each plate measures 12½" broad and 6½" high. The record consists of twenty-five lines, of which twelve are inscribed on the first, and the remaining thirteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is ½".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Traikūṭaka grants. There is a triangular wedge at the top of letters except in the case of b, n, \vec{n} and sometimes of l and r. The initial \vec{e} which occurs in 1.12 shows a closed hook on the left. The medial \vec{o} and an are not clearly distinguished, compare e.g. \vec{o} in yašō-vāptayē 1.11 and an in Lankākshi 1.6. L occurs in two forms: (1) with a short vertical as in kulaputraka and kusala-, 1.3 and (2) with the vertical bent to the left as in Gālava, 1.5 and phalam, 1.21. Th has the same form, whether it is independent or subscript, see e.g., yathā, 1.4 and sthiti-, 1.9. A final consonant is indicated by a short horizontal stroke which takes the place of the wedge at the top; see vasēt, 1.20. The sign of the Jihvāmūliya occurs in 1.15 and the symbols for 200, 90, 10, 5 and 2 in 1.25.

The language is Sanskrit and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses in Il. 19-23, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following r is doubled in many cases, see sarvvān, 1.2, Antar-Nnarmadā, 1.4, etc.; so also dh preceding y, see pād-ānuddhyāto, 1.1. Sangamasāha for Sangamasāhha and karishayatām for karshayatām are evidently due to the influence of the Prakrits.

The plates were issued by the Mahāsāmanta, the illustrious Mahārāja, Sangamasimha from Bharukachcha. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Sonavvā in the Antar-Narmadā vishaya to five Brāhmanas, who were residents of Bharukachchha, on the occasion of the Mahākārttikī, i.e., the full-moon day of Kārttika. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices, viz., bali, charu, vaišvadēva, agnihōtra and havana. The grant was written by

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 211.

Vishņushēņa according to the order conveyed by the Mahāpratīhāra Gōpāḍhyaka.

The dūtaka, was the Sāndhivigrahika Rēvadhyaka.

The inscription is dated, in the last line, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttika of the year 292 of an unspecified era. The tithi and the year are expressed in numerical symbols only. As the characters of the present record resemble those of Traikūtaka grants, its date must likewise be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the date would correspond, for the expired year1 292, to the 20th October 541 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Sangamasimha calls himself Mahāsāmanta, which indicates his feudatory rank. Prof. Sten Konow called attention to the fact that 'the wording of our grant sometimes recalls the phraseology of the Sarsavnī plates; compare ll. 18-19 with ll. 26-27 of the latter, and, especially, the end of the two grants, where we have, in both cases, first an instrumental (-prāpit-ājñayā and -vijñā panayā, respectively), then a bahavrīhi ending in -dūtakam, and followed by likhitain and finally the date expressed in the same way in numerical figures.29 From this he conjectured that Sangamasimha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris, who, down to the time of Buddharāja (609 or 610 A.C.), retained the command of the country round Broach. He thought that either Krishnaraja, the grandfather of Buddharaja, or his predecessor, must have been the overlord of Sangamasimha. A comparison of the wording of the present record with the phraseology of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna would, however, show that the former inscription bears a closer resemblance to the latter than to any record of the Kalachuris; for, besides the peculiarities noticed by Prof. Sten Konow, all of which are also found in the Surat plates of Vyaghrasēna, our inscription has copied lines 16-19 verbatim from earlier records of the Traikūtakas (see, e.g., lines 12-15 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna), the only difference being the omission (evidently inadvertent) of apadanam after avadatam. Sangamasimha's present inscription was, therefore, drafted by a clerk, who had before him the earlier records of the Traikūtakas. And this is not at all surprising, for Sonavva, the village granted by the present charter, is only two miles to the north of the Kim which probably formed the northern boundary of the Traikūṭaka kingdom. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Sangamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously ruled over by the Traikūṭakas. The similarity in the wording of the grants of Sangamasimha and Buddharāja is, therefore, due to the draftsmen of both having drawn upon earlier Traikūtaka records.

The successors of Sangamasimha do not seem to have retained their hold over the Broach District for a long time; for within fifty years from the date of the present plates we find that the neighbouring country came under the rule of another feudatory, Nirihullaka, of the Kalachuri Emperor, Sankaragana and soon after, we find Sankaragana's son

Buddharāja himself, donating a village in the Bharukachchha vishaya.

As for the localities named in the present grant Bharukachchha, which was probably the capital of Sangamasimha, is modern Broach. The donees also were residents of this place. Sonavva, the village granted, is probably Sunao Kala, 18 m. west by south of Broach, where the plates were found. The Antar-Narmadā vishaya, in which it was situated, was, as its name indicates,3 a district comprising territory on both the sides of the Narmada.

* Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 73.

¹ If the year is taken to be current, the date would correspond to the 31st October 540 A.C.

³ The name Antar-Narmadā of the vishaya must be taken, as Dr. Fleet has shown (Ind. Ant., XXXII, p. 16), to be a Bahawribi compound, though the correct form in that case should be Antar-Narmada. It may be noted that the Väyupuränu (adbyäyu 45, 31. 130) speaks of Antara-Narmada vishayas. Cf. Näsikyādyāś=cha yē ch=ānyē yē ch=aiv=āntara-Narmadāh i Bhānukachchhāḥ (Bhārukachchhāḥ?) samāhēyāh sahasā Săsvatair zapi II.

TEXT1

First Plate

- सिद्धम्² [स्वस्ति] [॥*] भरुकच्छान्मातापितृपादानु[द्वचा]तो म[हासामन्तश्री]महाराज-संगमसीहः³
- सर्व्वानेव स्वान्त्राजस्थानीयोपरिकक्मारामात्यविषयपत्यारक्षिकद्वांगिक—
- 3 कुलपुत्रकचाटभटादींस्तदादेशकारिणश्च कुशलमनुवर्ण्यं समनुदर्श-
- 4 यति [1*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथास्माभिरन्तर्न्नम्मदाविषयान्तर्गतशोणव्वाग्रामो भार-
- इ कच्छकछन्दोगिसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणानन्तदत्त⁴ तथा गालव-
- 6 सगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिप्रजापतिशम्मं तथा लौकाक्षि सगोत्राध्वर्य्यसब्रह्म-
- 7 चारिशिवदेव⁷ तथा लोहायनसगोत्राध्वर्य्युसब्रह्मचारिभाण्देव⁸ तथा पौ[णं]⁹स-
- श गोत्रबह्व चसब्रह्मचारिभवरुचिभ्यो¹⁰ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवन[प]ञ्च-
- 9 महायज्ञित्रयोत्सप्पंणात्थंमाचन्द्राक्काण्णंवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः
- 10 सोद्रंगस्सोपरिकरस्सभूतवातप्रत्यायोचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन
- 11 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुष्ययशोवाप्तयेद्य पुष्यतमां
- 12 महाकात्तिकीतिश्विमगीकृत्य¹¹ उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो (त: 1) यत एषां ब्राह्मणानां

Second Plate

- 13 उचितय[1] ब्रह्म[देयाग्रहा*]रस्थित्या भुंज[तां] कृषतां करिषयतां 12 प्रदिशतां च न केनचित13
 - 14 निषेधे वर्तितव्य[मिति । एत*]द्ग्र[1][म]निवासिभिरप्यमीषां विधैयैभूत्वा समुचित-
 - 15 मेयहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनयxकाय्यः [।*] भविष्यद्वाजभिश्चास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सा-
 - 16 [मा*]न्यं भूमिदानपुष्यफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिव्यिभवानभावानुबद्धानायुव्वियोगा-
 - 17 [नुग*]तं गुणांश्च दीम्धंकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानं च गुणवतामवदात14िमिति
 - 18 [प्रमा*]णीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरं चिराय यशिवचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोन्मन्तव्यः
 - 19 [पा*]लयितव्यश्चेति ॥ उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ पिंट वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदित
 - 20 [भू]मिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁵।। [१*।।] बहुभिव्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्स-

¹ From the lithograph facing p. 74 in Ep. Ind., Vol. X.

² Expressed by a symbol.

BRead संगमसिंह:-

⁴ Read दत्तस्तथा.

s Read -शम्मा.

e Prof. Sten Konow proposes to read लीगाझि [Ep. Ind., X, p. 75], but the Götrapravaranibandha-kadamba gives the Laukāksbi götra under the Āngirasas.

⁷ Read शिवदेवस्तथा-

^{*} Read भानदेवस्तथाः

on götras and pravaras does not give any götras of these names. Perhaps पीर्ण was intended for which see ibid., p. 31.

¹⁰ Read भवरुचिरित्येतेभ्यो.

¹¹ Read -मंगीकृत्योदका-, Prof. Konow suggested-मधिकृत्यो-.

¹² Read कर्ययतां.

¹⁸ Read केनचित्.

¹⁴ Some word like अपदानं is omitted here. Compare 1. 13 of the Surat Plates of Vyaghrasēna (No. 9, above).

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses: Anusbtubb.

- 21 गरादिभि: [i*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [२॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजा-तिभ्यो य-
- 22 त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ।। [३*।।] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो-
- 23 यासु [शु]ष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते पूर्व्वदायान्हरन्ति ये ॥ [४*]
- 24 महाप्रतीहारगोपाढचकप्रापिताज्ञया सान्धिवग्रहिकरेवाढचकदूतकं
- 25 लि[ख]तं विष्ण(ष्णु)षेणेनेति ॥ सं २०० ९० २ कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Bharukachchha—the Mahāsāmanta, the illustrious Mahārāja, Sangamasimha, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, having stated his good health, informs all (his subordinates, such as) Rājasthānīyas, Uparikas, Kumārāmātyas, heads of vishayas, Ārakshikas, Drāngikas, Kulaputrakas, chāṭas, bhaṭas and others, as well as those who execute their orders (as follows):—

(Line 4). "Be it known to you that for obtaining religious merit and fame for Our mother and father and for Ourself, We, availing Ourself of the holiest Mahākārttikī⁸ tithi today, have granted with a libation of water, the village Šōṇavvā situated in the Antar-Narmadā vishaya together with the udranga⁹ and the uparikara, 10 as well as excise and octroi duties, (which is) not to be entered by Chāṭas and bhaṭas, (and is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, according to the maxim of uncultivated land—to the (following) residents of Bharukachchha, (viz.,) the Brāhmaṇa Arantadatta of the Chhandōgi gōtra (who is) a student of the Chhandōga (i.e., Sāmavēda) (and) Prajāpatišarman of the Gālava gōtra, (who is) a student of the Chhandōga, and Sivadēva of the Laukākshī gōtra,

¹ Prof. Sten Konow translates knfalam=annvarnya as 'having greeted'. In the Rāshṭrakūṭa and other records, the word knšalī occurs in the same context, which shows that here also the king refers to his own good health.

^a Uparika is mentioned in some Gupta records as the head of a bhukti or Commissioner. The title Mahārāja is sometimes added to the term. The Uparika Mahārājas recommended the appointment of Vishayapatis (heads of districts) who were subordinate to them. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 133). According to the definition given by Brihaspati, Uparika appears to have been a Magistrate. Ibid. XXIV, p. 134.

as ministers, provincial governors and heads of districts. (See, e.g., Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 71)

⁵ Arakshika, lit. a protector, was probably a police-officer.

⁶ Drāngika, derived from dranga a town, is probably identical with the Nāgarika (the Mayor of a town) mentioned in Kauţilya's Arthaiāstra, pp. 143 ff.

Mandon is more order privately advises this to ment ?

7 I. e. noblemen.

I, e. the full-moon day in Karttika.

9 See above p. 21, n. 1.

10 See above, p. 21, n. 2.

^{*} Rājasthānīya, lit., one who occupies the position of a king, probably in the administration of justice. Bühler calls attention to the definition of the term in Kshēmēndra's Lākaprakāśa, viz., prajā-pālan-ārtham nudvahati rakshayati cha sa Rājasthānīyab, 'he who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is a Rājasthānīya'. In line 17 of the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśō-varman (C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 154) Abhayadatta is said to have protected some territory after the manner of a Rājasthānīya. So the term seems to indicate also the governor of a province. Kalhana also mentions the office rājasthāna or rājasthānādhikāra. Stein, and following him, Vogel hold that the Rājasthānīya was an officer of justice. (See A.C.S. Part I, p. 122). Fleet was inclined to think that 'Viceroy' was too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent, because the Rājasthānīya is, in some records, mentioned 'rather low down in the list of officials'. (C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 157). It is noteworthy that in the present record the Rājasthānīya heads the list of officials.

(who is) a student of the Adhvaryu (vēda i.e., Yajurvēda) and Bhānudēva of the Lōhāyana gōtra, (who is) a student of the Adhvaryu (vēda), (and) Bhavaruchi of the Paurņa gōtra, (who is) a student of the Rigvēda, for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (viz.,) bali, charu, vaisvadēva, agnihōtra (and) offerings to fire.

(L. 12) "Wherefore, none should cause any obstruction while these Brāhmaṇas are enjoying, cultivating, getting cultivated and directing (others to cultivate the land in the donated village) according to the customary rules of agrahāras granted to Brāhmaṇas. The residents of this village also, submitting to these (Brāhmaṇas), should make over to them the customary (share) of measurable (things), gold and other taxes. And kings of the future whether born in our family or others, desiring to share in the reward of the religious merit of (this gift of) land and considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are excellent, and wishing to accumulate for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift."

(L. 19) Moreover, the holy Vyāsa has said-

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 24) (This charter), the dūtaka of which is the Sāndhivigrahika Rēvāḍhyaka, has been written by Vishņushēņa according to the (royal) order communicated by the Mahāpratīhāra Gōpāḍhyaka.

The year 200 (and) 30 (and) 2, (the month) Karttika, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

by their savely only the middle one of white elect above me line; on another treal and Chatemen, Latt 54 in 174 from , 1, 54 bates loop lates should intole expense within large. where the without its not requestable against the property in the following the court in ordinal standards. positive helica was lived and and the first that the combern from also means in a tion places, see into-warpteners, and page, hear the ventical entitle of I be elder charged as he all, first or in stands which to she his the Ha should, but Delikhe there he mentionly the faith! Fis indicated by a curve with a much in the caster copy rays don't set and a pathering for initial a in mandar, in open on the left; the endur for modified a in graceally bent down, and by some range fit is been by down by an item is the Testalella intelligione, those howling at least, paleongraphic stages see whereast its providence and charge, I go in the case (c.c.) at and fail it is minuted a property of a significant start, I to a filter, I all while in the case of the encircles the letter on the letter use through the state of his words a fif hancomb at disputal falls. A little of his call Asserts see There and the model at a market in them wast (1) by known market remain moke to build a suith curve as he equal Larger) in the case, of house whose general streets already exact in a carrie (e.g. do ey to) by subling amendme carrier to the securion Manifest the free sale galaxies yet (a) their Sails , should see abstraction of princes had in two ways at 15 Mars, I ray and particularly at a distinguished from 4 the me can be cities with a much in the best as in rationing, I so or with a display as its extension

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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY KALACHURIS

No. 12; PLATE VI

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Rajput family of Abhōṇa, a village in Kalvan tālukā of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. K. B. Pathak in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on one side only, each one measuring 9.7" broad and 7" high. Except for a mistake here and there, the writing on them has been well executed and is in a state of good preservation. Each plate has two holes, about .5" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally connected it with the other plate of the set, but no ring or seal was apparently discovered. The weight of the plates is 132 tolas¹. The record consists of thirty-four lines, seventeen being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is .25".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets.2 The letters have, in most cases, a knob at the top, and show, as usual, some admixture of northern peculiarities. The mātrās, for instance, for the medial ē, ai and au are placed above the line, see -vipulē, 1.1, gunair-, 1.6, Krishņarājō, 1.5. The medial au is indicated by three mātrās, only the middle one of which rises above the line; see pautr., 1.20 and Gautama-, 1.21; kh in likhitam-, 1.34 has a loop larger than its hook; n appears with a loop, while t is without it; see gagana-tala, 1.1; n generally appears in its southern form, its upper portion being undivided, see e.g., guna-, 1.2, but the northern form also occurs in a few places, see kriy-ōtsarppaṇāya, and punya, 1.22; the vertical stroke of 1 is either shortened as in tala, 1.1, or is sharply turned to the left as in vimala, 1.1. Besides these northern characteristics, the following peculiarities of other individual letters may also be noticed:-the initial i is indicated by a curve with a notch in the centre over two dots, see iva, 1.5; the sign for initial ē in ēva, 1.4, is open on the left; the stroke for medial ā is generally bent down, and in some cases it is brought down lower than in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions,3 thus showing a later palaeographic stage, see vicharatā-, 1.8, par-ābhimāna, and vinayāya, 1.9; in a few cases (e.g., nā and jñā) it is turned upwards, see e.g., Katachchurīnām-, 1.3, =ājñāna-, 1.26, while in the case of jā it encircles the letter on the left, see jāyantē, 1.29; in medial ī, the length is denoted by a curve in the circle for short i, see Ujjayani-, 1.1; the medial u is marked in three ways (1) by lengthening the vertical stroke to end in a small curve as in vipulë 1.1; (2) in the case of letters whose vertical stroke already ends in a curve (e.g. k, r, etc.) by adding another curve to the vertical and turning it downwards, see kumuda-, 1.4; and (3) by turning the vertical stroke of the letter upwards to the right, see $p\bar{a}d$ - $\bar{a}nuddhy\bar{a}tah$, 1.16; the medial \bar{u} also appears in two ways as in bhūri-, 1.13, and yūthapa, 1.7; d is distinguished from d by its tail, see -āpīdita 1.12; the subscript n consists only of a loop cf. -ārnnava 1.20; th is shown either with a notch in the base as in yūthapēna, 1.7, or with a ringlet as in -apratiratha-, 1.10; in its subscript form, it is indicated by a curve curling to the right, see sthiti, 1.20

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 270.

^{*} See I. P., pp. 62 ff.

³ Nos. 8-10, above,

and sthēyasaš-, 11.24-25; b shows a notch on the left, see vibōdhana-, 1.5, and y is tripartite, see Ujjayanī, 1.1. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke on the top in 11.19 and 30 and by its small size, in 1.28. Punctuation is indicated by double vertical strokes in 11.29-31, 33 and 34. The sign of the jihvāmūlīya occurs twice in 1.4 and that of the upadhmānīya thrice, in 11.8, 11 and 26. The numerical symbols for 300, 40, 10, 7 and 5 occur in 1.34. Of these the symbol for 7 deserves special notice, its upper curve being here separated from the vertical by a knob as in the Sirpur plate of the Mahārāja Rudrasēna.¹

The language is Sanskrit. Except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. Its eulogistic portion is composed in an ornate style which recalls that of Valabhī grants.² Again, as stated below, the present plates were issued from Ujjayanī, which was for some time, a second capital of the Gupta Empire. The draftsman who composed the present record was probably well acquainted with Gupta inscriptions, from which he has evidently borrowed certain epithets which are employed here to eulogize the donor Sankaragaṇa.³ It may, again, be noted that both in its eulogistic and formal parts, this record has several expressions which are either imitated or copied verbatim from the earlier Traikūṭaka grants.⁴ This shows that the Kaṭachchuri empire comprised some provinces which were previously under the rule of the Traikūṭakas. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following r is doubled in many places, see, e.g., durllaṅghē 1.2, and dharmm-ārttha-, l. 12, and that a class-nasal is often used instead of anusvāra, as in kalaṅka, 1. 4.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Sankaragana of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty from his camp at Ujjayanī. He was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and was the son of the illustrious Kṛishnarāja 'who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati'. Sankaragana is described as the lord of the country extending from the eastern to the western ocean and of other lands.

¹ Line 9 of No. 4 above. Pandit Bhagvanlal read this symbol doubtfully as 8, but in view of the clear mention of the date in words in l. 34 of the present record, it will have to be taken as a sign of 7.

² Compare, for instance, the utprēkshā in yas=samsraya-višēsha-löbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itarais=sha guṇair=npētah in lines 5-6 with that in rūp-lōbhād=iv=āsritāh sarasam=ābhigāmikair=gguṇaih which occurs in connection with the description of Dharasēna I in many Valabhī grants.

³ In his translation of the Sarsavnī plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 300), Dr. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the epithets prithivyām zapratirathah, chatur-udadhi-sali-lāsvādita-yašāh and Dhanada-Varun-Endr-Āntaka-sama-prabhāvah which closely resemble (the last with a slightly different reading) those in Gupta records, see C. I. I., Vol. III, Text, pp. 8 and 53). Again, the expressions pranati-mātra-suparitāsha-gam-bbīr-ōnnata-bridayah and chir-ōtsannānām nripati-vamsānām pratishthāpayitā in this and other early Kalachuri grants recall bhakty-avanati-mātra-grābya-mridu-bridayasya and anēka-bbrashta-rājy-ōtsanna-rāja-vamsa-pratishthāpana- in the Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta (Ibid., p. 8.)

^{*}Thus the epithet samyak-prajā-pālalan-ādhigata-bhūri-draviņa-vistrāņan-āvāpta-dbarma-kriyah and pūrvā-para-samudr-ādi-dēša-svāmī in lines 13 and 15 respectively of the present record are obviously suggested by sva-bhuja-paripālana-pratāp-ādhigata-prachura-draviņa-vistrāņan-āvāpta-sarvva-dig-vyāpi-šukla-yašāh- and Aparant-ādi-dēša-pati in the earlier Traikūṭaka records like the Surat grant of Vyāghrasēna (See lines 2-3 of No. 9 above). The expression sarva-ditya-vishti-parihīṇah in line 11 of the latter record was adopted by the official draftsman of the Early Kalachuris, who only inserted prātibhēdika in it. Again, the expressions ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-sama-kālīṇam (l.20), abhāv-ānugatān-asārān-vibhavān-dirgeha-kāla-sthēyasat-zha guṇān-ākalayya and śaśi-kara-ruchiram chirāya yaśaś-chichir(chī)shubhir-ayam-asmad-dāyū-numantavyah pālayitavyaś-cha in lines 24-6 of the present grant are plainly borrowed, with some changes like the inversion of the order of words, from Traikūṭaka records (See e. g., lines 11-14 of No. 9 above). The same can be said of the manner of inserting the name of the Dūtaka in a Baburrībi compound qualifying the word likhitam.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Sankaragana, of a hundred nivartanas of land, measuring forty nivartanas on either side, in the village Vallisikā which was situated in the vishaya (district) of Bhōgavardhana. The donee was a Brāhmana¹ of the Taittiriya sākhā and Gautama gōtra residing at Kallivana. The purpose of the grant, which was made at the request of Gōggā,² is stated to be to provide for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra and other rites.

The grant is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347. Though no era is specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details, but according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. which suits other verifiable early dates of the era, the date of the present grant would correspond, for the expired year³ 347, to the 3rd August 597 A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Ujjayani is, of course, modern Ujjain in Central India. Kallivana, where the donce was residing is modern Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan tālnkā of the Nāsik District. It may be noted in this connection that the present plates were found at Ābhōṇa which lies only seven miles west of Kalvan. Bhōgavardhana, the headquarters of the district in which the donated village was situated, is probably Bhōkardhan (20° 16′ N. and 75° 46′ 56″ E.) in the Hyderabad State, where a large Brahmanical cave temple of about 8th century A.D. has been recently excavated. Vallisikā is modern Valsā, 7 miles south of Bhōkardhan.

¹ Prof. Pathak read the name of the Brāhmaṇa in line 21 as Ābmaṇasvāmin. The first aksbara of this word is certainly not ā, the form of which may be seen in āchchbāttā, 1.28. I read it as prā which, I think, is incorrectly written for brā. The scribe has confused p and b in another place also, see pratāb-āti-faya for pratāp-ātislaya in line 11. Strange as it may appear, the proper name of the donee, which ought to have been inserted between brāhmaṇa and svāmin, has been inadvertently omitted here. Compare the names of the donees Brāhmaṇa-Bādhasvāmin and Brāhmaṇa-Bappasvāmin in other Kalachuri grants Nos. 14 and 16, below). Similar names of donees with the prefix Brāhmaṇa occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas and Maitrakas also.

² This lady may have been the queen of Sankaragana. As for the absence of any title like Mahārājiti in connection with her name, it may be pointed out that neither Krishnarāja, nor Sankaragana is called Mahārāja in this or any other grant of the Early Kalachuris.

^a The usual practice is to cite expired years. Current years are cited only exceptionally. If the year 347 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 13th July 396 Λ. C. Prof. Pathak gives the 27th July 395 Λ. C. as the corresponding Christian date, evidently taking the year 347 as current and applying the epoch A. D. 247-48 which Dr. Kielhorn finally fixed on the evidence of later Kalachuri dates. But this epoch does not suit early dates of the Kalachuri era as admitted by Kielhorn himself. See Ep. Ind., Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

⁴ A. B. I. A., (1935), pp. 31-32. Bhögavardhana is mentioned in several inscriptions at Sănchi, See e.g. Nos. 156, 162, 163, etc. M. S. Vol. I, pp, 515 ff.

^{*}Mr. Gupte has suggested the identification of Vallisikā with Vārasi, about 8 miles south of Kalvan (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 270); but as the Vadnēr grant of Buddharāja (No. 14 below) shows, the country round Vaḍnēr, which is only about 16 miles south of Kalvan, was included in the bhōga of Vaṭanagara. So the country round Kalvan is not likely to have been included in a different vishaya like Bhōgavardhana. Mr. Gupte's alternative identifications of Vallisikā with Bālhēgāon near Ujjain and of Bhōgavardhana with Bōgtē near Bālhēgāon are also unlikely; for, the plates were found in the Nāsik District, and as shown above, better identifications of the localities with places not far from the eastern limit of that District can be proposed. Kallivana is also mentioned in the Mundkhēde plates of the Sēndraka king Jayaśakti. See Q. B. I. S. M., Vol. XVII, p. 52 ff.

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- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावाराद्रज्जयनीवासकाच्छरद्रपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणिकरणिनकरावभासिते महासत्वा (त्त्वा)पाश्रयदुल्लं ह्वे गाम्भीर्य्यवित स्थित्य-
 - 3 नुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्च्रीणामन्वये³ सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिक[ये]⁴व कीर्त्या
 - 4 भ्वनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पश्पतिसमाश्रयपरxकल द्वदोषरहितं अक्लक्भ्द-
 - इवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनक्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकै-
 - 6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथाबदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिय्येंन च रुचिरवं-
 - ग्रशोभिना नियतमस्खिलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा बनवारणयथपेनेवावि—
 - 8 शङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनिमता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रह≍परा-
 - 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवार्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धम्मीय धर्मः श्रेयोवा-
 - प्तये [।*] तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदिधसिललास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तक—
 - 11 समप्रभावः स्ववाहुबलोपात्तोज्जितराजश्री≍प्रताबा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामान्त⁵—
 - 12 मण्डलः परस्परापीडितधम्मित्थंकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत-
 - 13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधममंत्रियदिचरोत्सन्ना-
 - 14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्धकु (कृ)पणसमभिल-
 - 15 षितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-
 - 16 पादानुद्धधातः परममाहेक्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्व्वाणव⁶ राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय–
- 17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी⁷त्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

Second Plate

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतविल्लिसकाग्रामे⁹ उभयचत्वारिशकनिवर्त्तनिना
- मा १९ भू में जिन्दर्तनशतम् (तं) सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
- 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावर्काण्णंवक्षितिस्थितसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयो[प*]भोग्यं
 - 21 कल्लिवनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारिप्रा¹⁰ह्मणस्वामिण बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा-
- 22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोग्गाविज्ञापनया¹¹
- 23 उदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [।*] यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैव्वी नृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 - 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जि (जी)वलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीग्धंकालस्थेयस-
- 25 इच गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकरहिचरं चिराय यशिवचिर्षुभि¹²-
- 26 रयमस्महायोनुमन्तव्य ≍पालियतव्यश्च [।*]यो वाज्ञानितिमिरपटलावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-

¹ From the lithographs facing pages 296-97 of Ep. Ind., Vol. IX.

^{*} Expressed by a symbol.

² Prof. Pathak read कटच्युरीणा, but what looks like a dot after the vertical stroke of chebu is not joined to it and appears to be due to a fault in the copper.

^{*} The engraver seems to have first incised chandrikay -āva and then corrected it into chandrikay -āva.

⁵ Read सामन्त—.

⁶ Read सर्वानेव.

 ⁷ Read -धिकारिकादीन्समाञ्चापयति[। *] अस्तु.

⁸ Read - मस्माभिभाँग.

[&]quot;Read ग्राम उभय-.

¹⁰ Read बाह्यण-स्वामिने. The name of the Brahmana has been omitted inadvertently.

¹¹ Read विज्ञापनयोदका—.

¹³ Read चिचीयुमि-.

- 27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिभम्मं हापातक स्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्यु क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[।*]
- 28 षष्टि वर्षंसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदित भूमिद[: ।*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥2 [१॥*] विन्ध्याट-
- 29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्यं-
- 30 सुधा भुक्ता³ राजिभस्सगरादिभि: [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां
- 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महिमतां श्लेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोन्पालन मिप च ।। यानीह
- 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेद्दा(र्द्दा)नानि धर्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [1*]निवर्भृक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
- 33 पुनराददीत⁵ ।। [५॥*] संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारि[श]दुत्तरके श्रावणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां महा-पीलु⁶-
- 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिवग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाटचलिनेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ श्रावण शु १० ५ [*।]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Ujjayani-

In the family of the Katachchuris, which, resembling the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of the manifold excellences of the men (born in it) as the ocean is by the mass of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity (and) is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds; -(there was) the illustrious Krishnarāja, who brightened the world with his fame which, like moonlight, attracted the minds of all people; who, from his very birth, was devoted to Pasupati (Siva), revived the prosperity of his family, (and therefore, though) free from (all) defects, resembled the moon, (which has spots), which rests on Siva and revives the beauty of clusters of night-lotuses. He7 was resorted to by all attractive royal qualities and other excellences as if out of a desire to find a choice resting place, was possessed of all the constituents of royalty8 (and) had properly acquired royal powers9 and attained successes. Shining with his illustrious lineage, with the flow of his charity always unchecked, and the greatness of his prowess well known, he conquered the regions marching about fearlessly, even as the leader of a herd of

¹ Read -स्स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

² Metre of this and the next three verses: Anushtubh.

The sign for t is affixed to the right of the vertical of k, like that for medial n.

^{*} Read पालनम् ॥ [४॥*] अपिचः

Metre, Indravajrā.

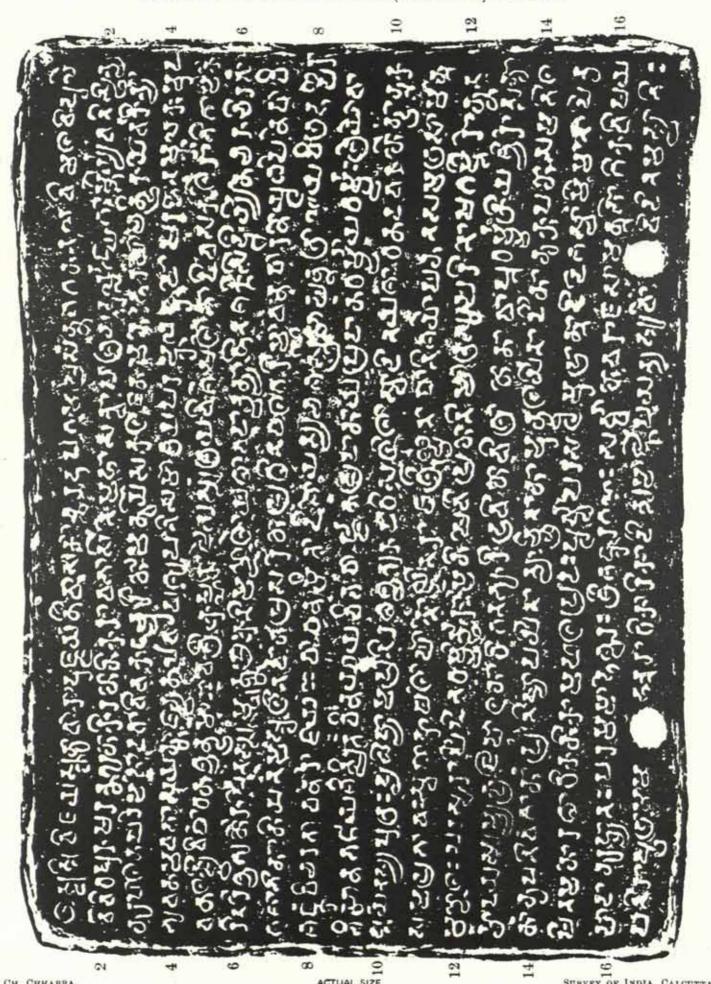
⁴ Prof. Pathak reads महापिलु—, but as pointed out by the Editor (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, Additions and Corrections, p. viii), the medial i is long.

⁷ In the original, this and the succeeding sentences are relative clauses qualifying Iri-Krishparājāb in 1.5.

^{*} These are usually enumerated as seven, viz., the king, ministers, allies, treasury, territory, fort-resses and army. See AK., II, 8, 18.

These are three, viz. prabbusakti (power derived from the control of treasury and army), utsābasakti (power of personal energy) and mantrašakti (power of good counsel).

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 347



B. CH. CHHABRA. Rea. No. 3977 E'36 - 778'51. ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

wild elephants, who looks splendid with his excellent back-bone, has an ever unceasing flow of rut and well-known might of strength, brings down rows of forest-trees, moving about fearlessly. He wielded his weapon (only) for the protection of the distressed, fought (only) for humbling the arrogance of his enemies, was engaged in study (only) for humility, acquired wealth (only) to spend it in charity, made gifts (only) for the sake of religious merit, and accumulated religious merit (only) to secure final liberation.

(Line 10) His son, the illustrious Sankaragana — who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who is the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western oceans and of other lands; who has, on the earth, no adversary (worthy of him); whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans; whose prowess equals that of Dhanada (i.e., Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (i.e., Yama)¹; who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the circle of neighbouring princes has submitted, (being subdued) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (in his case) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who has performed religious rites by spending, in charity, plenty of wealth which he had obtained by properly protecting his subjects; who has reinstated royal families, which had long been dethroned; who has exterminated such as had risen too high; who bestows, on the distressed, blind and poor people, abundant gifts which exceed their desires—issues this order to kings, feudatories, Bhōgikas², heads of vishayas³, Mahattaras⁴ of rāshtras⁵ and villages, officials and others:—

(L. 17)—Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted, with a libation of water, at the request of Goggā, land measuring a hundred nivartanas⁶ by a land measure (nivartanin) of forty (dandas) on either side, in the village Vallisikā, situated in the vishaya of Bhogavardhana—together with all receipts⁷ and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,⁸ (which is) not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas⁹ according to the maxim of waste land 10

¹ These are the guardians of the North, West, East and South.

² Bhōgika is the head of a bhōga which was a sub-division of a vishaya.

² Vishaya was a territorial division corresponding to the modern district.

^{*} Mahattara, (a comparative form of mahat, great), occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of a chief person, see e.g. Uttararāmacharita, Act IV; Naishadhīyacharita, canto III, verse 19. It is perhaps used here and other similar passages in the sense of the head of a province or a village.

⁵ Rāshtra was a territorial division corresponding to the modern Commissioner's Division. The Añjanēri plates (l. 26) of Bhögaśakti (No. 31, below) mention the Göpa-rāshtra.

^{*}It seems that there were several nivartanas in vogue. The Līlāvatī (I, 6) mentions nivartana as a measure of land equal to 400 square rods, i.e., 20 rods in length and in breadth. Kauṭilya (II, 20) mentions a nivartana measuring 30 dandas (in length and in breadth) i.e., 900 square dandas, and Bṛihaspati follows him. The measure (nivartanin) intended here seems to be 40 (dandas) on either (tide) (ubhaya-chatvārimsaka-nivartanin) i.e., equal to 1600 square dandas.

⁷ Adana (lit., receiving) probably has here the meaning of a tax.

^{*}Kings had prerogatives in respect of these. They are waived in the case of agrabāra villages and lands. Compare sarva-visbţi-paribāra-paribritab and other expressions which occur in Vākāṭaka grants.

^{*}Compare a-bhada-papēsam in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Šivaskandavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 87) and a-bhata-chchhātra-prāvēṣṣaḥ in Vākāṭaka grants. In the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna (above, No. 9, l. 10) the qualifying expression chōra-rāj-āpatthya-kāri-varjja(m) is added to a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēṣṣa. The bhaṭas and chāṭas were forbidden to enter the agrabāra villages except when they had to apprehend thieves and persons accused of high treason. They were evidently royal servants whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers.

¹⁰ i.e., with full proprietory rights. He who brought waste land under cultivation became the absolute owner of it. Cf. MSM., adb. 1X, v. 44.

and (is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa—svāmin¹ of the Gautama gōtra (who is) a student of the Taittirīya (sākhā) and a resident of Kallivana, for the performance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra and other religious rites.

(L. 23)—Wherefore, (future) kings and heads of bhogas, whether born in our family or others, considering that (this) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost (and, therefore,) worthless, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time, and desiring to share in the reward of this donation of land which can be equally enjoyed (by them) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely as moon-beams, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 27)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth (lunar, day) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this (charter), the dūtaka of which is the Mahā pīlupatī Pāśupata, was written by Vāṭyali, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (and) 40 (and) 7, (the month), Śrāvaṇa, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

No. 13; PLATE VII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA

This plate was apparently discovered at Sankhēḍā, the chief town of the Sankhēḍā prānt of the Baroḍā District in the Bombay State. It was edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

The plate measures 8.3" broad and 3.9" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It is the first plate of a set which originally consisted of two plates. They were held together by two rings passing through holes about .3" in diameter at the top of each plate; but neither the rings nor the seal, if there was any, was apparently found. The weight of the plate is not recorded. The plate has lost small pieces at the top and both the sides of the bottom. This has caused the partial or total loss of about twenty-two aksharas, which can, however, be restored conjecturally. The extant portion of the inscription, which consists of twelve lines, is in a good state of preservation. The writing was very carelessly executed. As will be seen from the subjoined transcript, the record contains numerous mistakes due to careless writing or engraving, especially in ll. 9-12. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with the usual admixture of northern peculiarities. They resemble in a general way, the characters of the Abhöna plates of Sankaragana. The only peculiarity that need be noticed here is the form of the medial \bar{u} in $vadh\bar{u}$ in 1.3. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion of the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any notice except that the consonant following r is doubled as in kirtti, 1.4 and ri is used for the medial vowel ri in several places; see Krishnarājah 1.2, Balādhikrita 1.5, etc.

¹ See above p. 40, n. 1,

The plate was issued from the victorious camp fixed at Nirgundipadraka by Santilla, the Balādhīkrita (Military Officer) of Nirihullaka who bore the titles Bhōgi-kapālaka¹ and Mahāpīlupati.² Nirihullaka is described as meditating on the feet of the illustrious Sankaragaṇa who had obtained victory in many battles and who was the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a field, requiring one piṭaka of paddy as seed, which was made by Sāntilla on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the increase of religious merit and fame of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, i.e., probably Sankaragaṇa. The field was situated on the western boundary of Śrī-Parṇakā which was included in (the territorial division of) Taṇḍulapadraka. The donee was Bhaṭṭika Anantsvāmin of the Kautsa gōtra, who was a student of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda and a resident of Pāshāṇihrada. The gift was intended to provide for the performance of the religious rites of the five great sacrifices.

Dr. Bühler first suggested that Sankaragana, whose name has been wrongly written as Sankarana in I. 3, was identical with the Kaṭachchuri (or Kalachuri) Sankaragana. Sāntilla, who issued the present plate, was only a military officer. He seems to have obtained a great victory, to commemorate which he made this grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse; for he did it not for his own religious merit and fame, but for those of his great lord (Parama-bhaṭṭāraka) who was probably Sankaragana. He was obviously acting in anticipation of the latter's sanction; so he communicates his order not only to the officers serving under him, but to those directly appointed by the king. He mentions here his immediate superior, the Bhōgikapālaka and Mahāpīlupati Nirihullaka, probably because he was governing the territory in which the donated village was situated.

The plate does not contain any date, but the mention of Sankaragana as the reigning sovereign shows that the inscription must be referred to the last quarter of the sixth century A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Mr. Dhruva identified Pāshāṇihrada with Saṇiādarī, about 14 miles north by east of Saṅkhēḍā, for 'hrada would be masculine dharō and feminine dharī in Gujerātī and Pāshāṇi would drop its Pā, as Bagumrā has done with its Bā in having Gumṛā, and give Saṇiā and thus we get Saṇiādari.³ His further suggestion that Taṇḍulapadraka is Tāndaljā is also acceptable, as the latter is only two miles west of Saṇiādarī. But his identifications of Nirguṇḍipadraka with Nāgarvāḍā, 6 kos from Dabhoi and Śrī-Parṇakā with Paniu, now desolate, 5 kōs from Dabhoī, are doubtful, as the places are not in the vicinity of Saṇiādarī and Tāndaljā. I am, however, unable to suggest any other identifications.

TEXT4

- सिद्धम्⁵ स्व[स्ति][।*] नि[गुं]ण्डिप[द्र]कावस्थितविजयकटकात् [स][कल*][क्षि][तिपत्य*]
- विचतचरणकमलः श्रीकि(क)ष्णराजः तसू(त्सू)नुरनेकस[म]रविजय[प्राप्तकी*]—
- उ त्तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजम्लानिकरः श्रीशंकरणःस्तत्पादानुद्धचा⁶स्सकल-

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¹ The present grant shows that the Bhōgikapālaka was not an altogether petty officer, for Niri-hullaka who bore that title had a military officer under him. The Bhōgikapālaka seems to have been the chief of the Bhōgikas who were probably identical with Bhōgapatis or heads of subdivisions to whom royal orders are often addressed.

^{*} Mahāpilupati, the great commander of the elephant force, is a technical official title.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. II., p. 23.

⁴ From the lithograph facing p. 22 of Ep. Ind., Vol. II.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read श्रीशंकरगणस्तत्पादानुद्धधात...

- 4 महीमण्डलतलप्रथी (थि) तिकित्तिभ्भोगिक पालकमहा [प] लुपित विरहुल्ल-
- 5 कस्तहब (द्व) लाधिक (कु) तशान्तिल्ल [:*] सर्व्वानेव परमपादीयात्स्वांश्चा वेदयित [।*]
- 6 [य]था पाषाणिह्नद¹वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेय⁵सब्रह्मचारिणे
- 7 भट्टिक निन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधममं नित्रयोत्प (त्स) प्पणाय परमभट्टा-
- 8 रक्तपादानां पुण्ययशोभित्रि (वृ) द्वये तण्डुलपद्रकान्त[गं]केति श्रीपण्णंका-
- 9 [यां] पश्चिमसीमिन अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं पत्रपौत्रान्वयाभोज्यं व आदि—
- 10 [त्यो*]परागकाल¹¹मुदकातिसर्गोण बीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्रं आञ्चिम्य¹²
- 11विषिति[ि]तिसमकालीनं 12 प्रतिपादिथू 13 ह असस्या 14
- 12 ... ररानुव्यिथा¹⁴ भत्रनिपतिभिः¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Nirgundipadraka-

(There was) the illustrious Krishnarāja whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by all kings. His son (is) the illustrious Śańkara[ga]na who has obtained glory by his victories in many battles, who has made the lotuses, namely, the faces of the enemies' wives, fade. Meditating on his feet (there is) the Bhōgikapālaka and Mahāpīlupati Nirihullaka, whose fame is well known on the globe of the whole earth. His Balādhikrita (Military Officer) Śāntilla informs (the officers) of the Great Lord (Sańkaragaṇa) and his own as follows:—

(Line 6) To Bhaṭṭika Anantasvāmin of the Kautsa gōtra, (who is) a student of the Vājasanēyī (śākhā) and a resident of Pāshāṇihrada, there has been granted, with (a libation of) water, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the performance of the religious rites, (viz.) the five great sacrifices, for augmenting the religious merit and glory of the Great Lord, a field requiring one piṭaka¹6 of paddy as seed, situated on the western boundary of Śrī-Parṇakā which is included in (the sub-division of) Taṇḍulapadraka, (which is) not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, (and which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as [the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.]

¹ Read कीत्तिक्भोगिक...

^{*} Read महापीलपति ...

³ Read परमपादीयान स्वांश्चा...

⁴ Dhruva read हुद, but the lower curve is not curled.

⁸ Read बाजसनेय

^{*} Dhruva read भिन्न, but the akshara resembles हा in भट्टा at the end of this line, and about the reading of the latter there can be no doubt. Read भट्टिकानलस्वामिने. For भट्टि which, like ब्राह्मण, was prefixed to the names of Brāhmaṇas, see the names of भट्टिस्प्यंदिस and other donces of the Navalākhi plates of Sītāditya I—Dharmāditya, G. E. 286 [Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 179].

The sign of repha on this ligature is indistinct.

⁸ Read तण्डलपद्रकान्तर्गत-.

⁹ Read सीमन्यचाटभटप्रावेश्यं.

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपीत्रान्वयभोग्यं.

¹¹ It would be better to read and उदका-.

¹² Read क्षेत्रमाचन्द्राकांणंबिक्षतिस्थितिसमकालीनं. The text is very incorrectly written here and in the following two lines.

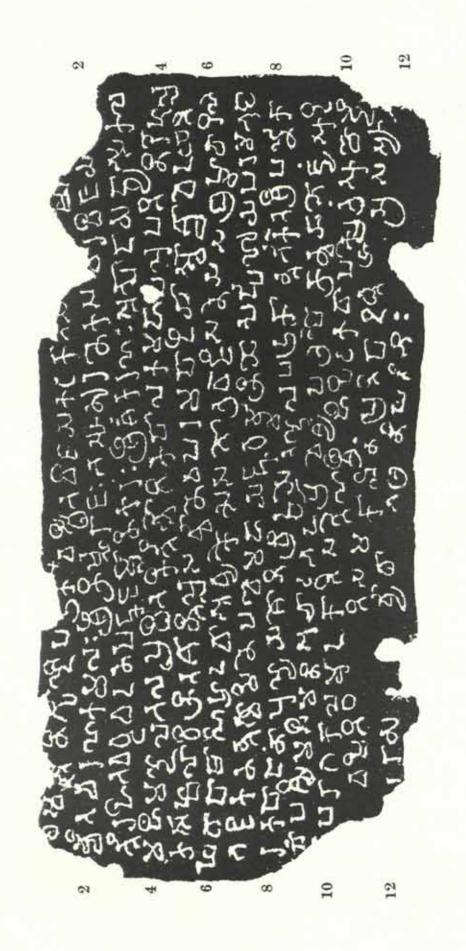
¹⁸ Read प्रतिपादितम्. The following akshara is redundant.

¹⁴ Read अतोस्मद्रंवयैरन्यैर्वा.

¹⁸ भद्रन्पतिभि:. The second plate, which is lost, must have contained the concluding words of this sentence such as अयमस्मद्दायोन्मन्तव्यः पालियतव्यस्य । (See Ābhōṇa plates, No. 12, above)

¹⁶ Pitaka (lit., a basket) is a measure of capacity.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA





(L. 11) Therefore [this gift should be consented to and preserved] by good kings [whether born in our family or others]—

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

No. 14; PLATE VIII

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were found in the possession of one Nānā valad Ahilāji Tiḍkē of Vaḍnēr in the Chāndvaḍ Tālukā of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Y.R. Gupte, who has edited them, with lithographs and a translation, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

Mr. Gupte has given the following description of the plates 2—'The plates are substantial. The first of them measures from 10½" to 10½" long by 8" broad including the rims..... The second measures about 10½" long by from 8½" to 8½% broad including the rims..... The plates have two holes from ½" to ½" in diameter for the insertion of the two original rings, which have been lost. Whether there was any seal or not, I cannot confidently say. There are, however, no traces of one, just as is the case with Sarsavnī plates. When the grant came under my notice, the Vaḍnēr plates were held together by two thin rings recently made. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. Either of them bears writing on the inner side only. The second plate is a little broken at the right rim where line 28 ends. The weight of the plates is 129 tolas, without the rings. The letters are very deeply and well cut. They do not show through on the reverse side at all. Some are, however, damaged and some have been completely destroyed by verdigris.' As the text of the inscription is for the most part identical with that of the Ābhōṇa and Sarsavnī plates, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. There are thirty-four lines in all, seventeen being inscribed on either plate. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—There appear more wedges than knobs at the top of letters; the former are, again, in some cases, especially when the sign for medial ā is added, replaced by short horizontal strokes. The superscript curve in the sign for initial ā appears like that for n in iva and idam in 11.17 and 34 respectively. See also the sign for the superscript ñ in chañchalam, 1.24. The sign for initial ā in āsha, 1.19, slightly differs from that used in the Ābhōṇa plates. The medial ā is generally shown by a slanting vertical stroke, curved at the top, see vasāt, 1.28; but see sarvvān=ēva, 1.17, where it appears as a curve encircling the letter n on the left. N everywhere appears in its northern form. L has in all places a short vertical stroke. The sign for the jihvāmūlīya occurs twice in 1.4 and that for the upadhmānīya in 11.8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 23, 25 and 31. Punctuation is indicated by a dot in 11.19, 30 and 31 and by two vertical strokes in 11. 27-30. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10 and 3 occur in 1.34.

The language is Sanskrit and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may

¹ As the grant was made by a military officer, this statement is inappropriate here. It seems to have been blindly copied from royal charters.

² Ep. Ind, Vol. XII, p. 31.

note that the consonant following r is generally reduplicated as in durllanghē, 1.2, vibhav-ārjjanam, 1.8 etc.; so also dh preceding y in -ānuddhyāta, 1.14, -Māddhyandina-, 1.21. The anusvāra is wrongly changed to n in pradhvansa-, 1.16. In sētu sthitīnām, 1.16, the visarga is dropped in accordance with the vārttika on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36. The rules of sandhi have not been observed in some cases, especially at the end of lines, see e.g., cha anumantā, 11.27-28 where ch=anumantā is required by the metre. A case of wrong sandhi occurs in yān=iha, 1.30.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Buddharāja of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his victorious camp at Vidiśā. He is described as the son of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The latter was himself the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati. The epithets of Kṛishṇarāja and Ṣaṅkaragaṇa are here copied verbatim from earlier charters of the dynasty (e.g., the Ābhōṇa plates of Ṣaṅkaragaṇa). The description of all the three princes is quite conventional and yields no historical information.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village Koṇiyānām (vātaka?) adjacent to Bhaṭṭaurikā in the bhōga (subdivision) of Vaṭanagara for augmenting the religious merit of himself and his parents. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who was a student of the Vājasanēya, Mādhyandina (śākhā) and a resident of Vaṭanagara. The gift was intended, as usual, to provide for the performance of the religious rites such as bali, charu, agnihōtra and vaiśvadēva. The record was written by Ānāphita, the Great Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War at the request of the queen Anantamahāyī of the Pāśupata faith. The dūtaka was the Mahābalādhikrita Prasahyavigraha.

The inscription is dated in words in 1.32 and in numerical symbols in 1.34, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 360. This date, like that of the Abhōna plates, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year 360, 5 the 8th August 610 A.C. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, Vidišā is modern Besnagar near Bhilsā in Central India. That the Kalachuri empire once comprised the province of Eastern Malwa is also shown by the discovery of some coins of Krishnarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, during excavations at Besnagar.² Vaṭanagara, the head-quarters of the bhōga (sub-division) in which the donated village was situated, and the place of the donee's residence, is obviously identical with Vaḍnēr where the plates were discovered. It may be noted in this connection that the Vaṇī-Diṇḍōri plates of the Rāshṭrakūta king Gōvinda III³ mention the Vaṭanagara vishaya (district) as situated in the Nāsika dēśa. Vaṭanagara was thus the chief town of both the bhōga and the

¹ If the year 360 is applied as current, the date would correspond to Tuesday, the 19th August 609 A. C. Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillay gives two other equivalents, viz. Friday, the 11th August 607 A. C. and Thursday, the 29th August 608 A. C. Of these the first is impossible as the Kalachuri year did not begin in Bhādrapada. Though Kielhorn held that view at first (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 215), he gave it up later on. (See his article entitled 'Die Epoch des Cedi Aera' in the Festgruss an Roth, pp. 53ff.) The second date also is improbable because the epoch 247-248 A. C. on which it is based, does not suit other early dates of the era which admit of verification.

^{*} A. R. A. S. I. (1913-14), p. 214.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 136 ff.

viskaya named after it. I identify Bhaṭṭaurikā with Bhāṭōrā about 11 miles northwest of Vaḍnēr and about 2 miles north of Vaṇī. 1 Kōṇiyānām² (vāṭāka?) may be Kanhuvāḍi, about 5 miles north by east of Bhāṭōrā.

TEXT3

First Plate

- सिद्धम् (स्व)स्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वैदिशवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलिवमलिवपुल-विविधपुर-
- [प]र[त्न]गुणिकरण[निक]रावभासिते महासत्वा (त्त्वा)पाश्रयदुल्लं ङ्को गाम्भीय्यंवति स्थित्यनुपाल-नपरे महो[दधा-]
- 3 [व]व [कट]च्चुरीणा[मन्वये सकलजन]मनोहरया चिन्द्रकयेव कीर्त्या [भु]वनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन [एव पशु—]
- 4 [पतिसमा]श्रयपरxकल ङ्कृ [दोष] रहितxकुलकुमुदवनल [क्ष्मी]विबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव[श्री]कृष्णराजो [यः]
- ্য [संश्रय]विशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्संपन्नप्रकि (कृ) तिमण्डलो यथा [वत्]
- 6 आत्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिय्येन च रुचिरवंशशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितवलगरिम्णा
- 7 वनवारणयूथपेनेवाविशक्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनिमता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्न-
- 8 त्रा[णा]य विग्रह≍पराभिमानभंगाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवार्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्मा[य]
- 9 [धर्म]क्श्रेयो[वा]प्तये [।*] तस्य पुत्र≍पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथक्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरु— णेन्द्रान्त[क—]
- 10 [सम]प्रभावस्स्ववाहुबलोपात्तोज्जितराजश्री≲प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डलः
- परस्परापीडितधम्मात्र्यंकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयस्सम्यप्रक्जापालना[ध-]
- 12 गतभूरिद्रविणविश्वाणनावाप्तधममंक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयिता अत्युच्छितानां
- उ[न्मू]लियता दीनान्ध[िक]पण⁵समिभलिषतमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदर्प्रव्विपरसमुद्रान्तादि— देशस्वामी
- 14 [मातापि]तृपादानुद्धचातं च्यातं च्यातं च्यातं च्यातं स्वरः श्रीशङ्करगण स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धचातस्सक [ल] महीमण्डलैक−
- 15 तिलकस्सातिशयप्रथि[त]नयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैर्यशौर्य्य [स्थै]र्या[द्य]शेषगु [णसमन्वि]तः
- 16 प्रबलिरपुवलोद्भूतदर्पंविभवप्रध्वन्स'हेतुस्सेतु स्थितीनामा[यतनं सि] द्वेरप्रतिर्हं8[तचकः]
- 17 चकघर इवा[त्ति]प्रशमनकर×प्रजानां परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुढ्व[राज]स्सर्वानेव राज-

¹ Mr. Gupte identifies Bhaṭṭaŭrikā with Bhāṭgaon about nine miles from Vadnēr; but its name does not exactly correspond to Bhaṭṭaŭrikā, and we have, therefore, to suppose that urikā, the second part of the name has been omitted. Bhāṭōrā, on the other hand, is clearly derived from Bhaṭṭaŭrikā.

² Mr. Gupte says that Köniyanāni means a village of the Köniyas who correspond to the modern Kölis. He does not, however, state which village of the Köniyas is meant here. Perhaps a word like vātaka has been omitted here. Köniyanāni vātaka may be identical with Kanhuvādī.

^{*} From the photo-lithographs facing pp. 34 and 35 of Ep. Ind., Vol. XII.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

[े] Read ऋपण.

⁶ Read श्रीशंकरगण: । तस्य.

र Read प्रध्वंस.

^{*} The lithograph shows a clear repha on ha. Read -रप्रतिहतचकरचकघर.

Second Plate

- 18 सामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ वो विदितमस्माभिः
- 19 वटनगरभोगे भट्टउरिकाप्रत्यासम्बकोणियाणां । एष ग्रामस्सोद्रङ्गस्सो[प]रिकरस्सर्व्वादान-
- 20 संग्राह्यस्सर्व्वंदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनीचाटभटप्रवेदय³ आचन्द्रा[वर्का]-
- 21 [क्षि]तिस्थितिसमकालीनष्पुत्रवैपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो वटनगरवास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रवाजसनेयमाद्धधन्दिन-
- 22 [स]ब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबोधस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिकियोत्सप्पँणात्थं मातापित्रोरात्म-नरच
- 23 [पुण्याभिवृ]द्धये उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो यतोस्मद्धंश्यै रन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभि×्रप्रबलपवन-प्रेरितो[दिघ]-
- 24 जल[तर] ङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दी।र्धकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलस्य सामान्य-
- 25 भोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य≍पालियत— व्यश्च [।*]
- 26 [यो] वाज्ञानितिमिरपटलावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमाने वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिभिम्मेहापातकैस्संयु-क्तस्स्या[त]
- 27 इत्यु[क्त]ञ्च [भ]गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ।। षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता च
- 28 अनुम[न्ता]⁷ च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णा— हयो हि जाय[न्ते]
- 29 भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्क्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
- 30 फ[लं] (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यात्नाद्रक्षण युधिष्ठिर । महिं महींमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोन्पालनम् [॥४॥*] यानिह¹⁰
- 31 द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्मात्थ्ययशस्कराणि । निव्धृंवतमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साध≍पनराद─
- 32 दीत¹¹ [॥५॥*] इति ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये पष्टचिवके भाद्रपदशुद्धत्रयोदश्यां पाशुपतराज्ञीराज्ञी¹²—
- 33 अनन्तमहायीविज्ञापनया महाबलाधिकृतश्रीप्रसद्यविग्रहदूतकं [लिखितं]
- 34 इदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतानाफितेनेति॥ सं ३०० ६० [भा]द्रपद शु १० ३ [॥*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The sign of punctuation is superfluous here. Read क्रोणियानां.

³ The usual reading of this word is आवेश्य:.

⁴ Read कालीन: पुत्र-.

⁵ Mr. Gupte reads चण्चलं, but that the superscript letter is n, not n, is shown by the curve added to the subscript cb.

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read चानमन्ता.

⁸ Metre of this and the three following verses: Anusbtubh.

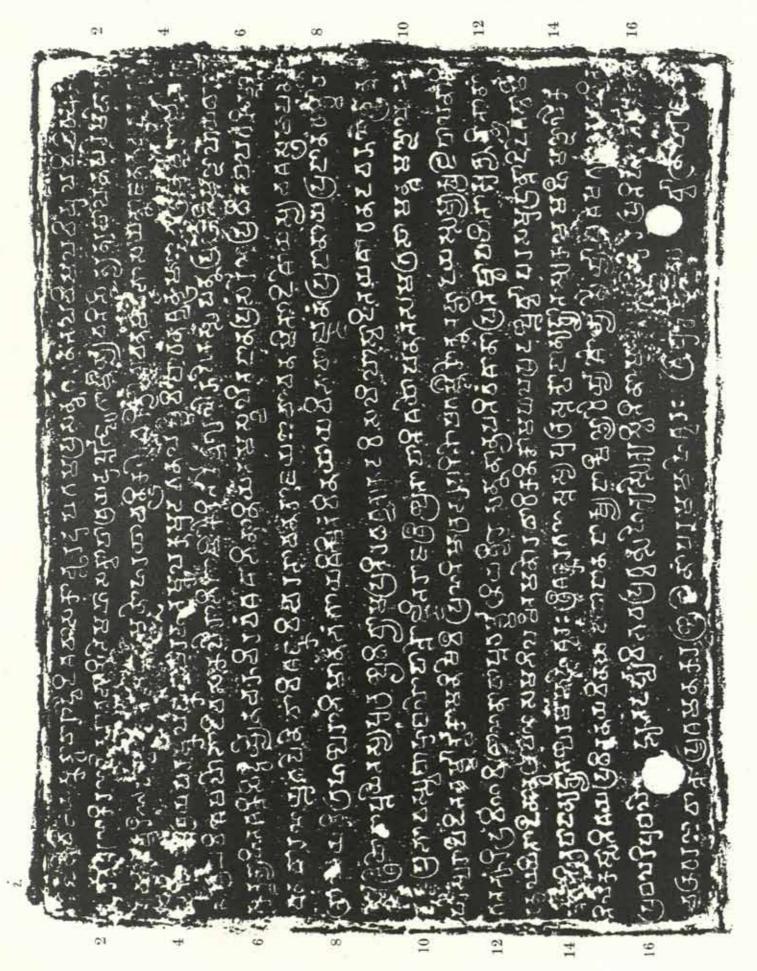
[&]quot; Read यत्नाद्रक्ष.

¹⁰ Read यानीह.

¹¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

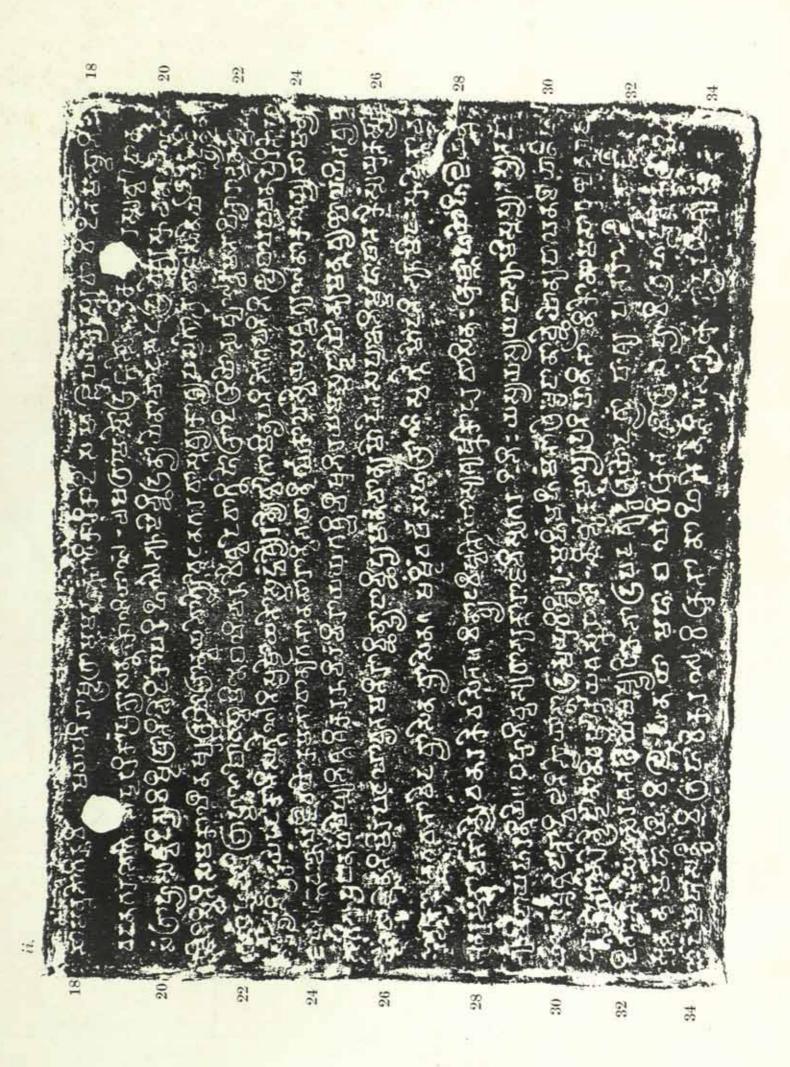
¹² This word is superfluous.

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360



B. CH. CHHABRA. Res. No. 3977 E'36-778'51. SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Vidiśā-

(For a translation of lines 1-13, see above, pp. 42 f.)

(Line 14) His son, the illustrious Buddharāja—who meditates on his feet; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who is the sole ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is the endowed with all the well-known excellences such as political wisdom, modesty, compassion, liberality, dexterity, courtesy, courage, bravery, firmness and others; who causes the destruction of the supreme arrogance, due to power, of mighty foes; who is a dam to safeguard all established customs, (and) a resting place of success; who, with his unimpeded army, allays the sufferings of the people even as Vishņu does with his irresistible discus,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, heads of bhōgas¹ and vishayas, the Mahattaras of rāshṭras and villages, officials and others:—

(L. 18) Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water the village (called the hamlet) of Kōṇiyas adjacent to Bhaṭṭaurikā (situated) in the Vaṭanagara bhōga, together with udraṅga and uparikara, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land, (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who is a student of the Vājasanēya Mādhyandīna (śākhā) and a resident of Vaṭanagara for the maintenance of balī, charu, vaiśvadēva and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of lines 23-27, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 27) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by sixty on the thirteenth (*lunar day*) of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, this (*order*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahā-balādhikṛita*, the illustrious Prasahyavigraha, has been written by Ānāphita, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of the queen Anantamahāyī, a devotee of Paśupati.

The year 300 (and) 60, (the month) Bhadrapada, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) to (and) 3.

No. 15; PLATE IX

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

These plates were found in the possession of Patel Karsan Dāji of Sarsavņī (Sarasavaņī), a village four and a half miles south of Padrā in the Padrā subdivision of the Baroda District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with photolithographs and a translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

These are two copper-plates, either of which measures $10\frac{3}{8}$ broad by $7\frac{3}{8}$ high and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter. There is no seal and no indication of one having been attached to the plates. The writing is well-done and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$. The

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 294.

record consists of thirty-five lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first and eighteen on the second plate,

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Abhona plates.1 We may notice here the following peculiarities:- Most of the letters have wedges at the top as in the Vadner plates;2 the medial a is indicated in many cases by a curve rising above the line and coming down lower than in the Vadner plates, see e.g. pratāp-ātišay-, l. 10 and dayā-dāna-, l. 15; th appears in two forms, the ordinary one as in yathāvad-, 1.5 and the cursive one as in prathita-, 1.6, sthiti-, 1.16 etc; y has a loop in its left member in yūtha 1.6; kh shows two slightly different forms in askhalita-, 1.6 and likhitam=, 1.34; the forms of the initial ô in Kumārivadaō, 1.20 and of ph in phala II. 13, 26 and 31 are also noteworthy. The jihvāmūliya occurs twice in 1.4 and the upadhmānīya four times in 11.7, 24, 27 and 32. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10, 5 and 1 occur in line 35. The language is Sanskrit, and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that ri is used for the vowel ri in prithivyām-, 1.9; the consonant following r is correctly reduplicated in such cases as durllanghe, 1.2, siddhir=yyena, 1.6, etc., but incorrectly in varshsha-, 1.28; similarly dh is doubled before y, see anuddhyata twice in 1.14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used for anusvara in vansa, 1.6, vansanam, 1.12, etc., and the dental one in pradhvansa, 1.16. There are a few mistakes of sandhi and some wrong forms as pointed out in the notes to the text.

The plates were issued by the king Buddharāja of the Katachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty, from the victorious camp at Anandapura. He was the son of Sankaragana who was himself the son of Krishnaraja. The description of these kings is given here exactly as in the Vadner plates. In fact, the text of the whole inscription, except for certain particulars such as the donee, the village granted, and the date, is exactly identical with that of the Vadner plates. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village Kumarīvadao situated near Brihannārikā in the Gorajjā bhoga which was included in the Bharukachchha vishaya. The donee was the Brāhmana Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhattu, who belonged to the Pārāśara gōtra. He was a student of the Vājasanēya Kanva sākhā and a resident of Dēbhaka. The purpose of the grant was as usual to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as bali, charu, raiśvadēva and agnihōtra. The grant was made at the request of Gökulasvāmin who may have been the king's family-priest. The dūtaka was the Mahābalādhikrita Prasahyavigraha who is mentioned in the same capacity in the earlier Vadner plates.3 The royal order was written by Sivarāja, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.4

The inscription is dated, in words (1.33) and numerical symbols (1.35), on the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the year 361. This date must, obviously, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early verifiable dates of the era, the date of the present plates would fall in 609 A.C. if the year 361 was current, and in 610 A.C. if it was expired.⁵

¹ Above, No. 12.

² Above, No. 14.

³ See line 33 of No. 14, above.

⁴ The office was held by a different person at the time of the Vadnër plates which, as shown below, was made only about two and a half months before.

⁸ Prof. Kielhorn has stated (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 293, n. 6) that according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the pūrņimānta Kārttika) would correspond to

The present date is one of the few early Kalachuri dates falling in a dark fortnight, but in the absence of the mention of a week-day or a nakshatra, it is not possible to say if the month Kārttika to which it belonged was pūrņimānta or amānta. If considered in connection with the date of the Vadner plates, it affords some basis for conjecture. The Vadner plates were granted at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsā) on Bhādrapada su. di. 13 towards the end1 of the Kalachuri year 360, while the present grant was made at Anandapura (which, as shown below, is either Anand in the Kairā District or Vadnagar in the Mēhsēnā District on Kārttika va. di. 15 in the beginning of the next Kalachuri year 361. Supposing that the years of the Vadner and Sarsavni plates were both current, or both expired, there would be an interval of about one month and sixteen days between the dates of the two grants, if the months were purnimanta. The distance between Vidisā and Ānanda is about 320 miles as the crow flies and that between the former place and Vadnagar is about 340 miles. This distance would be considerably increased, if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into account. Whichever identification of Anandapura we accept, we shall have to suppose (if the dates are recorded in pūrņimānta months) that Buddharāja had to reach Ānandapura from Vidišā by forced marches.2 There is, however, nothing in either of the grants to support such a view. On the other hand, if we take the dates of both the inscriptions as recorded in amanta months3 there would be the reasonable interval of about two months and sixteen days between the two campaigns.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Kielhorn identified Ānandapura with the modern Ānand, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Kaira District. Dr. Altekar has, however, adduced very cogent reasons to prove that the ancient Ānandapura is identical with the modern Vaḍnagar in the Mēhsānā District. The former view is supported by the fact that the village granted by the present charter is situated much nearer to Ānand than to Vaḍnagar, but this cannot be regarded as a decisive argument. Dēbhaka is probably Dabkā, 8 miles west of Padrā, as suggested by Kielhorn. Gōrajjā is Gōraj, 11 miles south of Halol in the Panch Mahals, and Kumārivaḍaō (which is probably a Prakrit form of Kumārīvāṭaka) Kawarwārā, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from Gōraj. I identify Brihannārikā (the larger Nārikā) with Nāriā, 7 miles south of Kawarwārā.

the 3rd October 609 A. C. In this he evidently took the year as expired. According to the epoch which suits early verifiable dates of the era, he found by calculation that (for the expired year 361) it would correspond to either the 12nd September or the 22nd October 610 A.C., as Kärttika was then intercalary.

As I have shown in the Introduction, the Kalachuri year began on Kārttika śu. di. 1.

Taking the distance to be approximately 400 miles on account of the windings of the road we find that the army of Buddharāja must have marched on an average 9 miles per day. According to Yuan Chwang a yōjana (which was 30 or 40 li, i.e., from 6 to 8 miles) was a day's journey for a royal army. (See Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 141, and compare Kautilya's Arthalāstra, second ed. by Shama Sastri, p. 365). So it was not impossible for Buddharāja's army to cover the distance in one month and sixteen days, but this leaves no time for actual fighting if there was any.

^{*} For another early Kalachuri date in an amanta month, see No. 22, below.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. LIV, Suppl., pp. 14-15.

These identifications of Gōrajjā and Kumārivadaō were first suggested by Dr. Fleet, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 297. He identified Bṛihannārikā with Banaiyā, 4½ miles south of Kawarwārā, but this does not seem to be correct. The place-name, which means 'the larger Nārikā', would assume the form Moṭā Nāriā, or simply Nāriā, in modern Gujarātī and is, therefore, probably identical with Nāriā as suggested above.

TEXT1

First Plate

- सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादानन्दपुरवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलिवमलिवपुले विविधपुरुष रत्नगुण-
- करणिकरावभासिते महासत्वा³पाश्रयदुर्ल्जङ्घे गाम्भीर्यवित स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदघाविव कट[च्च-]
- 3 रीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाध-
- 4 यपरxकलञ्जदोषरहितxक्लक्मदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशे-
- पलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतः संपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्ति—
- 6 सिद्धियोंन च रुचिरवङ्श भिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितवलगरिम्णा वनवारणयुथ-
- 7 पेनेवाविश द्धं विचरता वनराजय इवावनिमता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रह 🔀 प[रा]-
- श्रीमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवार्ज्जंनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धम्मीय धम्मैश्श्रेयोवाष्तये [।*] तस्य पुत्रः
- 9 प्रिथिव्या⁵मप्रतिरथरचतुरुदधिसिलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपा-
- तोज्जितराजश्रीः प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डलः परस्परापीडितघरमार्त्थकामनिषेवी
- 11 प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यव्यजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणना-
- वाप्तधम्मंक्रियविचरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिबङ्गशानां प्रतिष्ठापियतात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलियता दीनान्ध-कृपण[स]-
- मिलिषितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृपादा—
- 14 नुद्धचातः परममा[हे]श्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः[।*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धचातः सकलमहीमण्डलैक-तिलकः
- मातिशयप्रियतनयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैय्यंशौर्यंस्थैय्यद्यशिषगुणसमन्वितः प्र[व]-
- 16 लिरपुबलोद्भतदर्पंविभवप्रध्वन्स'हेतुः सेतुः स्थितीनामायतनं सिद्धेरप्रतिहतचक्रवचक्रध-
- 17 र इवात्तिप्रशमनकरः प्रजानाम् परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुद्धराजः

Second Plate

- 18 सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादि⁸ समाज्ञा-
- 19 पयत्यस्तु⁹ वो विदितमस्माभिः भरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतगोरज्जा¹⁰भोगे बृहस्नारिकाप्रत्यासन्न-
- 20 कुमारिवडओ ।11 एष ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यः सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्राति[भे]दिका-
- 21 परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन¹² अचाटभटप्रावेश्य आचन्द्राक्काण्णंवक्षितिस्थितसमकालीनः पुत्रपौ-

¹ From the lithographs between pp. 298 and 299 in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI.

Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read महासत्त्वा-.

⁴ Read वंश-

a Read पश्चिया....

⁶ Read वंशानां.

⁷ Read प्रध्यस-

[&]quot; Read कारिकादीन.

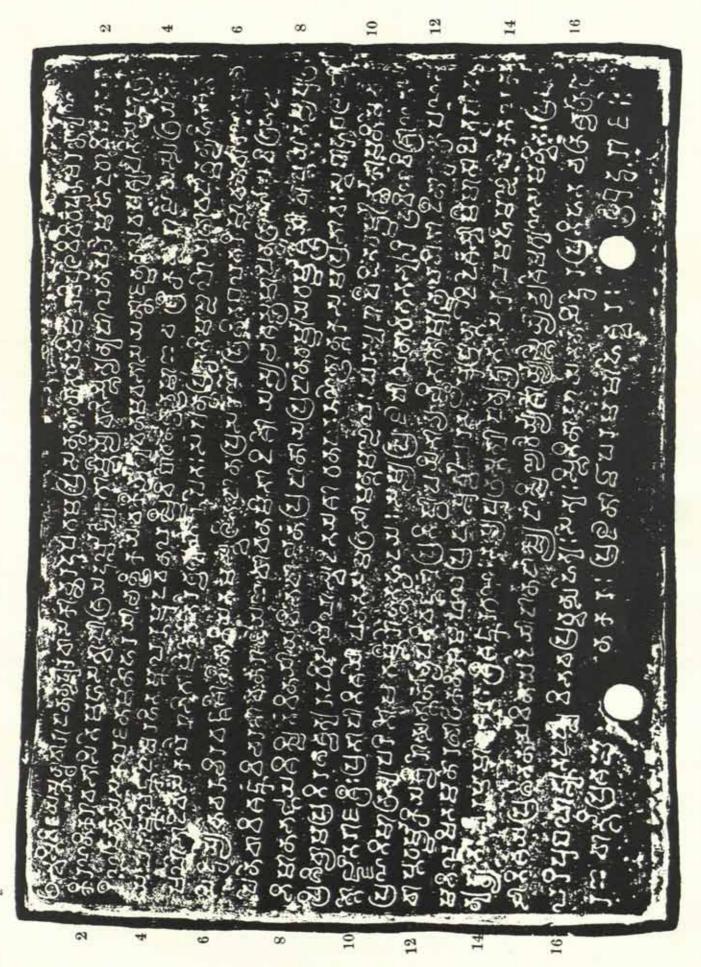
⁹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु वो विदितम.

¹⁰ The name may have been originally inscribed as पोरुजा, but the sign for medial u is now very indistinct.

¹¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

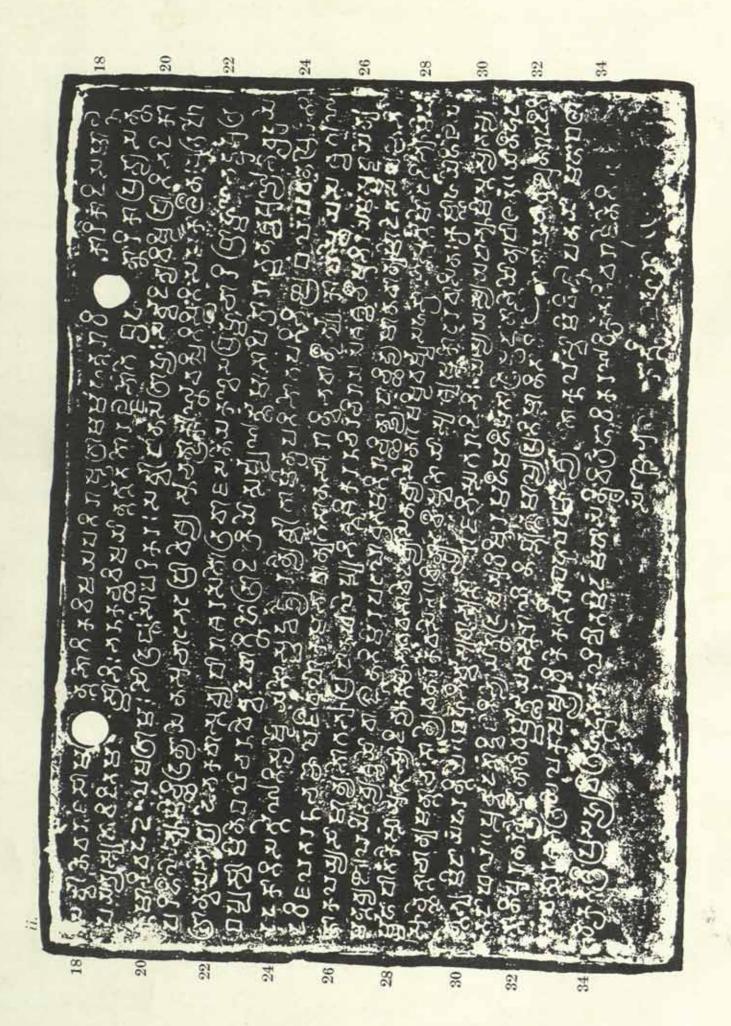
¹² Read -न्यायेनाचाट-.

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 361



B. CH. CHHABRA. Reg. No. 3977 E'36-778'50.

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.



- 22 त्रान्वयभोग्य¹ डेभकवास्तव्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयकण्वसन्नह्यचारिन्नाह्यणभट्टपुत्र-
- 23 बप्पस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादित्रियोत्सप्पंणात्यं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये²
- 24 उदकातिसम्गेंगातिसृष्टो³ यतोस्मद्वङ् श्यै⁴रन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभि×प्रवलपवनप्रेरितो-
- 25 द्रिषजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीगर्धकालस्थेयसञ्च गुणा-
- 26 नाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चचीषुभि⁵रयमस्मद्दायोन्-
- 27 मन्तव्य≍पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानितमिरपटलावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि-
- 28 म्मेहापातकैस्संयुक्त स्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्ष्यं सहस्राणि स्वग्गें मोदति भूमिद: [1*]
- 29 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जाय-
- 30 न्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिवंसुघा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
- उर तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युघिष्ठिर [॥*] मही महीम[तां] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [४॥*] यानीह द-
- 32 त्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै[र्द्दा]नानि धम्मीत्थैयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्व्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि [को] नाम साध्रद्रपुनराददीति(त)¹० ।। [५।।*]
- 33 संवत्सरशतत्रये¹¹ एकषष्टचिवके कात्तिकबहुलपञ्चदश्यां गोकुलस्वामिविज्ञापनया महाबला—
- 34 घिकृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतशिवराजेनेति ॥
- 35 सं ३०० ६० १ कार्त्तिक व १० ५।।

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Anandapura— (For a translation of lines 1—18, see above, pp. 42-3 and 51.)

(Line 19) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water this village (viz.) Kumārivaḍaō (situated) near Brihnnārikā (the larger Nārikā) in the Gōrajjā bhōga included in the Bharukachchha vishaya—together with udranga and uparikara, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land, (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu of the Pārāśara gōtra, who

¹ Read भोग्यो.

[&]quot; Read वृद्धय.

³ Read सृष्ट:.

⁴ Read -वंद्ये-.

Bead यशक्तिचीयभि-.

⁸ Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तञ्ज.

र Read वर्ष-.

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses: Anushtubh.

[ै] Read महीं.

¹⁰ Metre : Indravajrā,

¹¹ Read शतत्रय.

is a student of the Vājasanēya Kaņva (śākhā) and a resident of Dēbhaka, for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of lines 24-28, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 28)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth (limar day) of the dark fortnight of Kārttika, this (charter), the dūtaka of which is the Mahābalādhikrita the illustrious Prasahyavigraha, has been written by Šivarāja, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of Gōkulasvāmin. The year 300 (and) 60 (and) 1, (the month) Kārttika, the dark (fortnight), (the lumar day) 10 (and) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GURJARAS

No. 16; PLATE X

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380.

HIS set of two copper-plates was found about 1827 together with three others1 in the town of Khēdā or Kairā, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gujarat, Bombay State. "The river 'Watrua' runs close to the walls of Khēdā on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth,"2 The plates were brought to notice ten years later by Dr. A. Burn who sent transcripts and facsimiles of them to Mr. James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As three of them contained dates both in words and in figures, Mr. Prinsep first published facsimiles and explanations of date-portions of the grants, in J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 348, and later on a mixed transcript of two of them, which were cognate grants of Dadda II, on pp. 908 ff. of the same volume. When Dr. Burn returned home, he presented the Royal Asiatic Society with three of the sets, viz., two containing this and the following grant of Dadda-Praśāntarāga and the third a grant of Vijayarāja.3 The grants were subsequently published together with facsimile plates and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the J. R. A. S. (New Series) (1865), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. The original plates of the two grants of Dadda II have since been lost. When Dr. Fleet edited them finally in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff., he had to depend on the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit them here from the same facsimiles.

The facsimiles show two plates, each measuring about 11½" broad and 9½" high. It is not possible to say whether their edges were smooth or were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The lower proper left corner of the first plate is broken off, resulting in the loss of from one to six aksharas in Il. 21-29. Besides, a small portion of the upper proper right corner of the second plate is lost, causing a partial destruction of the first six aksharas of 1.31. The missing aksharas can, however, be supplied from the corresponding portion of the following grant. The plates seem, otherwise, to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles are fairly good, though it is not unlikely that some letters which were legible on the original plates, have not come out in them.4 In making the subjoined transcript I have, however, taken Prof. Dowson's lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates have each two roundish holes about 15g" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. The lithograph shows, however, only one ring with a round seal about 12g" in diameter. The surface of the seal is divided into two fairly equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains in relief 'some symbol of sun-worship', while the lower has the legend Sāmanta-Dadda in the same characters as those of the record on the plates.

The characters of the inscription, except the sign-manual, belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs on the tops of letters. The

¹ Two of these were another grant of Dadda II of the year 385 (No. 17, below) and a grant of Vijayarāja of the Chālukya dynasty (No. 34, below). No information about the third set is available.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 908.

³ No. 34 below.

⁴ For instance, the superscript ch in āchchhidyāmānakan, l. 46, which must have been incised on the original plate, does not appear in the lithograph.

forms of the initial i in Isvara, 1.40 and i in isha, 1.33 are noteworthy; the medial n is formed by a loop in $r\bar{n}p$ - $\bar{n}nu$ -1.5; its long form in the case of $r\bar{n}$ is indicated by turning the curve of the letter to the right or by adding two curves to the vertical, see $r\bar{n}pam$ ll.6 and 24; k shows a loop on the left in $prak\bar{i}rnna$, 1.5 and kamala-, 1.27; j and n show a notch on the top, see panka-janma- $tay\bar{a}$, 1.11; the rare jh occurs in mirjjhara, 1.9; d shows a loop in some places and a tail in others see e.g., mibida-, 1.16, and kamdinya, 1.38; n appears throughout in its southern form; n is flat at the bottom, its upper part which consists of a curve generally showing a notch as in prabala-, 1.20, but contrast n0 but contrast n0 but consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, while punctuation is shown by a dot in some places and by vertical strokes in others. The sign-manual of the donor is in northern current hand characters. In it n1 has an archaic form, n1 in some cases appears without a loop, while the forms of n2 and n3 are in advance of these used in other contemporary records.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The eulogistic part of it is written in a style of high flourish which is well-known from the works of the contemporary Sanskrit author Bāṇa. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the close similarities in the wording of both the eulogistic and formal parts of the present plates and the earlier Sarsavṇī plates of the Kaṭachchuri prince Buddharāja. From this he inferred that the family of the Gurjara princes rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of the anusvāra, the guttural nasal is used before f in vanša, 1.2 and nistrinša, 1.27; the consonant following r is doubled as in sthairyya-, 1.2, nirijhara, 1.9, etc. and the vowel ri is used for ri, in tṛivargga, 1.24, and yam=aśṛitāḥ, 1.21.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty who had won the pañchamahāsabda and who calls himself Praśāntarāga in his sign-manual. On the seal he has the title Sāmanta (feudatory prince). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the village Śirīshapadraka situated in the vishaya of Akrūrēśvara to forty Brāhmaṇas, of whom thirty-five belonging to the Rigvēda, (White) Yajurvēda and Sāmavēda had emigrated from Jambūsaras and were then residing at Śirīshapadraka itself, while the remaining five, all of whom belonged to the Atharvavēda, had emigrated from Bharukachchha and were then residing at Bhērajjikā. The purpose of the grant was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as the five great sacrifices, viz., bali, charu, vaišvadēva, agnihōtra,

¹ In sandāmaņinā, l. 21, the letter d also shows a tail like that of d, perhaps by mistake.

² Cf. In his opening sentence he (i.e., the author of the present Kairā grant) compares the family of Gurjara kings with the great ocean (mahōdadhī) and in describing that ocean, he employs the words vividba, vimala, guņaratna, udbhāsita, avilanghitāvadhi, gāmbhīrya and the phrase mahāsattvatay-ātiduravagāhē which to the reader of the present (i. e., Sarsavni) grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Krishnaraja is described as from his very birth (a janmana ēva) devoted to the service of Siva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (utpattita ēva) worship the sun. He, moreover, just as in the case of the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (yēna...yāni cha...yasya cha, etc.) and in the clause commencing with yasya cha in line 7 and ending with Vindhyanag-opatyakah in line 10 he imitates and labours to improve on the relative sentence beginning with yena cha in line 6 and ending with dise in line 7 of the present grant.' Kielhorn then proceeds to point out the similarities in the wording of the formal parts of the grants. 'We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed, the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted; with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and with the omission of one verse the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order.' Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 296-97.

etc. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika. The scribe was Rēva, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols in Il. 50-51, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 380. Though the era is not specified, the date, on the evidence of palœography, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch 248-49, A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year 380, to the 6th November 629 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription mentions two ancestors of Dadda II, viz., his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhaṭa I who had the biruda Vītarāga. About the former we are told that he was a Sāmanta or a feudatory prince, though his suzerain is nowhere named, and that from his very birth he was a devotee of the sun. The epithet ākrishṭa-satru-nāga-kula-samtati (ll.3-4) applied to him was interpreted to mean that he exterminated his enemies of the Nāga race²; but as Kielhorn has shown, the description contains no such historical allusion, the sense being simply that 'Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuḍa destroys the snakes.' The description in line 10, that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, seems to suggest that he extended his kingdom to or raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain.

About Jayabhaṭa I the present inscription gives no information except that he obtained victories over the forces of his powerful foes, and that he had the biruda Vitarāga. The description of his son Dadda II, the donor of the present grant, is also conventional, the only historical information that we can glean from it being that he had obtained the pañchamahāśabda, and had the biruda Praśāntarāga.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nāndīpurī was identified by Dr. Bühler³ with an old fort of that name just outside the Jhadēśwar gate to the east of Broach. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, however, suggested that Nāndīpurī was identical with Nāndōd in the Broach District.⁴ The statement in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhaṭa III⁵ that Nāndīpurī vishaya included the village Tōraṇaka (modern Tōraṇ² miles to the north of Nāndōd) proves the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal's suggestion. The absence of any word like vāsakāt after Nāndīpurī indicates that it was probably the capital of the Gurjaras. Akrūrēśvara is clearly identical with Aṅklēśvar, the chief town of a tālukā of the same name, in the Broach District. Śirīshapadraka is Sisōdra about 11 miles west by south of Aṅklēśvar. Jambūsaras still bears its ancient name and lies about 27 miles north of Broach. Bharukachchha is of course Broach, while Bhērajjikā is probably Bōrjai in the Broach District, about 12 miles east of Aṅklēśvar.

TEXT6

First Plate

सिद्धम्⁷ स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरीतो(तः) [1*] विविधविमलगुणरत्नसंपा(प)दुद्धास(सि)-[तसकलदिङम्]खे परित्राताश(शे)षसपक्ष[महा*]महीभृति

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 18th October 628 A. C.

[&]quot; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 82.

³ Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 62

¹ Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 73.

⁵ Below, No. 22, lines, 17-18.

⁶ From the facsimiles prefixed to Prof. Dowson's article in J. R. A. S. (New Series), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

- सततमिवलिङ्घतावधौ स्थैर्य्यगाभिर्यं¹लाबण्यवित महासत्वतया²[ति]दुरवगाहे गुज्जैरनृपितवंङ्श³—
 मह(हो)दघा(धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृ—
 - उणहृदयाहितास्पदः कौस्तुभमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितिनिकरिविनिहतकितिमिरिनचयः सत्पक्षो वैनतेय इवाकृष्टशत्रु—
 - 4 नागकुलसंतितरुत्पत्तित एव दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनीताशेषदुरितिनवहः सामन्तदद्दः [।*] प्रतिदिनमपेतशङ्कं येन
- १ स्थितमचलगुणनिकरकेसरि(र)विरा[जि]तवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलो(ल) –
 च्छलप्र[की]ण्णंविमलयशोवितानेन रूपा[नु]
 - 6 रूपं सत्व¹मुद्रहता केसरिकिशोरकेणेवोपरि क्षितिभृतां[ताम्] [।*] यं चातिमलिनकलियुगतिमिर— चन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्यन्यस्पद्धयवा³—
- 7 ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणा विक्रमानीतमदविलासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च [ा*] यस्य चाविरतदान—
- 8 प्रवाहप्रीणितार्त्विमधुकरकुलस्य ६चिरकीत्तिवशासहायस्य सतंत्रण्मस्खलितपदं प्रसरतः सद्वंद्रशा⁷-हितशोभागौरवस्य
 - भद्रमतंगजस्येव करघातिविनिहतक्षितिभृदुन्नततन् रहस्य रैवानिर्ज्यारसिललप्रपातमधुरिननदस्य भगो—
 [द्व-]
 - वाः समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दियता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यका⁸ यश्चोपमीयते शिक्षिति सौम्यत्व— वैमल्यशोभाकला—
 - भिन्नं कलञ्चेन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदायाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया सत्वो⁹— त्साह्विकमेर्मृगाधिरा—
- 12 जे न कु(कू) राशयतया लावण्यस्थैय्यगंभीय्य¹⁰स्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधो(धौ) न व्यालाश्रयतया सत्कटकसमुञ्जतविद्याधरावा—
 - 13 सतया हिम(मा)चले न खष(श)परिवारतया [।*] यस्य च स[द्भो]गः शेषोरगस्येव विमल-किरणमणिशतावि[क्क]तगौरवः सकलजगत्साधार-
- 14 णो¹¹ यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शीलेन प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया शस्त्रमरातिप्रणिपातेन कोपो निग्रहेण प्रसाद: प्रदानैधंम्मौ देवद्विजातिगु-
- 15 रुजनसपर्य्ययेति [॥*] तस्य सूणुः (नुः) प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदातः कल्पतरुरिव (वा)विरतमभि— क(रु)चितफलप्रदः सततमृतुगणस्येव
 - 16 वसन्तसमयो वसन्तसमयस्य (स्ये)व प्रविकसितिनिविडच्ततक्वनाभोगः सरस इव कमलिवहः कमलिवहस्येव
 - १७ प्रजीवो महाविषधरस्येव मणिम्मणिरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधेरियामृतकलशोमृतकलशस्येवा-मरणदायित्व-

¹ Read गाम्भीयं-

⁼ Read महासत्त्वतया.

³ Read वंश-.

[ा] Read सरव-.

⁵ Read -मन्योन्यस्पद्धंयेवा-.

⁶ The anuvāra is misplaced here. Read संतत—.

र Read सहंगा-.

^{*} Read नगोपत्यकाः।

⁹ Read सत्त्वो—.

¹⁰ Read स्वेय्यंगाम्भीय्यं—.

¹¹ Read साधारण: 1

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380

B. CH. CHHABRA. Res. No. 3977 E'36-763 '51 (From Photographs).

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.





- 18 प्रभावः करिण इव मदः प्रमदाजनस्येव विलासो विभवस्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्मस्येव क[तुः] क[तो]रिव स्वद-
 - 19 क्षिणाकालः प्रेम्ण इव सद्भावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियतमलंकारभूतः सकलनिशाकरचि-रूप¹--
 - 20 वदनः शक्लो वदान्यः प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाष्त्रविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागापरनामा श्रीजय-भटः [1*] कलि-
 - 21 प्रतिपयभयाछरणार्त्थिन² इव यमप्राताः³ सविनया गुणाः [।*] स्फुरितविमलकीत्तिसौ[दा]— मणिना येन सकलजीवलो[का-*]³
 - २२ नन्दकारिणा कालवलाहकेनेवावन्ध्येफलं गर्जंता प्रणियनामपनीतास्तृष्णासंतापदोषाः [1*] यदच शूरो[पि] [संतत*]—
 - मयशोभिरुरपगततृष्णोपि गुणार्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्षः सर्व्यप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपर(रा)—
 ङमुखः [पटुरपि पर*-]
 - 24 परिवादाभिधानजडधी: [।*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूपं शीलस्य यौवनं सद्वृत्तस्य विभवः प्रदानस्य तृ(त्रि)वर्ग्गसेवा प[रस्परापीडन*-]
 - 25 स्य प्रभुत्व क्ष (क्षा)न्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति [॥*] तस्य सूनुः सजलघनपटलिनर्गतरजनिकर-करावबोधितक (कु) [मृदधवल-*]
 - 26 यशःप्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलव[धूप्र][भातसम*-]
 - 27 यरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्श⁷प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो[द्घृष्टवळ*-]
 - 28 मणिकोटिरुचिरदीघितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतार्त्थिजना [क्लि] व-(ष्ट) [परिपूरि*-]
 - 29 तिवभवमनोरथोपचीयमानित्रविष्टपैकसहायधम्मस (सं)चयः प्रणयपरिर (कु) [पित*-]
 - 30 मानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्व्यमबुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरक-

Second Plate

- 31 [स्वभावो विमल्ण]गुणिकरणपंजराक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरिनचयः समिधगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः [श्री] दृहः
- 32 कुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुबोध-
- 33 यत्य¹⁰स्तु वो विदित्तमस्माभिरक्कु(क्कू)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गतशिरीषपद्रकं एष ग्राम: सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः
- 34 सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यः सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्य आच-न्द्राकण्णिव-

¹ Read निशाकराभिक्प-.

² Read प्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणा-.

³ Read यमात्रिताः.

⁴ The aksharas in rectangular brackets at the end of ll. 21-29 have been lost owing to the breaking off of the lower proper left corner of the plate. They are supplied from the following record (No. 17) of the same king.

⁵ Read कालवलाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं.

⁶ Read —मयशोभी हरपगतवृष्णोपि.

⁷ Read निस्त्रिंश-

⁸ The horizontal bar of & does not appear here.

The corner of the plate being broken off here, only the lower portions of the first six aksbaras appear in the lithograph.

¹⁰ Read समनुबोधयति । अस्तु वो.

- 35 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जंबूसरोविनिग्गैताक्त्रु (क्त्रू) रेश्वरविषयान्तग्गैत— [शि]रीषपद्रकवासिबह्वचव—
 - उर्व त्ससगोत्राश्वलायनसब्द्धचारिब्राह्मणभट्ट्याध्यापक¹। तथा गोपादित्य । तथा भट्टिगण । विशाख । अग्निशम्मं । द्रोण । काश्यपस–
 - 37 गोत्रभट्टिदाम । तथा वत्र । अध्वय्यु वाजसनेयडौण्डकीयसगोत्र । कण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणता— पिशम्म (म्मं) । द्वितापिशम्मं ।
 - 38 दत्तस्वामि । भागिस्वामि । पितृशर्म्म । भट्टि । द्रोण । घूम्प्रायणसगोत्रककर्भध्यापक । आवुक । कौण्डित्यसगोत्रवाटशर्म्म । शैल ।
 - 39 घोष । महादेव । बाव । माठरसगोत्रधर । विशाख । निन्द । रामिल । हारितसगोत्रधम्मैधर । छान्दोग्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रकौथम-
 - 40 सब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणइन्द्रशम्मं । आदित्यरिव । तापिशूर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । घर । दामघर । द्वि ईश्वर । भरुकच्छविनिग्गंतभेरिज्जका-
 - 41 निवासि अ(आ)थव्वंण⁴चौलिसगोत्रिपपलादसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभद्र । वायुशर्म्मं । द्रोणस्वामि । रुद्रादित्य । पूर्णस्वामि । एभ्यश्चतु-
 - 42 श्चरणब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चातुर्विद्यपरिकल्पनापूर्व्वं बलिचस्वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपंचमहायज्ञादित्रियोत्सप्पं— णात्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु—
 - 43 ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये कात्तिक्य (क्या) मुदकातिसम्गेणातिसृष्टो⁵ यतोस्मद्ध्ङश्यै⁶रन्यैर्वागामिभोगपतिभिः प्रवलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरं-
 - 44 गचंचलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्ग्यकालस्येयसङ्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोग-भूप्रदानफलेप्सु-
 - 45 भिः शशिकररुचिरं यशिचराय चिचीपुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालियतव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानितिमरपटलावृतमित-
 - 46 राच्छिन्दाद(दा)[च्छि]द्या(द्य)मानकं वानुमोदेत स पंचिभम्मँहापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्यदुक्तं च⁷ भगवता वेदव्यासेन
 - 47 व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठित भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु-
 - 48 शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिव्यंसुघा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य य-
 - 49 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्मात्थंयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-
 - 5० नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतेति⁹ । संवत्सरशतत्रयेशीत्यधिके कार्त्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदस्यां लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहा¹⁰धिक—

¹ Read भट्टचध्यापक-.

² Read अध्वय्यं-.

³ This mark of punctuation is a mistake.

⁴ Read निवास्यायव्यंग-.

⁵ Read -तिस्ष्ट: ।

⁶ Read -समद्वर्ग-.

⁷ Read स्यात् । उक्तञ्च.

⁸ Metre of this and the following two verses: Anushtubb.

P Read -ददीत । [।४॥*] इति.

¹⁰ The aksharas ₹ and ₹ are engraved over others which were beaten in, but traces of which can still be seen in the lithograph.

- 51 रणाधिकृतरेवेण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति ॥ सं ३०० ८० कार्त्तिक शु १० ५ [1*]
- 52 दिनकरचरणार्च्नरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं प्रशान्तरागस्य ॥

Seal सामन्तदह[:1*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Nandipuri-

In the family of the Gurjara kings which resembles the ocean; which has brightened the faces of all regions with the abundance of its manifold and spotless excellences as the ocean does with its varied and stainless jewels; which has protected all great kings who are its allies, as the ocean has saved all the great mountains possessed of wings (that sought refuge in it); which always refrains from transgressing the limits (of proper conduct), as the ocean abstains from overflowing its shores; which is possessed of firmness, serenity and beauty, as the ocean has stability, depth and saltness; which, on account of its great courage, is difficult to be attacked, as the ocean, on account of its having large animals, is difficult to be plunged into;—there (was) the Samanta Dadda [I], who, possessing the goddess of (royal) fortune since his birth and occupying a (royal) position hostile to the evil-minded (krishna-hridaya1), destroyed (the influence of) the Kali age by the mass of his spotless fame, as the Kaustubha jewel which was produced together with Lakshmi,2 and has found a resting place on Krishna's breast, dispels a mass of darkness with the multitude of its rays; who, having good allies, has uprooted the descendants of the families of his adversaries even as Vainatēya (Garuda), possessing excellent wings, destroyed the progeny of the hostile families of serpants; who, even from his birth, had all his calamities3 removed by bowing to the lotus-like feet of the sun. He,4 who had a body adorned with a multitude of steady excellences and a canopy of white and spotless fame in the guise of pearls falling from the frontal globes of the elephants of (his) enemies that were slain (in battles), and who was possessed of courage suitable to his (majestic) form, stood always fearlessly at the head of kings, even as a young lion, with his body adorned with a mane, and a canopy of his bright and spotless fame spread over him in the guise of pearls from the frontal globes of hostile elephants slain by him, stands fearlessly on the top of mountains. Accomplishments such as (proficiency in) a number of fine arts, (and) troops of the elephants of his enemies, walking slowly on account of rut, that were captured by his valour, and young and beautiful women walking languidly owing to the gracefulness (of their gait) caused by intoxication, who were attracted by his prowess, day after day, as if in mutual rivalry, resorted to him who was the moon (dispelling) the darkness of the extremely sinful Kali age. Like young women obtained by good fortune⁵ and rendered beautiful by their plump breasts, the regions at the feet of the Vindhya mountain created by Bhaga⁶ and adorned by high clouds, delighted him, who pleased

According to Prof. Kielhom this word krishna in addition to denoting the god Krishna, may perhaps denote the Kaṭachchuri Krishnarāja. The expression may, therefore, signify that Dadda I was a favourite (or, feudatory) of Krishnarāja. He concedes, however, that it may also be taken to mean he whose actions (ārpada, kritya) were hostile to the evil-minded.

^{*} I. e., churned out of the milk-ocean along with Lakshmi.

[&]quot;For the use of durita in the sense of calamity, misfortune, cf. Apatyē yat -tādrig -duritam - abbavat, etc. Uttararāmasbarita, Act. IV, v. 3.

⁴ This and the following sentences descriptive of Dadda I figure as relative clauses in the original. The construction has been changed for the sake of convenience in translating.

⁵ Dr. Fleet translates: 'as if they were wives productive of married happiness.' The original does not, however, contain any such utprēksbā.

⁶ Bhaga is a name of Rudra.

a multitude of supplicants by the incessant flow of his charity, as an excellent elephant pleases swarms of bees by the unceasing flow of his rut; who was attended by splendid glory as the elephant is attended by his charming mate; who always walked with an unfaltering step and whose great excellence was due to his noble descent, as the elephant's splendid form is due to his excellent back-bone; who had his body horripilated when he struck down (hostile) kings by the blow of his arm (and) whose voice was sweet like (the sound of) the falling of the water of the stream of the Reva (Narmada). He was compared with the moon in respect of gentleness, purity, beauty and (proficiency in) arts,2 but not in that of any stain,—with an assemblage of lotuses in respect of having overcome the troublesome members of (his) family (as lotuses get over thorns) by the mass of (his) splendour on account of his being the abode of royal fortune (Sri) (as the lotuses are the abode of Lakshmi), but not in respect of being produced from sin,3-with the lord of beasts (i.e., the lion) in point of courage, energy and valour, but not in that of having a cruel heart—with the great ocean in respect of beauty, stability, screnity and maintenance of the bounds of morality,4 but not in that of giving shelter to wicked persons,5-with the mountain Himālaya, in respect of being the resort of noble men of learning in his excellent capital6, but not in that of being surrounded by degraded warriors.7 His excellent wealth, which, like the excellent hood of the serpent Sesha, had its magnificence manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, was shared by the whole world.8 His noble birth was revealed by (his) character,—his power, by (the implicit obedience of his) commands,—his (skill in the use of) weapons, by the submission of (his) foes,—his wrath, by the punishment (inflicted on his enemies), -his favour, by (his) gifts, - (and) his piety, by the worship of gods, Brāhmanas and elderly persons.

(Line 15) His son (was) the illustrious Jayabhata [I], who had the other name of the illustrious Vītarāga, who was resplendent like heated glittering gold; who, like the wish-fulfilling tree, incessantly granted the desired objects (of supplicants), who was always and invariably an ornament (to his family) as the vernal season is to the cycle of seasons, as a grove of blossoming and densely growing mango trees is to the vernal season, as an assemblage of lotuses is to a lake, as blooming is to an assemblage of lotuses, as a jewel is to a great serpent, as spotless radiance is to a jewel, as the pot of nectar was to the ocean, as the power of conferring immortality is to the pot of nectar, as rutting is to an elephant, as dalliance is to a young lovely woman, as conferment on a worthy person is to wealth, as a sacrifice is to religion, as the time of distributing the sacrificial fee is to a sacrifice, as good nature is to love, (and) as a collection of spotless digits is to the moon; whose face was lovely like the full moon; who was affable (and) liberal and who had won the goddess of victory in fighting with the armies of his powerful foes. To him all virtues together with humility resorted as if seeking his protection from fear of their foe, the Kali (age). He, who had shining and spotless fame as a dark cloud has a bright flash of lightning, and who delighted the whole living world, removed the evils of avidity and worry of supplicants as a dark cloud roaring, not in vain, removes the thirst and heat

¹ Dr. Fleet's translation 'who reduced (even) those who were not (bis) adherents to submission by (bis) brilliant fame' has little connection with the original.

² In the case of the moon, (kalā) means 'a digit.'

³ The lotuses, however, are produced from panka (mud).

⁴ The ocean also keeps within bounds.

⁶ The ocean, however, gives shelter to serpents in its water.

⁶ The Himālaya has the prosperous Vidyādharas (demi-gods) residing on its excellent slopes (kaṭaka).

⁷ See Manusmriti, ch. X, v. 22. The Himālaya, however, is girt by the Khasa tribe.

^{*} The serpent Sesha's hood supports the whole world.

of those who long (for rain). Though brave, he was always apprehensive of (incurring) infamy; though free from avarice, he had an unceasing thirst for the acquisition of virtues; though he was in the habit of giving everything, he was averse to giving his heart to others' wives¹; though eloquent, he was dull-witted in abusing others; His handsome form was not opposed to good character; (nor) his youth, to good conduct; (nor) his wealth, to charity; (nor) his pursuit of the three (aims of life), to the absence of mutual conflict (among them)²; (nor) his power to forgiveness; (nor his living in) the Kali age, to (his possession of) virtues.

(L. 25) His son, the illustrious Dadda [II] who has attained the pañchamahāsabda,3-who has covered the expanse of the sky all round with the shoots of his fame as white as the night-lotuses which are made to bloom by the rays of the moon as she emerges from a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword is (always) being loudly celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring princes, who were slain (by him) when they opposed him in many dangerous battles; whose head is radiant with a crown shining with the bright rays of the tips4 of diamonds (set in it) which are scratched in making obeisance to the lotus-like feet of gods, Brāhmanas and elderly persons; the store of whose religious merit—the sole companion in heaven—is being increased by the unwearied⁵ fulfilment of the desire for wealth of the poor, the helpless and the sick, guests and supplicants; who shows himself as a cultured man of the town by winning (again) by means of sweet words preceded by obeisance, the favour of proud ladies who are made angry by (their) love (for him); who has cast the mass of the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of his spotless virtues-(he), being in good health, thus informs all the kings, feudatories, Bhōgikas and heads of vishayas, the Mahattaras of rāshtras (provinces) and villages, officials and others-

(L. 33) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water, fixing first (the immunities) in the case of the community of the Chāturvēdins, on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village (viz.,) Sirīshapadraka situated in the vishaya of Akrūrēśvara—together with udranga and uparikara, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,—which is not to be entered by chātas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (of the donees) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will en-

¹ Dr. Fleet translates: 'He was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men' and remarks 'The play is on the two meanings of dāna 'giving' and 'cutting or destroying.' The idea of cutting the hearts of others' wives is not met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. The contrast intended here is between his readiness to give everything to supplicants and his aversion to give his love to others' wives.

² As Dr. Fleet has pointed out, the words joined here are paraspara and apīdana. The sense intended to be conveyed is that the king practised dharma, artha and kāma, avoiding all conflict among them.

³ I. e., the right to use five musical instruments. J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S., Vol. I., pp. 23 f. ⁴ Fleet translates sajra-maṇi-köji by 'a crore of diamonds.' But the idea that tips of diamonds are brightened by rubbing in the act of salutation is common in Sanskrit literature.

⁵ Fleet translates klishta by 'people in distress', but the word is aklishta and its position after jana shows that it is used here as an adverb modifying paripūrita.

⁶ Parikalpanā is derived from pari-kļip, to fix or to settle. Chāturvidya-parikalpanā-purvuanī corresponds to Chāturvidy-āgrabara-maryādā which generally occurs in Vākāṭaka records and probably refers to the fixing of immunities in the case of agrabāra villages granted to Chāturvēdins. Fleet, however, translates it as 'preceded (as a primary object) by providing for the community of Chāturvēdis.'

dure,—to the Brahmanas of the four charanas, viz., the Brahmana Bhatti, the teacher (adhyāpaka) who has emigrated from Jambūsaras, and is (now) a resident of Sirīshapadraka situated in the district of Akrūrēśvara, who is of the Vatsa gotra and a student of the Āśvalāyana (charaṇa) of the Rigvēda, and also Gōpāditya, and also Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (and) Viśākha, (and) Agniśarman, (and) Dröna,—Bhattidāman of the Kāsyapa gōtra, and also Vatra, -the Brāhmana Tāpiśarman of the Daundakīya götra, a student of the Kanva (charana) of the Vājasanēya (vēda) of the Adhvaryus, (and) the second Tāpiśarman, (and) Dattasvāmin, (and) Bhagivsamin, (and) Pitrisarman, (and) Bhatti, (and) Drona,-Karka the adhyapaka, of the Dhumrayana gotra, (and) Abuka,-Vaṭasarman of the Kaundinya gotra, (and) Saila, (and) Ghōsha, (and) Mahādēva, (and) Bāva; - Dhara of the Māthara gōtra, (and) Viśākha, (and) Nandi, (and) Rāmila, - Dharmadhara of the Hārita gōtra, - the Brāhmana Indrasarman of the Bharadvāja gātra, a student of the Kauthuma (charana) of the Chhāndogya (i.e., Sāmavēda) (and) Adityaravi, (and) Tāpiśūra, (and) Indraśūra, (and) Iśvara, (and) Dhara, (and) Dāmadhara, (and) the second Isvara,2—the Brāhmana Bhadra of the Chauli gotra, a student of the Pippalāda (charana) of the Atharvavēda, who emigrated from Bharukachchha and is now a resident of Bhērajjikā, (and) Vāyuśarman, (and) Drōnasvāmin, (and) Rudrāditya, (and) Pūrnasvāmin,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) bali, charu, vaišvadēva, agnihötra and other (religious) rites.

(L. 43) Wherefore, future rulers whether of Our family or others, considering that (this) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost and worthless, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time and desiring to share in the reward of (this) donation of land, which can be equally enjoyed (by them) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely a moon-beams, should consent to this Our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 46) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas— (Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 50) In the year three hundred increased by eighty, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Karttika, (this charter) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth, by Reva, (the officer) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (and) 80, (the month) Kārttika, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) to (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Praśantaraga, the son of Vitaraga, who is devoted to the worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The Samanta Dadda.

¹ The names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are arranged according to the charaṇaṣ and according to gōtras under the same charaṇa. Where no gorra is mentioned, the one mentioned last preceding is to be understood. The four charaṇas mentioned here are those of Āśvalāyana (l.36), Kaṇva (l.37), Kauthum (l.39) and Pippalāda (l.41)

Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Isvara appear to be mentioned here as of the Bharadvāja gātra. In the next inscription their götra is mentioned as Lākshmanya.

No. 17; PLATE XI

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385.

This set of two copper-plates was discovered together with the preceding one in the town of Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Gujarat, Bombay State, under circumstances already described.¹ A mixed transcript of the two records was first published by Mr. J. Prinsep in the J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. The plates were subsequently edited with facsimiles by Prof. Dowson in the J. R. A. S., Vol. I (New Series), pp. 247 ff., and finally by Dr. Fleet in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 88 ff. As the original plates had been lost, Dr. Fleet's transcript was made from the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit the inscription here from the same facsimiles.

From the facsimiles they appear to be two plates each being inscribed on one side and measuring 10½" by 7½". It is not possible to say if their ends were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. They appear to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's lithographs are fairly good, though it is likely that some letters, which appear in them to be imperfectly formed, may not have been so on the original plates. In making the subjoined transcript I have taken the lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates seem to have each two roundish holes .4" in diameter for the rings which held them together. One of the rings has a circular seal, about 118" in diameter, closely resembling that of the preceding grant. It has in relief, on a countersunk surface, the same symbol of solar worship and the same legend, Sāmanta-Dadda. Again this inscription was, like the preceding, written by Rēva, the head of the Department for Peace and War. The characters, therefore, closely resemble those of the preceding grant. It will suffice to call attention to the different forms of medial \$\tilde{u}\$ seen in \$r\tilde{u}p-\tilde{a}nm\tilde{u}pam_{\tilde{u}}|1.5-6, \$-abhir\tilde{u}pa-, 1.20, and \$kr\tilde{u}r-\tilde{a}sayatay\tilde{u}-, 1.12, the \$prishtha-m\tilde{u}ta\tilde{u}\$ denoting medial \$\tilde{e}\$ in \$mrig-\tilde{a}-dhir\tilde{u}j\tilde{e}\$, \$\tilde{u}\tilde{1}=1-12\$, the curled curve of \$f\$ in \$Jayabhatah\$, \$\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\$, \$\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\$ cursive \$s\$ in \$satata\$, \$\tilde{u}\$.16 and the tailed \$h\$ in \$-\tilde{a}hita\$, \$\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\$ and \$sangr\tilde{u}pan\$, \$\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\$, \$\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\$ and the omission of the expressions chatus-charana- and chaturvidya-parikalpanā-p\tilde{u}rvam\$, the present grant is an exact copy of the preceding. As regards orthography, we may state, in addition to what has been noticed above, that the \$iihv\tilde{u}m\tilde{u}|sya\$ occurs in \$l\$. 11 and \$32\$, \$y\$ is doubled after an \$anusv\tilde{u}ra\$ in \$samyyukta\$, \$1.45\$ and \$k\$ before \$r\$ in \$yaj\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\tilde{u}\tilde{u}riy\tilde{u}-\tilde{u}s\tilde{u}-\tilde{u}s\tilde{u}-\tilde{u}s\tilde{u}-\tilde{u}-\tilde{u}s\tilde{u}-\tilde{u}s\tilde{u}-\t

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. He and his ancestors are described here exactly as in the preceding grant. The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 385. The date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 385, to the 12th October 634 A.C.² It does not admit of verification. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the same village Sirīshapadraka situated in the Akrūrēśvara vishaya, which he had donated only five years before by the preceding charter. Most of the Brāhmaṇa donees were also the same; for out of the forty Brāhmaṇas who received the former grant, as many as thirty-two3

¹ See above, p. 57.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 22nd October 633 A. C.

³ Cf. 'The first grant was made to forty Brāhmaņas; the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being Vāṭaśarmā and Mahādēva of the Kaundinya götra (No.

figure in the present charter. The reason for making this new grant—which in effect cancelled the previous one, though it is not said so explicitly—is not known; but it may be noted that of the forty Brāhmaṇas to whom the first grant was made, thirty-five were residents of the donated village Śirīshapadraka, while the remaining five were dwelling at Bhērajjikā. In the present grant all the five names of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhērajjikā have been omitted. It may, therefore, be conjectured that there was some dispute between the Brāhmaṇa donees of the two villages Śirīshapadraka and Bhērajjikā, which eventually led to the cancellation of the first grant.¹ It may again be noted that all the five Brāhmaṇas, whose names are omitted here, were students of the Atharvavēda which, as is well known, was looked with disfavour in ancient times. The reason for omitting three out of the other thirty-five names may be the death of the donees, without leaving any issue.

The geographical names occurring in the present grant have already been identified.

TEXT 2

First Plate

- मिद्धम्³ स्वस्ति [।*]नान्दीपुरि(री)तो(तः) ।। व (वि)विधविमलगुण[र]त्न[स]म्पदुःद्गा-सितसकलिद्ङम्खे परि[त्राताशेष]स[पक्ष]महामिह(ही)भृति [स]ततमव(वि)लिङ्ख-
- 2 [तावधौ स्थैय्यं]गाम्भ(म्भी)य्य(य्यं)लावण्यवति महासत्व(त्त्व)तयातिदुरवगाहे गुज्जंरनृपति— वङ्ग्भमहोदधौ श्रीसहजन्मा कृष्णहृदयाहिता—
- 3 [स्प]दः [कौस्तु]भमणिरिव विमलयशोदीिधितिनिकरिद (वि) निहतकिलितिमिरिनचयः सत्पक्षो वै[न]तेय इ[वा]कृष्टशत्र (त्रु) ना[ग]कुलसन्तत (ति) —
- 4 [क]त्पत्तित ए[व] दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनि (नी)ताशेषदुरितनिवहस्सामन्तदद्दः [।*] प्रति— दिनमप (पे)तशः द्वं थेन किस्यतमचल-
- गुणनिकरकेस[रि(र)विरा]जितवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफल[च्छ]लप्रकीण्णं— विमलयशोवितावे(ने)न रूपानुरू—
- 6 [पं] सत्व(त्त्व)मुद्दहत(ता) केसरिकिशोरकेणेवोपरि क्षितिभृतां(ताम्) [।*] यञ्चातिमलिन-कलियुगतिमिरचन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्या(न्यो)न्य[स्प]ईंये-
- [वा]ययुः कलासम् हादयो गुणाः विक्त्रमानीतमदति (वि) लासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च
 [1*] यस्य चाविरत—

CXXXIX 1.38-9), Indraśarmā of the Bharadvāja gōtra (id. 1. 40) and Bhadra, Vāyuśarmā, Drōṇasvāmī, Rudrāditya and Pūrṇasvāmī of the Chauli gōtra (id. 1. 41); and two new names are introduced, viz., (1. 37) Vāḍa of the Vatsa gōtra, and (1. 40) Indraśūra of the Dhūmrāyaṇa or Dhaumrāyaṇa gōtra—thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in 1. 40. The names are arranged,—not according to charaṇar, as in No. CXXXIX—but according to gōtras; and three persons—Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara—who, according to No. CXXXIX 1. 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvāja gōtra, are here said (1.38-9) to belong to the Lākshmaṇya gōtra' (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 88.) No. CXXXIX referred to in this passage is the Kairā inscription of Dadda II., dated K. 380 (No. 16, above).

¹ The thirty-two Brahmanas of Śirīshapadraka, whose names are repeated in the present grant, were no longer living at Śirīshapadraka. They had removed to Jambūsaras their original home.

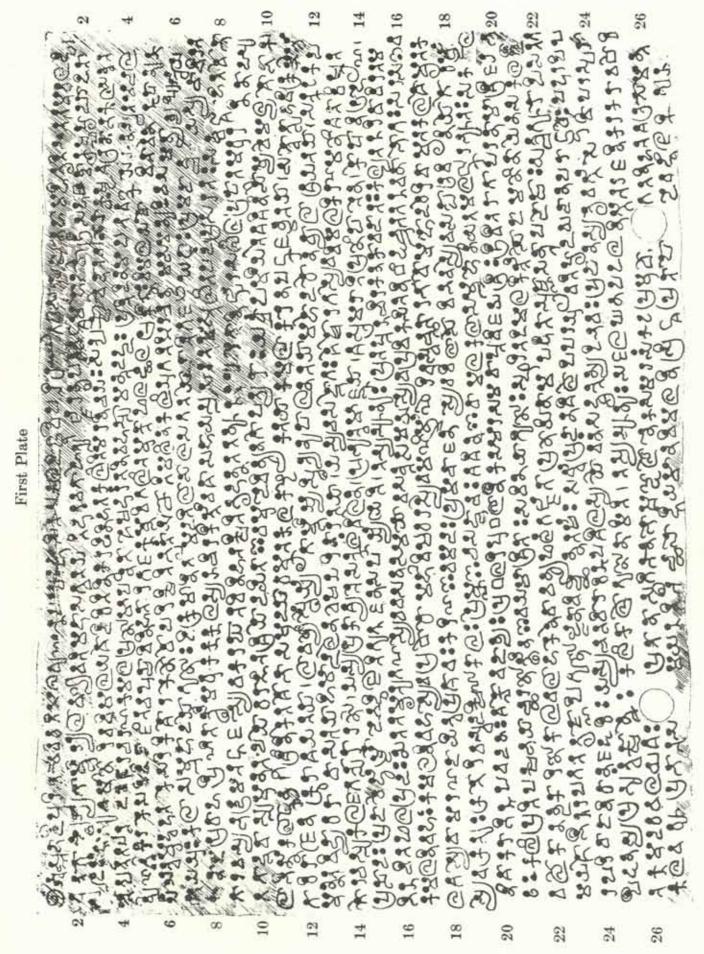
From the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read वंश-.

⁶ Between ये and न, a letter like य was incised by mistake and then cancelled.

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385



B. CH, CHHABRA.
Res. No. 3977 E'36-763'51.

(From a photograph)

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA,

\$ अधित्रकत्ते में न स्त्राता मुक्कार हिता है। ज



- 8 दाना[दि?] प्रवाहप्रीणितारियमधुककु(र)कुलस्य रुचिरकीत्तिवशासहायस्य स[त]तमस्बलितपदं
 प्रसरतः सद्वङ्शाहित शोभा-
- 9 गा(गौ)रवस्य भद्रमतङ्गजस्येव करघातविनिहतिक्षतिभृदुन्नततनूरु[हस्य] रे[वा]निर्ज्यरसिलल-प्रपातमध्रिननाद[स्य]³
- मगाद्भवा स्समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दियता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यरा (का): [।*]य[श्चो]प-मीयते शिशिन सौम्य[त्व*]वैमल्यशोभाक-
- 11 लाभिन्नं कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदयाध×कृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया। सत्वो(त्यो)त्साहविक्कमे(मै)म् -
- 12 गाधिराजे न कूराशयतया । लावण्यस्थैय्यंगाम्भीर्य्यस्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधौ न व्यालाश्रयतया । सत्कटकप(स)-
- 13 मुझतविद्याधरावासतया हिमाद (च) ले न खष (श)य (प) रिवारतया। यस्य च सद्भोगः शेषोर-गस्येव विमलकिरणमणिशताविष्कृत-
- 14 गौरवस्सकलजगत्सारारणो⁵ । यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शि(शी)लेन । प्रभुत्वमाञ्चया । शस्त्र— मरातिप्रणिपातेन । कोपा(पो) निग्रहेण ।
- 15 प्रसादः प्रदानैर्हम्मों देवहिजातिगुगु(क)जनसपर्य्ययेति । तस्य सूनुः प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदातः कल्पतरुरिवाविरतम-
- 16 भिरुचितफलप्रदः सततमृतुगणस्येव वस[न्त]समयो वसन्तसमयस्येव प्रविकसित⁶निविडचूततरु-वनाभोगः सरस इव
- 17 कमलिवहः कमलिवहस्येव प्रबोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिम्मणिरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधे— रिवामृतकलशोमृतक-
- 18 लशस्येवामरणदायित्वप्रशा(भा)वः करिण इव मदः प्रमचा(दा)जनस्येव विलासो विभ[व]स्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्मम्—
- 19 स्येव कतुः कतोरिव स्वदक्षिणाकालः प्रेम्ण इव सद्भावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियत-मलङ्कारभृतः सकल-
- 20 निशाकराभिरूपवदनः शक्लो वदान्यः प्रबलिरपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागापर-नामा श्रीजर(य)भ-
- 21 [ट:] कलिप्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणारियन इव यमाश्रिताः सविनया गुणाः स्फुरितदि(वि)मलकीत्ति-सौदामणिना येन सकल[जी-]
- 22 वलोकानन्दकारिणा कालव (व)लाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं गर्जाता प्रणियनामपही (ह)तास्तृष्णासन्ताप-दोषाः [1*] यहच गू (शू)रोपि सतत-
- 23 मयशोभीहरपगततृ [क्णो]पि गुणाज्जंनाविच्छिन्नतर्षः सर्व्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपरा-ङमझः पटुरिष प-
- 24 रपरिवादानि(भि)धानजडधी:[।*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूप(पं) शीलस्य यौवनं सद्वृत्तस्य दि(वि)भवः प्रदानस्य तृ(त्रि)वर्गसे[वा] परस्परा-
- 25 पीडनस्य प्रभुत्वं क्षान्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति । (॥) तस्य सूनुः सजलघनपटलनिर्गंतरजनिकर-करावबोधि-

¹ Read दानप्रवाह-.

[&]quot; Read सहंशाहित-.

³ The preceding inscription reads -निनदस्य here.

⁴ Read भगोद्भवा-.

[&]quot; Read -जगत्साधारण:.

[®] Fleet's proposed reading प्रविकासित is unnecessary.

- 26 तकुमुदधवलयशः प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसो (सा) मन्त-
- 27 कुलवधूप्रभातसमयरु[दि]तच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्श¹प्रतापो देवद्विजा[ति]गुरु-

Second Plate

- 28 चरणकमलप्रणामोद्घृष्टवज्रमणि[कोटिरुचिरदीधिति*] विराजितमुक्टोद्भासित[श]रा
- 29 दि(दी)नानाथातुराभ्यागतात्थिजनाक्लिष्टप[रिपूरितविभव*]मनोरथोपचि(ची)यमा[न]त्रिविष्ट-पैकस-
- ३० हायधम्मंसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकृपितमानिनि (नी) [जनप्रणा*]मपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी—
- ३३ कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणिकरणप[ञ्जराक्षि]प्तबहलकलितिमिरिनचयस्समिषगत-पञ्च-
- 32 महाशब्द[:*] श्रीदद्Xकुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविस(ष)यपितरा[ध्ट्र]ग्राममहत्तराधि— कारिकादीन्स—
- 33 मनुबोधयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक (क्) रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत । शिरीषपद्रक । एप ग्राम-स्सोद्रङ्गः
- 34 सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादानसङ्ग्राह्य[:*] सर्व्वादित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहि(ही)णो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना— चाटभटप्रा—
- 35 वेश्य आचन्द्राक्कीर्णांद (व) क्षितिस्थितिसमका[लीन]: पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जम्बूसरोबास्तव्यभर— द्वाजस—
- 36 गोत्रकण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणादित्यरिव । तथा तापिशुर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । तथा वत्ससगोत्र— भटिच (ट्ट्य)
- 37 ध्यापक [1] गोपादित्य । वाड । विशाख । अग्निशर्मा । भट्टिगण । द्रोण । माढ (ठ) र सगोत्र-विशाख । घर । नन्दि ।
- 38 राम । दौण्डगी (की) [य*]सगोत्रतापिशम्मं । द्वितापिशम्प्रं । द्रोण । भट्टि । पितृशम्मं । भागि-स्वामि । दत्तस्वामि । लाक्ष्म—
- 39 ण्यसगोत्रधर। दामधर। ईश्वर। कौष्डिन्यसगोत्रबाव। घोष। [शै]ल। काश्यपसगोत्रभट्टि— दामि(म)। वात्र⁸[1*]
- 40 हारीतसगोत्रधम्मंघर[।] धौम्रयन⁰सगोत्रकक्काध्यापक । आवुक । इन्द्रशूरादिब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतु-स्त्रिङश[द्वाचो]¹⁰
- 41 बिलचरवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिविकयोत्सप्पंणार्थं माशा (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-शि (भि)वृद्धये कार्त्ति -
- 42 क्यामुदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टो¹¹ यतोस्मद्वङ्श्यै¹³रन्यैर्व्वागा¹³मिभोगपतिभिः प्रवलपवनप्रेरितोद्धिज-लतरंग-

¹ Read निस्त्रिंश-.

The aksharas in the rectangular brackets in this and the following three lines are not distinct in the facsimile and were probably damaged by rust on the original plate,

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read शिरीवपद्रकम्. The following mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[े] Read तापिशूर as in the preceding grant.

Fleet read माफ(ठ) रसगोत्र-.

र Read -शम्मं.

⁸ In the preceding inscription, this name is written as वत्र.

[&]quot; Read घीम्रायण.

¹⁰ Read चतुस्त्रिशद्भधो.

¹¹ Read -तिस्ट: 1

¹² Read -समहंदय-.

¹³ The aksbaras are quite clear here in the facsimile.

- 43 चञ्चलं जि(जी)वलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवा¹न्दीग्र्यंकालस्थेयसञ्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्य-भोगभू-
- 44 प्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं यशिकराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दासो (यो)नुमन्तव्यः पालयित-व्यवच। यो वाज्ञा-
- 45 नितिमिरपटलावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिभिम्मंहापातकैस्संथ्यु (यु) क्तस्स्यादित्युक्तं² च भग–
- 46 वता बेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ पिंट वर्षंसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठित भु(भू)िमदः [1] आच्छेता चानु— मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१॥]³
- 47 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्त (न्ते) भु(भू)[मिदा]यं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिव्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्स-
- 48 गरादिभि: [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३॥*] यानि(नी)ह द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धम्मैत्र्थं यशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्त-
- 49 माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा[बु:]: पुनरादिद(दी)त ।। [४।।*] इति [।।*] संवत्सर-शतत्रये पञ्चाशि(शी)त्य[धिके] कार्त्तिकपौण्णंमास्यां
- 50 लिखितं सन्धी(न्धि)विग्रहाधिकरणाधिकि(कृ)तरे[वे]ण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति । सं [३००] ८० ५ कार्त्तिक भु(शु) [१० ५] [दि]नकरचरणा-
- 💶 च्चेनरतस्य श्रीवीतराग[सूनो]: [स्वहस्तोयं] प्रशान्ति]रागस्य ै।।

Seal

सामन्तदह [:।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Nandipuri-

(For a translation of lines 1-33 see above, pp. 63-65.)

(Line 33)—'Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious meritand fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted, with a libation of water on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village, (viz.,) Širīshapadraka situated in the vishaya of Akrūrēśvara—together with udranga and uparikara, inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (of the donees) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the thirty-four Brāhmaṇas, (namely,) the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaravi, who is a resident of Jambūsaras, who is of the Bharadvāja gōtra and a student of the Kaṇva (charaṇa), and also Tāpiśūra, (and) Indraśūra, (and) Iśvara; and also Bhaṭṭi, the teacher, who is of the Vatsa gōtra, (and) Gōpāditya, (and) Vāḍa, (and) Viśākha, (and) Agniśarman, (and) Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (and) Drōṇa; Viśākha of the Māṭhara gōtra, (and) Dhara, (and) Nandi, (and) Bhaṭṭi, (and) Piṭṛiśarman, (and) Bhāgisvāmin, (and) Dattasvāmin; Dhara of the Lākshmaṇya gōtra, (and) Dāmadhara, (and) Iśvara; Bāva of the Kaundinya gōtra,

¹ Fleet reads विन (भ)वा-, but the second letter is clearly भ.

^{*} Read -स्स्यादिति । उनतं.

³ Metre of this and the following two verses: Anushtubh.

⁴ Read धम्मात्वं-.

⁵ This sign-manual is in current-hand characters.

(and) Ghōsha, (and) Saila; Bhaṭṭi Dāma of the Kāśyapa gōtra, (and) Vātra; Dharmadhara of the Hārīta gōtra; Karka, the teacher, of the Dhaumrāyaṇa gōtra, (and) Āvuka, (and) Indraśūra—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra and such other (religious) rites.

[For a translation of Il. 42-45, see above, p. 66.]

(L. 45) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—
(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 49) In the year three hundred increased by eighty-five, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of Kärttika, (this charter) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth by Reva, (the officer) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (and) 80 (and) 5, (the month) Kārttika, (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Prasantaraga, the son of Vitaraga, who is devoted to worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The Samanta Dadda.

No. 18; PLATE XII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 391.

This copper-plate measuring 9.5" by 4.5" was apparently found at Sankhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 20-21. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is the last plate of its set, and contains ten lines of well-executed writing. The average size of letters is .15" The plate has at the top two round holes .3" in diameter for the rings which must have connected it with other plates of the set. No ring or seal has however been found.

The characters of the inscription including the sign-manual of the donor Ranagraha belong to the western variety of the South Indian alphabets. The sanction1 of the gift by the reigning king Dadda is, however, like his sign-manual in the other Sankhēdā and Kairā grants, in the northern characters. The only palæographical peculiarities that call for notice are that (1) the curve for medial i is turned to the right in achchhindyamānam, 1. 2; (2) the notch of b is at the top; (3) the right-hand hook of π is added to the subscript ch in uktañ=cha, 1.3. The language is Sanskrit, and except for four customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the extant portion of the record is in prose. The text is very incorrectly written; see, for instance, Adityasarmmaya for Adityasarmmanē, and uchehhrishtam for utsrishtam, both in 1.1; asmādāyō for asmad-dāyō, 1.2, etc. The visarga is wrongly omitted in many places, as e.g. in -bhōgapatibhi, 1.1, -numantavya, 1.2, mahāpātakai, 1.3, and the final consonant in syā, 1.3 and vasē, 1.4. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following r is doubled in sarggena and anyair = vva, 1.1, pañchabhir=mmahāpāmtakai, 1.3, etc; ri is used for the vowel ri in krishn-āhayō, 1.5. -dhikrita and Mātribhaţēna, 1.10, etc; and n occurs in place of n in sarggēna, 1.1 and yasaskarāni, 1.6.

¹ The expression Śrī-Dadda-pādānta(nn) jñā [tam] conveying the sanction is in characters resembling those of the sign-manual of Dadda II, in the Kairā and Sankhēdā grants (Nos. 16-17, 19-20), but the addition of the word pāda to the royal name and the use of the personal name Dadda instead of the biruda Prašāntarāga shows that it is not in the handwriting of Dadda II.

The plate contains the last part of a grant of Raṇagraha, the son of Vītarāga, who describes himself in his sign-manual as devoted to the worship of the sun. The grant was sanctioned by the illustrious Dadda. In the absence of the previous plates of the set, all details about the object, occasion and purpose of the gift are lost. Only the name of the Brāhmaṇa donee Ādityaśarman has been preserved on the present plate. It is possible, however, to conjecture that the object of the gift was a field¹ as in the case of the other complete Saṅkhēḍā grants of Dadda II. The dūtaka was the Bhōgikapālaka Dujjāna and the writer Mātribhaṭa, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 391 of an unspecified era. The palaeography of the grant makes it certain that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of the amānta Vaiśākha in the expired year 391 would correspond to the 15th May 641 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

We know from two complete sets of Sankhēdā plates3 that Dadda II-Praśāntarāga continued to reign till the Kalachuri year 392. The date of the present grant, therefore, falls in his reign. As Dadda II also was a son of Vītarāga, Raņagraha, the donor of the present grant, must have been his brother. It seems that he was placed in charge of some part of his kingdom and had the status of a feudatory chief, but as he was not completely independent, his grant had to be sanctioned by his liege-lord, Dadda II. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has, however, suggested that Ranagraha was another name of Dadda II himself4. but the duct of the latter's sign-manual is different in the Kairā and Sankhēdā plates.5 Secondly, the early Gurjara kings are known to have assumed only one biruda in addition to their personal name and the biruda of Dadda II, known from his Kairā and Sankhēdā plates, was Prašāntarāga, not Raņagraha. Thirdly, his minister for peace and war was Reva during the period from K. 380 to K. 392.6 The latter would, therefore, in all probability, have been mentioned in that capacity in the present grant of K. 391. But the officer mentioned here as Sandhivigrahādhikrita is Mātribhata, not Rēva. For these reasons, I prefer to follow Mr. Dhruva7 and Dr. Bühler8 in taking Ranagraha to be a brother of Dadda II.

TEXT9

ा ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया10 उदकातिसर्गोनोच्छिष्टं11 [1*] यतोस्याष्मद्वज्शै12रन्यैव्वीगामिभोगपति-भि[:*] अय-

¹ The expression udak-ātisarggēn(n):ōcbchbri(tsri)sbṭañs in l. 1 evidently qualifies some word like kshētram (a field).

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 26th April 640 A. C. For the purpimanta Vaisākha the dates would correspond to the 16th April, 641 A. C. and the 28th March 640 A. C. respectively.

³ Below, Nos. 19 and 20.

⁴ I. N. I., p. 161, n. 3.

⁸ Its wording here is also slightly different; for it contains dinakara-kiran-ābhyarchchana-ratasya in place of dinakara-charan-ārchchana-ratasya which occurs in the sign-manual of Dadda II in all his grants.

⁶ See No. 16, L51; No. 17, L50, No. 19, L28 and No. 20, L27.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 21.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 38.

⁹ From the facsimile accompanying Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article, facing p. 21, Ep. Ind., Vol. II.

¹⁰ Read -शम्मण.

¹¹ Read -सम्में णोत्सब्दम.

¹⁵ Read यतोस्महंदयै-.

- मस्मादायो¹नुमन्तव्य[:*] पालियतव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानितिमिरपटलावित²राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्य-मानं³ वा—
- 3 नुमौदेत⁴ स पञ्चिमम्मंहापां⁵तकै[:*] संयुक्तः स्या इत्युक्तञ्च⁶ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।*] षष्ठिवरिष⁷—
- 4 सहस्राणि स्वर्गों मोदित भूमिदा (दः) [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे [त् ॥१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयास् शुष्क-
- 5 कोटरवासिन[: ।*] किष्णाह्यो⁹ हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[: ।।*२।।] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि
- 6 धर्मात्यायशस्करानि $[1^*]$ निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम [113] साधु $[1^*]$ पुनरादधीति [113] स्वदत्ता [113] स्वदत्ता [13] स्वदत्ता [13]
- 7 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] मही¹⁴ महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाता तु च्छेयो¹⁵न्पालनमिति¹⁶[॥४॥*]
- 8 संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये¹⁷ वैशाखबहुलपञ्चदश्यां सं ३०० ९० १ वैशाख व १० ५ [।*]
- 9 दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकदुज्जान¹⁸[: ।*] दिनकरिकरणाभ्यच्चेनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनो
- ा रणग्रहस्य [1*] श्रीदद्दपादान्तज्ञा[तं] लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकि (कृ) त^{:0}मात्रिभटेन²³ [11*]

TRANSLATION

(The field.....) has been granted (by us) with a libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarman. Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(Line 3) And it has been declared by the holy Vyāsa who arranged the Vēdas-

¹ Read -मस्महायो.

^{*} Read -पटलावृतमति-.

BRead -दाच्छिद्यमानं.

⁴ Read वानुमोदेत.

⁵ The anusvāra is superfluous.

⁴ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read पिट वर्ष-.

⁸ Metre of this and the next verse; Anushtubh.

[&]quot; Read कृष्णाहयो.

¹⁰ Read धम्मात्येयशस्कराणि.

¹¹ Read नाम.

¹² Read पुनराददीत. Metre: Indravajrā.

¹³ Read स्वदत्तां.

¹⁴ Read HET. .

¹⁵ Read दानाच्छेयो-.

¹⁶ Read -नुपालनम् ॥ इति. Metre: Anushtubb.

¹⁷ Read एकनवत्यधिके.

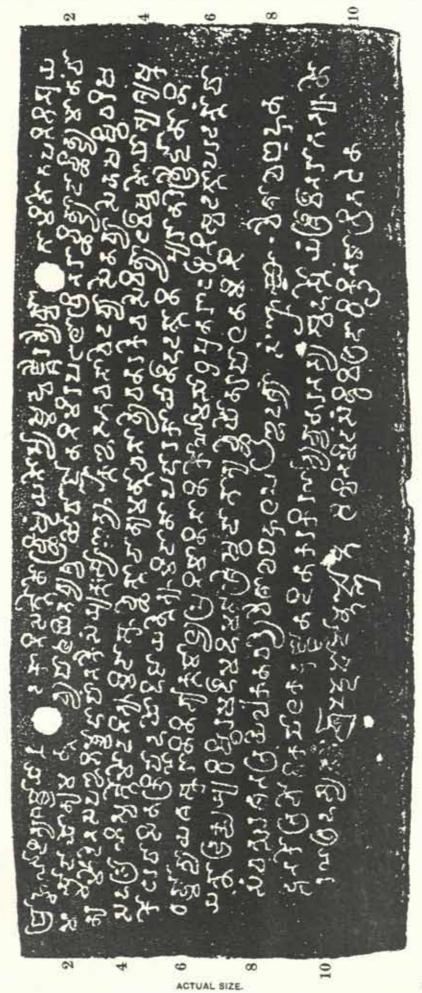
¹⁸ Mr. Dhruva read भोगिक्पालकट्यान [:*], but the correct reading given above was first pointed out by Dr. Bühler in Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 39.

[ा] These eight aksharas are in current-hand characters. Mr. Dhruva read them as श्रीदह्रपादान्तर्जाति and proposed the emendation—पादान्तज्ञाति: Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed to read. -पादान्तज्ञाति[ना*] and to construe it as an epithet of Mātribhata. (See his Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 161, n. 3). I would suggest श्रीदह्रपादानुज्ञातम्. Compare श्रीपृथिवीयल्जभनहार, जानुज्ञातेन in the Goā plates of Satyāṣraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X (Old Series), p. 365.

²⁰ The usual expression is सन्धिवप्रहाधिकरणाधिकत-.

a Read मात्मदेन.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 391





[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 8) In the year three hundred (increased by) ninety-one, on the fifteenth (tithi) of the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha, (in figures) the year 300 (and) 90, (the month) Vaiśākha, the dark (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

The dūtaka of this (grant) is the Bhogikapālaka Dujjāna.

This is the sign-manual of Ranagraha, the son of the illustrious Vitaraga, who is devoted to the worship of the sun.

(As) sanctioned by the feet of the illustrious Dadda (II), this (order) has been written by Matribhata who is in charge of (the Department of) Peace and War.

No. 19; PLATE XIII A

SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392.

These copper-plates were discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at Sankhēdā in the Baroda District Bombay State. Dr. G. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, pp., 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets as in the two cognate sets of Kairā plates. The letters except those of the sign-manual contain small knobs at the top. The letters of the sign-manual, on the other hand, which are in the northern current-hand characters have short horizontal (often curved) strokes at the top. As the present inscription was written by the same officer Rēva who wrote the earlier Kairā grants, its characters, as might be expected, closely resemble those of the latter. Some peculiarities may, however, be noticed here. The medial $\bar{\imath}$ is generally cursive as in $d\bar{\imath}_i$, i. 4 and $m\bar{\imath}_i$, i. 6, but its other form consisting of two circles one inside the other occurs in $s\bar{\imath}_i$, i. 1. 1. The form of medial $\bar{\imath}_i$ in $vadh\bar{\imath}_i$, i. 2, $parip\bar{\imath}_i$, i. 5, $p\bar{\imath}_i$, val. 6, the like of which rarely occurs in the earlier Kairā grants, that of h in mahattar-, i. 9 and of the triangular h in bahala, i. 7, brahmadēya, i. 12, etc. are also noteworthy. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal stroke at the top, see $vas\bar{\imath}_i$, i. 24. Punctuation is denoted by single or double dots and in some cases by single or double vertical strokes. The symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 2 occur in 1.29.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of the inscription, so far as it goes, is almost² an exact copy of that of the earlier Kairā grants except, of course, in such details as the name and description of the donee, the object of the grant, its date, etc. As regards orthography, we may note in addition to what has already been noticed in

¹ Above, Nos. 16 and 17.

² There are some minor differences e.g., samanwarnnya in l. 9 of the present record occurs in neither of the Kairā grants.

connection with the Kairā grants, the doubling of th after an anusvāra in paintthāḥ, 1.12 and of k before r in yajñādikkriy-, ll.17-18.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had obtained the pañchamahāśabda. As in the Kairā plates, he calls himself Praśāntarāga, the son of Vītarāga, in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with Dadda II of the Early Gurjara dynasty. Unlike the Kairā plates, the present inscription does not contain any eulogy of his two predecessors—his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhaṭa I-Vītarāga.

The plates record the grant of a field in the village Suvarṇārapalli which was situated in the vishaya of Saṅgamakhēṭaka, requiring for its seed grains one piṭaka of paddy by the measure prevalent in that vishaya, together with the usual rights and exemptions. The donce was the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja gōtra and the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina śākhā, who had previously emigrated from Daśapura and was then residing at the village Kshīrasara. The grant was made for the purpose of providing for the five great sacrifices and other rites. The donated field was bounded on the east by the junction with the boundary of the village Kshīrasara, on the north by the junction with the boundary of the village Kukkuṭavallikā, on the west by an agrahāra field, a banyan tree and a talāikā (tank?) and on the south by the way leading to the village Suvarṇārapalli and the junction with (the boundary of) Aṭavīpāṭaka. The plates were written by Rēva, the head of the Department of Peace and War.

The grant is dated both in words and in numerical symbols on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 392. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C.¹ It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Nāndīpura which is clearly identical with Nāndīpurī of the Kairā grants, has already been identified with Nāndōd in the Broach District. Daśapura is Mandasōr in Western Malwā. Saṅgamakhēṭaka, the headquarters of the vishaya named after it, is clearly modern Saṅkhēḍā where the plates were discovered. As Dr. Bühler says, 'Saṅgamakhēṭaka means etymologically 'the village at the confluence (of two rivers), and the Unchh and the Or² join near Saṅkhēḍā. The vishaya or province of Saṅgamakhēṭaka probably included the Saṅkhēḍā Prānt of the Gaikwāḍ's possessions, as well as the neighbouring portion of Rēvākānṭhā Agency, still called Saṅkhēḍā Mēvās'. Of the villages mentioned in the present grant, only two can be identified. Kukkuṭavallikā³ is apparently identical with Kukaḍ, about 8 miles west-south-west of Saṅkhēḍā. Kshīrasara may be Khariākuā, about a mile to the east of Kukaḍ.

TEXT 4 First Plate

- सिद्धम्⁵ स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गातरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुद्रधवलयश:-
- अतानास्थिगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतिनहत्त्रात्रुसामन्तकुलवध्प्रभा—

2 This is called Orsang in the Survey maps.

^a Expressed by a symbol.

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 30th April 641 A. C.

⁸ Dr. Bühler identified this village with Kukreli which, according to him, lies to the east of Sankhēdā; but I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map, No. 46 F.

⁴ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Bühler's article in Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

- उ तसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलिनिस्त्रङ्श प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगृरुचरणकमलप्रणा—
- 4 मोद्घृष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदीधितिविराजितमकुटोद्भासितशिराः दीनानाथातुराभ्या-
- ा गतास्थिजनाक्लिष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधम्मंसं-
 - 6 चयः प्रणयपरिकृपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्व्यमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी-
 - ७ कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणिकरणपंजराक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरिनचयः
 - 8 समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्दxकुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्र-
 - 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुवण्ण्यं बोधयत्य^३स्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः सङ्गमखेटकविष-
- 10 यान्तर्गतसुवर्णारपल्लिग्रामे पृथ्वंसीम्नि । तिद्वषयमानेन त्रीहिपिटकवापं क्षेत्रं
- यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः क्षीरसरग्रामसीमासन्धः उत्तरतः कुक्कृटविल्लकाग्रामसीमासन्धः
- अपरतः ब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं वटवृक्षो⁶ । तलाङ्का च । दक्षिणतः सुवर्ण्णारपिल्लग्रामगामी पंत्याः?
- 13 अटवीपाटकग्रामसन्धिश्च ।। एवमेतच्चत्राघाटनविश्दं क्षेत्रं सोद्रङ्गं
- 14 सोपरिकरं सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वादत्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं

Second Plate

- 15 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावकण्णिवक्षितिस्थितसमकालीनं
- 16 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दा(द) शपुरविनिग्गंतक्षीरसरग्रामवास्तव्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)स-
- 17 नेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्य्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिनिक-
- 18 योत्सप्पंणात्यं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेद्य वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यामुदकातिसर्गोणा-
- 19 तिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [।*] यतोस्यास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा ।8 गामिभोगपतिभिः प्रवलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजल-तरङ्गचञ्चलं
- 20 जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीग्धंकालस्थेयसस्य गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्र-
- 21 दानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं यशिकराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पांलियतव्यव्च⁹।
- 22 यो वाज्ञानितमिरपटलावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिभम्मेंहापातकैः संयुवतः
- 23 स्यादित्युक्तञ्च¹⁰ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षाँघ्ट वर्षंसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठित भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुम—
- 24 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹¹ ॥ [१॥*] वन्ध्याटवी 12 ध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर-
- 25 न्ति ये ।। [२।।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।। [३।।*] यानीह तादा¹³
- 26 नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धम्मिर्त्थंयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्व्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत¹⁴ ।। [४।।*] स्वद-

¹ Read निस्त्रश-.

² This visarga should have been dropped.

³ Read बोधयति । अस्तु.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read सन्पिरतः. Sandbis have not been made in several other places also.

⁶ Read वटवृक्षस्तलाइका च. The marks of punctuation in this and the next line are superfluous.

र Read पन्या:. The superscript letter of the second akshara is clearly t.

⁸ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here. Read. -अन्येव्यांगामि-

Read पालियतव्यक्त.

¹⁰ Read स्यादिति । उनतञ्च.

¹¹ Metre of this and the next two verses: Anushtubb.

¹² Read विन्ध्यादवी-.

¹³ Read दत्तानि.

¹⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.

- 27 तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति¹ [॥*] संवत्सरशतत्रये
- 28 द्विनवत्यिषके वैशासश्द्धपञ्चदश्यां स्वमुखाज्ञया लिखितमिदं सन्धिवग्रहकरणाधिकृतरेवेण
- 29 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [।*] दिनकरचरणाः च्वंनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य [।।*]

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-8, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 9) "Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water to-day, on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright formight of Vaisakha, the field on the eastern boundary of the village Suvarnārapalli situated in the vishaya of Sangamakhēṭaka, requiring a pitaka of paddy for its seed grains, whose boundaries are—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village Kshīrasara, on the north the junction with the boundary of the village Kukkutavallikā, on the west a field donated to a Brāhmaṇa, a banyan tree and a talāikā (tank?), (and) on the south the way leading to the village Suvarṇārapalli -the field marked clearly with these four boundaries, together with udraiga and uparikara inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour (and) special rights,-which is not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, (and) the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmana Sūrya of the Bharadvāja götra, a student of the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina (śākhā), who, having emigrated from Dāśapura, (now) resides in the village Kshīrasara-for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) bali, charu, vaiśvadēva (and) agnihōtra, and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of II. 19-23, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 23) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 27) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two, on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Vaiśākha, this (charter) has been written, at the command of our mouth, by Rēva who is in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (and) 90 (and) 2, (the month) Vaiśākha, the bright (fortnight), (the lungar day) 10 (and) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Praśāntarāga, the son of the illustrious Vītarāga, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

No. 20; PLATE XIII B

SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

These plates were, like the preceding, discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at Sańkhēḍā in the Baroḍā District of the Bombay State. Dr. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

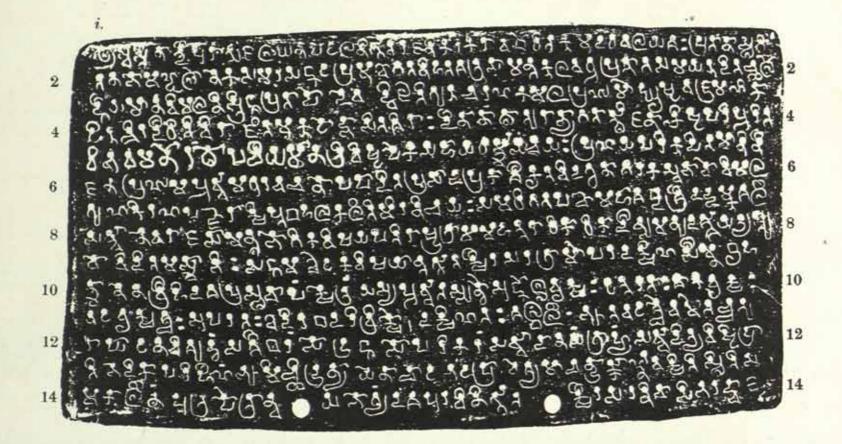
¹ Read -नुपालनम् ॥५॥ इति. Metre: Anushtubh.

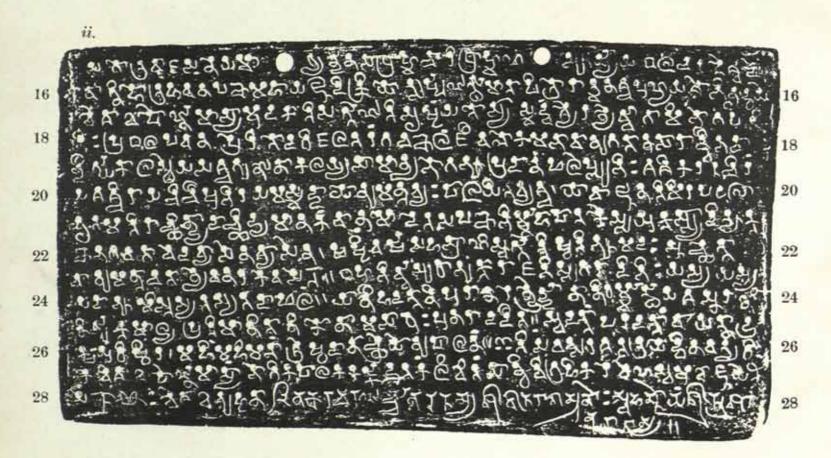
A .- Sankheda Plates (First Set) of Dadda II (Prasantaraga): (Kalachuri) Year 392





B .- SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392





They are two copper-plates, each being inscribed on one side only and measuring 10" by 6". They contain at the top two round holes, about \(\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter, for the rings which must have held them together. But no ring or seal, if there was any, was discovered. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the last grant which, as we shall see, was written by the same writer and on the same day. Still, curious as it might appear, there are some minor differences in their characters. For instance the medial (long) i is generally cursive in the preceding record, while its prevailing form in this grant consists of two circles one inside the other; see prakāšikrita, 1.6, Kshīrasara, 1.9, etc.; in the former record th was marked by a notch in the base in all cases, while in this it generally appears with a ringlet in its loop, though the notched form also occurs sporadically; as instances of the former type, see din-anath-,1.4, manorath-, 1.5, etc., and of the latter, see dharm-arttha-, 1.24; b was generally triangular in the preceding grant, but is rectangular almost everywhere in this; see e.g., kar-āvab odhita, 1.1, bahala, 1.7, etc. The sign-manual is in the northern currenthand characters as in other inscriptions of Dadda II. The language is Sanskrit and the text is almost an exact copy of the preceding record, differing chiefly in respect of the object of the grant. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in the preceding grant, for both the records were written by the same scribe. One additional peculiarity may, however, be noticed here, viz. the doubling of the sibilant f after r in samanudarssayaty-, against Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had acquired the pañchama-hāsabda and who calls himself Praśāntarāga, the son of Vītarāga in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with Dadda II of the Early Gurjara dynasty. The inscription records the grant of a field requiring as seed grains ten prasthas of paddy by the larger measure. The field was situated on the south-western boundary of the village Kshīrasara in the vishaya of Sañgamakhēṭaka. The donee was the same as in the preceding grant, viz. the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja gōtra and the Vājasanēya-Mādhyandina śākhā, who had emigrated from the town of Daśapura and was then residing at Kshīrasara. The present grant was made for the same purpose and on the same day as the preceding and as stated already, the scribe was also the same, viz., the Sāndhivigrahika Rēva. One additional detail which does not occur in any other grant of Dadda II is the mention of the dūtaka Karka who, like the dūtaka of Raṇagraha's grant, bore the title Bhōgika-pālaka.

The date of the record, viz., the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaišākha in the year 392 is given both in words and in numerical symbols. It would correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C. as stated before.² It does not admit of verification.

The geographical names Nāndīpura, Daśapura, Sangamakhēṭaka and Kshīrasara have already been identified.³

¹ As minor differences may be noted samanudarisayaty=astu of the present record in place of samanuvarnya bōdhayaty=astu etc. in line 9 of the last grant, and sa-sībaram in line 12, nothing corresponding to which occurs in the last grant. The present inscription again mentions a dūtaka who does not figure in any other grant of Dadda II.

² See above, p. 76 and n. 1.

³ See above, p. 76.

TEXT 1

First Plate

- सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदघवलयशःप्रता— नास्यगि—
- 2 तनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तक्लवधूप्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलो-
- उ दगीयमानविमलिनिस्त्रङ्श अतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोद्घृष्टवळमणिका (को) -
- 4 टिरुचिरदीधिति वराजितमुकुटोद्भासितिशराः दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतार्त्थिजनाक्लिष्टपरिपूरित-
- ऽ विभवमनोरथोपचीयमानित्रविष्टपैकसहायधर्मसंचयः प्रणयपरिक्पितमानिनी-
- 6 जनप्रणामपूर्व्यमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदरधनागरकस्वभावो विमल-
- गृणिकरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरिनचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्दxकुशली
- 8 सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकाधिकादी न्त्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
- 9 वो विदित्तमस्माभिः सङ्गमखेटकविषयान्तर्गतक्षीरसरग्रामा⁰परदक्षिणसीम्न³ बृह-
- न्मानेन वीहिदशप्रस्थवापं क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्व्वतस्सन्धी अङ्कोल्लवृक्षः उत्तरतः शाकवृक्षः
- 11 वटवृक्षरच ।। अपरतः खदिरबदरिविक्षौ । दक्षिणतः श[ल्म⁹]ली । भूतवटरचैवमेतच्चतु-
- 12 राघाटनविशुद्धं संशीवरं¹⁰ सोद्रङ्गसोपरिकरं सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वादत्यविष्टिप्रा-
- 13 तिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावकिण्णविक्षितिस्थितिस-
- 14 मकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दशपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरनिवासिभरद्वाज-

Second Plate

- 15 सगोत्रवाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्य्याय बलिचस्वैश्वदे-
- 16 वाग्निहोत्रहवन¹¹पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविक्रयोत्सप्पेणात्थं (त्थं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
- 17 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यामुदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [।*] यतोस्यास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैव्वीगामिभोगपति-
- 18 भि: प्रवलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्वीभवा¹²-
- 19 न्दीर्ग्धकालस्थेयसञ्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानं¹³ फलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं
- 20 यशक्तिराय चिचीपुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालियतव्यक्त । यो वाज्ञानितिमरपटला-
- 21 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिम्मंहापातकैस्सयुवतस्स्यादित्युवत¹⁴-
- 22 ञ्च भगवता वेंदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठित भूमिद: [1*] आच्छेत्ता

¹ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

² Expressed by a symbol.

^{*} Read निस्त्रश-.

⁴ The engraver at first incised ni which was later on altered to ti.

⁵ Read -धिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

⁴ The engraver at first incised आभी, but later on altered it to आभा- by cancelling the matra on ma.

⁷ Read सीम्नि.

[&]quot; Read -बदरीवृक्षी.

The subscript m of Ima is not completely incised. The mark of punctuation, which follows, is

¹⁰ I am not certain about the correct form of this technical term which so far as I know, occurs only in the Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasēna I (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 107) in the form, sa-saiburam. There also it is an adjective of some word like kihētram which is omitted by mistake. M. Williams gives sibira in the senses of a royal camp, a tent, an entrenchment for the protection of an army, a kind of grain, but none of these meanings would suit here. Perhaps it means 'a farm-house'.

¹¹ The word हवन does not occur in the corresponding portion of the last grant.

¹¹ Read विभवा-.

¹³ Read प्रदानफलेप्यूभि:.

¹⁴ Read -स्संयुक्तस्स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

- 23 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹ ॥ [१॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [२॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्शनानि धम्मित्थं— यशस्कराणि [।*]
- 25 निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नामसाघुः पुनराददीत² ॥ [३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्र-
- 26 क्ष युधिष्ठिर । महिं(हीं) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ।। [४॥*] इति [।*] संवत्सर-शतत्रये द्विनवत्यधि-
- 27 के वैशाखपीण्णंमास्यां भोगिकपालककवर्कंदूतकं लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवेण स्वमखाज्ञयेति [॥*]
- 28 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [॥*] दिनकरचरणाच्चैनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं श्रीप्रशा-
- 29 न्तरागस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-7, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 8) "Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the field on the south-eastern border of the village Kshīrasara situated in the vishaya of Sangamakhēṭaka, requiring for its seed-grains ten prasthas4 of paddy by the larger measure—on the eastern boundary of which (there is) an Ańkölla tree,5 on the north a Sāka tree6 and a Banyan tree, on the west a Khadira7 and a Badarī (jujube) tree, on the south a Sālmalī⁸ (tree), and a haunted Banyan tree—(the field) marked clearly with these four boundaries together with sibara (a farm-house?), udranga and uparikara, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour, (and) special rights-which is not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (and) the earth will endure-to the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvaja gotra, a student of the Vajasaneya Madhyandina śakha, who, having emigrated from Dasapura, (now) resides in the village Kshīrasara-for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) bali, charu, vaisvadēva (and) offerings in agnihotra, and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of U. 17-21, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 21) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 26) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, (this charter), the dūtaka of which is the Bhōgikapālaka Karka, has been written at the command of Our mouth by the Sāndhivigrahika Rēva.

The year 300 (and) 90 (and) 2, (the month) Vaiśākha, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10, (and) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Praśāntarāga, the son of the illustrious Vītarāga, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

¹ Metre of this and the next verse: Anusbtubb.

² Metre: Indravajrā.

³ Metre: Anusbjubb.

⁴ Prastha is a measure of capacity, being equal to four kudavas.

^{6 &#}x27;Alangium Hexapetalum' (M. W.)

^{6 &#}x27;Acacia Sirissa' (Ibid).

^{7 &#}x27;Acacia Catachu' (Ibid).

^{*} The Seemul or Silk-cotton tree.

No. 21; PLATE XIV

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III : (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

THESE plates were found during excavation of some foundations at Navsāri, the chief town of the Navsāri *Prānt* of the Surat District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Shariarji Dadabhai Bharuch of Navsāri, who sent them to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The latter edited them with photozincographed plates and a translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12" by 9". Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. A small piece at the top of the proper right-hand side and a large triangular piece with its sides measuring about 4", 3" and 4\frac{1}{4}" at the bottom of the same side of the second plate have been broken away and lost. This has resulted in the loss of one akshara in 1.23 and from one to six aksharas in 11.36-43. All the missing letters except those in 1.42 can, however, be conjecturally supplied. The plates are otherwise in a state of good preservation. They have two round holes about \frac{1}{4}" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together, but the rings and the seal, which must have been on one of them are lost. The record consists of forty-four lines, twenty-two being inscribed on each plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Dadda II. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of d as in the Kairā plates of K. 380¹—one with a loop and the other with a tail, see tadāka-, 11.24 and 28, and to the triangular th in pathak-, 1.22. Dh appears round in -ādhirōhaṇa, 1.10 and elongated elsewhere as in dhārā-, 1.6; b is square in bahubhir-, 1.37, round in bandhu, 1.15, bal-ādhikṛita-, 1.42 and almost triangular like v, in bali-, 1.21; f shows, instead of the usual horizontal bar, a notch in its right limb, see ma-hā-sābda and kušalī, both in 1.17. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see vasēt 1.36, or by curve as in nibaddham 1.43. Punctuation is expressed by single and double dots as well as by single and double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 50 and 6 occur in 1.42. Others for 10 and 5, which must have occurred at the beginning of 1.43, have been lost. The sign-manual at the end is in the northern current-hand characters. Unlike the sign-manual of Dadda II, it shows the bipartite Nāgari form of y.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit, containing long compounds and puns and other alankāras. The eulogistic portion is composed on the model of that of the earlier grants of Dadda II (see e.g., the Kairā plates). Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The Prakrit word satka occurs thrice in the formal part defining the boundaries of the donated field. As regards orthographical peculiarities, we may notice the use of the guttural nasal instead of anusvāra as in vansa and nistrinša, both in 1.6 and the doubling of a consonant after r as in vinirggata and chāturvvidya, both in 1.19, pūrvvõttara, 1.22 etc. The marks of punctuation appear redundant in many cases in the prose portion of the text.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhaṭa, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his camp at Kāyāvatāra. He was born in a family descended from the Mahārāja Karṇa and had attained the pañchamahāśabda. The object of the inscription

¹ See above No. 16.

is to record the grant, by Jayabhaṭa, of a field measuring sixty nivartanas on the north-east boundary of the village Samīpadraka situated in the Kōrillā pathaka (sub-division). Two villages Golikā and Dhāhaddha are mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the field. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the religious rites such as bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra, (the reception of) guests etc. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin of the Prāgāyaṇa¹ gōtra, a student of the Mādhyandina śākhā of the White Yajurvēda, who had emigrated from Girinagara and was at the time of the grant residing at the agrahāra village Śraddhikā. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright half of Māgha. It was written by the Mahābalādhikṛita Kēśava, the son of a Bhōgika whose name is lost. The dūtaka was the Balādhikṛita Bāvulla².

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor-

Dadda.

Jayabhaṭa.

Dadda-Bāhusahāya.

Jayabhaṭa.

The record does not furnish much historical information about these princes. The last two—the second Dadda and the second Jayabhaṭa—were devout worshippers of Mahēś-vara and had attained the paiichamahāśabda. The former is also said to have attained the biruda of Bāhusahāya (he whose arm is the sole helper) by the might of his arm, which he exhibited in the wars with the eastern and western supreme rulers. As these rulers are not mentioned by name, it is not possible to identify them definitely, but the former may be the ruler of Valabhī and the latter the king of Malwa. In connection with the first Dadda in the above list, we have the interesting information, which is supplied for the first time by the present grant, that he attained great fame by giving protection to the lord of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.

Though the present grant does not specify the dynasty to which these princes belonged, there is no doubt that they belonged to the Gurjara lineage; for as Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out, these names do not occur in any other dynasty. In the present record their family is, for the first time, said to have descended from the Mahārāja Karņa. This is evidently in accordance with the tendency of the age to trace the origin of royal families to some mythical or legendary eponymous hero. This Mahārāja Karṇa is, therefore, probably identical with the epic hero of that name, the staunch supporter and friend of Duryōdhana, who distinguished himself in the Mahābhārata war.

As shown below, the present grant was made in the Kalachuri year 456. Dadda, the first prince mentioned in it who was the great-grand-father of the donor Jayabhata, was, therefore, probably ruling in the Kalachuri year 381. He is consequently identical with Dadda II—Praśāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392, i.e., from 629-30 A.C. to 641-42 A.C. This is again confirmed by the statement in the present plates that he was a contemporary of the Emperor Harshadēva who is none other than Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A.C.). The Gurjara princes mentioned in the present

¹ See below, p. 86, n. 3.

² He is the dătaka mentioned in the Anjanēri plates also of the same king. See line 39 of No. 22, below.
³ One Dadda is mentioned in the Jödhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 91). As shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, he was probably identical with Dadda I and flourished about 575 A. C.

grant are, therefore, Dadda (II)-Prasāntarāga, his son Jayabhaṭa (II), his son Dadda (III)-Bāhusahāya, and his son Jayabhaṭa (III) who made the present grant.

As stated above, the grant recorded on the present plates was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Magha. The year is given in words in 1.41 as 456 of an unspecified era. There is, however, no doubt that like the dates of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras, this date is to be referred to the Kalachuri era. The charter was written on the same day on which the grant was made. The date of its recording was expressed by numerical symbols in 11.42 and 43. The symbols which occur at the end of 1.42 give the year 456 as the year of recording, but the name of the month, and the lunar fortnight as well as the symbols for the tithi, which were incised in the beginning of 1.43, are lost owing to the breaking off of the left-hand corner of the second plate. The name of the week-day is also lost, as only the letters vare can be read with certainty in the beginning of the preserved portion of 1.43. The akshara which preceded vā of vāre is also partially broken away, but what remains of it shows that it was ma and, therefore, the day was either Soma Monday or Bhauma Tuesday. Assuming that the charter was made nibaddha on the same day on which the grant was made as in the case of the Kāvī plates1 of Jayabhata IV, Bhagvanlal and Fleet conjectured that Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday (or Tuesday) of the year 456 was the date of the grant. Cunningham found by calculation that with the epoch of 249-250 A.C., the full moon day of Magha of the Chedi (or Kalachuri) year 4562 fell on Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A.C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse3 as stated in the grant. This is, therefore, the date of the grant.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ identified Kāyāvatāra, the site of the royal camp, with Kāvī in the Jambusar tālukā of the Broach district; but, as pointed out by Bühler⁵, Kāvī does not phonetically correspond to Kāyāvatāra; besides, the old name of Kāvī was Kāpikā which is mentioned in the Kāvī plates of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūta prince Gōvinda⁶. Dr. Bühler at first took the place-name to signify the incarnation of a son or descendant of Ka or Prajāpati, and thought that Kāyāvatāra was a place of pilgrimage on the Narmadā⁷. Later on he identified it with Kārwān (lat. 20° 3′ N. and long. 73° 10′ E.) which he connected philologically with Kāyāvatāra (the village possessing the Kāya manifestation⁸). It seems better to derive Kārwān from Kāyāvarōhaṇa⁹ which conveys the same sense as

¹ See below No. 23.

² Cunningham did not state in this connection whether the year was current or expired, but from his remarks in A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 111, it is clear that he took it to be an expired year. Later on, Kielhorn clearly showed in his article 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi Era' that the year was expired according to the epoch A. D. 248-249. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 220). This is one of the few verifiable early dates of the era, which come from Western India. It shows that the epoch A. D. 247-248, which Kielhorn deduced later from Kalachuri dates found in the Madhya Pradesh and Central India, does not suit these early dates.

² 'According to Von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse there was a lunar eclipse on February 2, 706, 16 h. 37 m. Greenwich time or at Lankä, 9 h. 40 m. P. M. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 71.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

^e Ibid, Vol. V, p. 147.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

^{*} Ibid., Vol. XVIII. p. 176. In this case also Dr. Bühler derived Kāya from Ka, Brahman, and supported the derivation by stating that in 'Kārwān the chief deity is Brahmēśvara Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēśvara, because ka and Brahman are synonyms.'

⁹ There is metathesis here as in Achalapura (Ellichpur) and Vārānasi (Benares). Bühler later on accepted the derivation. See Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 274.

Kāyāvatāra, viz., 'the descent in the bodily form' of Siva and refers to his incarnation as Lakuliša, the founder of a Pāšupata sect.¹ Girinagara is the well-known Girnār in Kathiawad. Śraddhikā is Sādhi, 5 miles south by west of Padrā, the head-quarters of the Padrā taluka in the Baroda District. Kōrillā, the headquarters of the pathaka (sub-division), in which the donated village was situated, is probably Kōral on the northern bank of the Narmadā 10 m. north-east of Broach. Śamīpadraka is, as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar², identical with the village of the same name which was given away by the Navsāri plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha, for two of the surrounding villages Gōlikā and Dhāhaddha are the same³ in both the grants. In Karka's grant the village is said to be situated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.⁴ From the boundary villages mentioned in it, Samīpadraka seems to be identical with Sōndārn, seven miles south-west of Kārwān and about twelve miles north of the Narmadā. Dhāhaddha is probably Dhāwaṭ two miles to the north of Sōndārn. Gōlikā cannot be identified.

TEXT

First Plate

- सिद्धम्⁶ स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीकायावतारवासकात् सतत[ल]क्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁷ तृष्णासन्ताप-हारिणि⁷ । [दि]ननाथवि-
- स्तारितानुभावे । द्वि[ज]कुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि । महति महाराजकर्णान्वये । कमला– कर इव रा–
- उहंसः प्रवलकलिकालिवलिसताकुलित⁸विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरोदारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपा—
- 4 लमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोपजातभ्रमददभ्रशुभाभविभ्रम-
- उ यशोवितानः श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसञ्चयोपचीयमानमनो-
- 6 निर्वृतिक (र)नेककण्टकवङ्श⁹संदोहदाहदुल्लंलितप्रतापानलो निशित्त (त) निर्दित्रङ्श¹⁰धारादा[रि]— तारातिकरि—
- 7 कुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोङ्शुका¹¹वगुष्ठितदिग्वधूवदनसरिसजः श्रीजयभटस्तस्या[त्म] जो म-
- 8 हामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधम्मानुष्ठानप्रविण¹² वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्म्लितसक-
- १ लक्लिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनमनोरथिवषय¹³व्यतीतविभवसंपादनापनीताशेषपार्तिथवदाना—

¹ The place is called Kāyāvatāra in the Linga-purāņa and Kāyārōbaņa in the Vāyu-purāṇa. (J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, p. 154). See also the Ekalingji stone inscription (loc. cit. pp. 151 ff.) which mentions it as Kāyāvarōbaṇa and Cintra prafasti (Ep. Ind., Vol. 1, p. 281) in which it is called Kārōbaṇa.
² J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 149.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar read the name of one of them as Dhāhadva instead of Dhāhaddha. In the present grant the subscript letter of the last aksbara is clearly dh. For the form of the subscript v see tach-chāturvvidya-1.19, pārvvatē 1.23 etc.

⁴ See Mahī-Narmmad-āntarāladeta-varti-Samīpadraka-nāmā grāmō etc. in the Navsāri plates of Karka, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.

From the facsimile accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff. Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary here and in lines 2-34, below.

^{*} The sense requires a reading like विलसितानाकृतित-.

⁹ Read वंश-.

¹⁰ Read निस्त्रिंश-.

¹¹ Read यशोशुका-.

¹¹ Read -प्रवीणो.

¹⁸ Bhagvanlal read this word as विजय. The horizontal stroke over the top of the middle akshara shows that it is sha. The reading vishaya is clear in 1.7 of the Anjaneri plates (No. 22 below).

- 10 भिमानो मदविवशा ङ्कशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्रभावो [वि]पत्प्रपात-
- 11 पतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्यप्र[ती]च्याधिराज-
- 12 [वि]जम्भितमहासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकु (क) टितमुज [वीर्यं]वि-
- स्थातबाहुसहायापरनामा । परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुर-
- 14 नेकसमरसंघट्टधनघटितगजघटापाटनपटु[र]सहिष्णुवन[ग]हनदावानलो दीनाना[था]-
- 15 तुरसुहृत्स्वजनबन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनि[शा]करः भागीरथीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः [शान्तनु]-
- 16 रिव समुद्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिः आदिवराह इव स्वभुजवलपराक्रमोद्घृतघ[राघरः प-]¹
- 17 रममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीजयभटः कुशली । सर्व्वानेव राजसाम[न्त]भोगिक[वि]षय-
- 18 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु² वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्म-
- नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । गिरिनगरिविनिग्गैतश्रद्धिकाग्रा (ग्र)हारवास्तव्यतच्चातुर्विवद्यसा—
 मान्य—
- 20 प्रावायन³सगोत्रवाज[स]नेय⁴माध्यन्दिनस[ब्र]ह्मचारिब्राह्मणदत्तपुत्र[ब्रा]ह्मणदेवस्वामिने । अस्मत्क्र-
- 21 तप्रकाशनामकल्लम्बराय । बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञा[दि] त्रियोत्सर्पणा-
- 22 र्त्यं । कोरिल्लापथकान्तर्गातशमीपद्रकग्रामे [पू]व्वींत्तरसीम्नि । चतुष्पष्टिभूनिवर्त्तनप्रमाणं

Second Plate

- 23 [क्षे*][त्रं] । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो गोलिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः दक्षिणतो यमलखल्लराभिधा—
- 24 नतडाकं । तथा महत्तरमाहेश्वरसत्कक्षेत्रं ॥ नापितदेवकसत्कवापकक्षेत्रञ्च । अपरतः शमी-
- 25 पद्रकग्रामादेव घाहद्वग्रामयायी पन्याः उत्तरतो वरुटखल्लराभिघानं तडाकं । तथा
- 26 कोरिल्लावासिब्राह्म[ण]नम्मैसत्कब्र[ह्म]देयक्षेत्रञ्च । एविमदं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितक्षेत्रं । सोद्रङ्गं । सोप-
- 27 रिकरं । सभूतपातप्रत्यायं । सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशाप[रा]धं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टी (ष्टि) कं । गृहस्थावरचल-
- 28 क । रथ्या । प्रवेश । निर्माम । सं[च] र । चतुष्पदा(द) प्रचार । वापी । कूप । तडाक । पद्रोपजीव्यसमेतं ॥ सर्व्यरा-
- 29 [जकी]यानामहस्तप्रक्षेप[णी]यं पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरिहतं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्काण्णं-
- 30 विक्षितिस[रि]त्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्रपौत्रान्वयत्रमोपभोग्यमद्य माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां । चन्द्रोप-
- उम् रागे । पुण्यतिथाबुदकातिसर्गेण ब्रह्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं (तम्) । यतोस्योचितया । ब्र-[ह्मदा]-

¹ The letters in the bracket are very indistinct. Pandit Bhagvanlal read them as -रिण: प, but the space is certainly too much for three aksharas. Read -रागर: प- as in the Anjancri and Prince of Wales Museum plates. (Below, Nos. 22 and 24).

⁼ Read -न्समनुदशंयति । अस्तु.

² Pandit Bhagvanlal read Shrāvāyana and proposed to alter it to Brādhnāyana. The Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba gives Prāgāyana as a gotra, which is perhaps the nearest substitute that can be adopted here. For the confounding of v and g, see gahana in l. 14 which appears to have been incised as vahana.

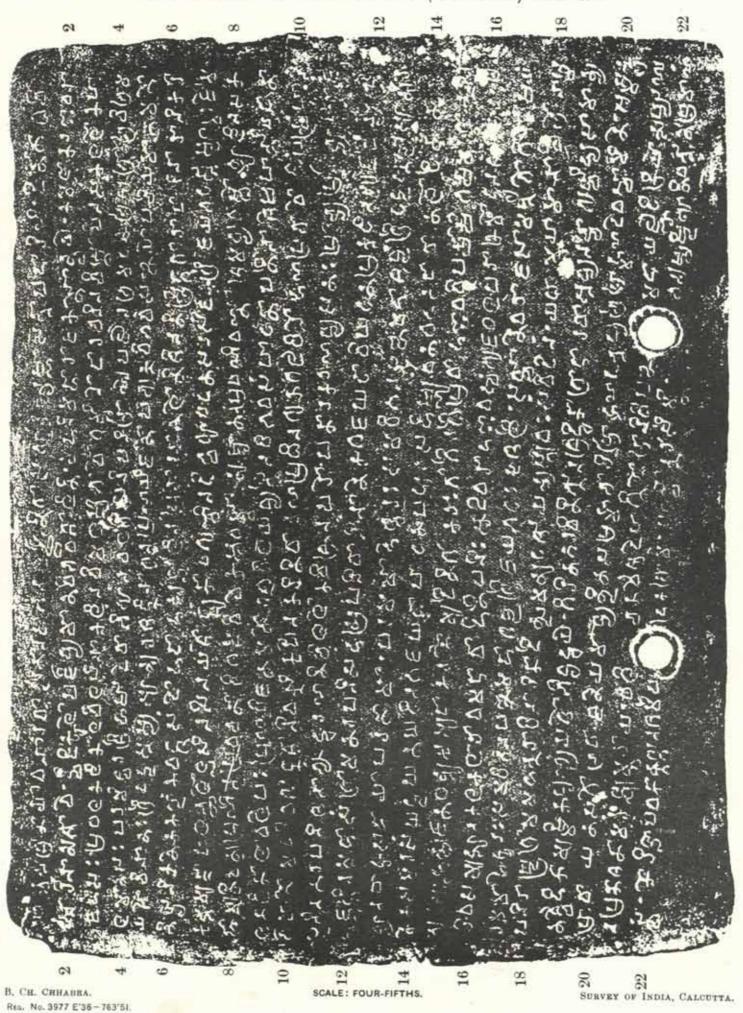
⁴ The engraver first omitted sa of Vājasanēya. As there was then no space between ja and nē for engraving the akshara sa, he incised another ja between vā and ja and tried to correct the original ja into sa.

⁹ Here and in some places below, the rules of sandbi have not been observed.

⁶ This expression generally occurs as समृतवातप्रत्यायं in inscriptional records.

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal read sagara which gives no satisfactory meaning.

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 456



- 32 यस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वचासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रन्-
- पतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैव्वियमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालियतव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानितिमिरपटला-
- वृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत । स पञ्चिभम्मंहापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्या-
- क्तञ्च भगवता बेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । पिंट वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता 35
- [च*]° तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ ³ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदा-
- [यं ह*]रन्ति ये । [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वंसुघा भुकां (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ[लं] (लम्) ॥ [३॥*]
- 38 [अग्नेर*]पत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णां भूव्येष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेत् दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गां
- [च महीञ्च*] दद्यात् ॥ [४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दीनानि धर्मार्त्ययशस्कराणि। निव्भक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-
- [नि तानि को*] नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [५॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ
- [दानाच्छ्रेयोनु*]पालनं (नम्) ।। [६॥*]संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षट्पञ्चाशदुत्तरके माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां लिखितमिदं
- [....]भोगिकपुत्रमहाबलाधिकृतके[शबेनेति] ।। बलाधिकृतवाबुल्लदूतकं ।। सं ४००
- [माघ शु १० ५ भी * ?][म]वारे निबद्धम् ॥
- स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ।।

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the camp at the famous Kāyāvatāra-

In the great lineage of the Mahārāja Karņa which, like a lake full of lotuses7, has become the perpetual abode of Lakshmi; which (by its charity) allays the suffering caused by desire for wealth (as the lake does by quenching the thirst for water); which has its greatness enhanced by the sun; which shines with prosperity which affords support to the families of Brahmanas (as the lake does by giving shelter to multitudes of birds), (there was), like a swan, the illustrious Dadda (II) whose pure disposition was not affected by the freaks of the powerful Kali age; who by his inscrutable and noble deeds excited the wonder of all the guardians of the world;8 who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadeva.

¹ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

² The letters in this and other square brackets in the beginning of ll. 36-41 which are broken away have been supplied from the corresponding portions of cognate records.

³ Metre of this and the next two verses: Anushtubb.

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse: Indravajrā.

⁵ Metre: Anusbjubb.

⁶ The aksbaras and numerical figures in the bracket have been supplied conjecturally with the help of the passage in l. 41. The name of the week day must have been either Soma or Bhauma as the akshara ma is partially visible.

⁷ The adjective trishnā-santāpa-bāriņi shows that kamalākara is used here in the sense of 'a lake abounding in lotuses' rather than in that of 'a group of lotuses'.

⁸ These are Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuņa, Vāyu, Kubēra and Sōma.

- (Line 5) His son (was) the illustrious Jayabhaṭa (II), the joy of whose mind was heightened as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by supplicants who fearlessly approached him; whose valour was too much fondled by the destruction of the families of many foes, as fire is by the burning of a mass of thorns and bamboos; (and) who covered the lotus-like faces of the damsels that were the regions, with the shining white garment of his fame in the guise of the pearls from the frontal globes of the elephants of his enemies, cleft by the sharp edge of his sword.
- (L. 7) His son (was) the illustrious Dadda (III), who was clever in performing his duty by discrimination acquired by the study of the sacred treatise composed by the great sage Manu and who, by maintaining (the institutions of) varnas (castes) and āśramas (orders of life), completely uprooted the pride of the Kali age; who annihilated the vanity of all kings by (spending in charity) the wealth he had acquired, in excess of the desires of (his) supplicants; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants became well known through(his) holding in check infuriated elephants, which, becoming uncontrollable through tut, had grown restive under the goad; whose habit of (performing) acts of benevolence was celebrated throughout the world through his deliverance of hundreds of kings who had fallen under the blow of adversity; whose second name Bāhusahāya (one whose arm is the sole helper) became renowned through the valour of his arm which he exhibited in routing numerous hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars fought with the supreme rulers of the east and the west; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (and) attained the pañchamahāśabda.
- (L. 13) His son, the illustrious Jayabhaṭa (III),—who is clever in destroying the hosts of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of many battles; who is a wild fire in (burning) the forests of the rebellious; who is to the destitute, helpless and distressed people, friends, servants and relatives as the full-moon is to the clusters of lotuses; who is able to confound his adversaries as the current of the Bhāgīrathī (i.e., the Gaṅgā) is to undermine the opposite banks; who is the commandant of a large and boisterous army even as Sāntanu was the lord of a great and noisy river (viz, the Gaṅgā); who has rescued kings by the might and valour of his arm, even as the primeval Boar rescued mountains; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and has attained the pañchamahāśabda—being in good health, addresses (the following order) to all the kings, feudatories, Bhōgikas, heads of vishayas the Mahattaras and rāshṭras and villages:—
- (L. 18) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame in this world and the next of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the auspicious day of the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha, granted with a libation of water, as a brahmadāya, a field measuring sixty-four nivartanas of land on the north-east boundary in the village Samīpadraka situated in the Kōrillā pathaka—the boundaries of which are (as follows)—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village Gōlikā; on the south the tank called Yamalakhallara² and the field belonging to the Mahattara Mahēśvara and the cultivated field belonging to the barber Dēvaka; on the west, the road that goes to the village Dhāhaddha from the village Samīpadraka itself; on the north, the tank called Baruṭakhallara and the

¹ Vibbava-sampādana in the text is equivalent to sampādita-vibbava according to the rule 'Bbāvā-nayanā dravy-ānayanam.' Pandit Bhagvanlal translates, 'by acquiring (again) the wealth that had been spent (by him) etc.'

² Khallara, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal, is a dēšī word meaning a pond. Yamala means twins. So the expression seems to denote a tank consisting of twin ponds. An analogous expression, yamala-vāpī, occurs in l. 25 of the Dhank plates of Šilāditya I, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 237 ff.

brahmadēya field belonging to the Brāhmana Narma residing at Körillā-this field thus defined by its four boundaries, together with the udraigal and the uparikara, with taxes on things manufactured or imported (into the village),2 with its income in grain and gold, with (fines imposed for) the ten offences3, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom,4 with houses, immovables and movables, streets, (the right to) ingress, egress (and) (free) movements, pasture-lands for four-footed animals, step-wells, (other) wells, tanks, (and other) things necessary for living in the village; free from the interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of grants previously made to gods and Brāhmanas; (which is) to be enjoyed according to the maxim of waste land, successively by sons, sons' sons, and their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure,—to the Brahmana Devasvamin, who is known by the name Kallumbara which we have given him; (who is) the son of the Brahmana Datta, who belongs to the Prāgāyana gōtra (and) is a student of the Mādhyandina (śākhā) of the Vājasanēya (i.e., White Yajurveda); who has emigrated from (the city of) Girinagara and is now residing at the agrahara (village) Sraddhika and belongs to the community of the Châturvēdins of the place,-for the performance of the five great sacrifices (viz.) bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihotra, (reception of) guests and such other (religious) rites.

(L. 31) Wherefore, none should cause obstruction while he is enjoying (it), cultivating (it), or causing (it) to be cultivated or directing (others to cultivate it) in accordance with the rules applicable to brahmadāya (land). And future gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."

(L. 34) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow six imprecatory and benedictive verses).

(L. 41) This (charter) has been written by the Mahābalādhikṛita Kēšava, the son of the Bhōgika...on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year four hundred increased by fifty-six. The dūtaka of this (charter) is the Balādhikṛita Bāvulla. This is recorded on [Tuesday] the month [Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 10 and 5] in the year 400 (and) 50 (and) 6.

This is the sign-manual of Me, the illustrious Jayabhata (III).

¹ As remarked by Bhagvanlal, some of these rights and privileges are hardly appropriate in the case of the donation of a field.

² As Dr. Altekar has shown (Rashtrakūtas and Their Times, p. 229), vāta refers to the articles imported and bhūta to those manufactured in the village. The expression sometimes occurs in the form 'bhūt-ōpātta-pratyāya.' Notice the analogous expression sa-bāby-ābbyantar-ādāyam 'together with external and internal taxes' in the Ichhāwār plates of Paramardideva. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, pp. 205 ff.

³ These are probably identical with the ten sins enumerated in the Sukranītisāra (adhyāya 3, sl. 6) viz., murder, theft, adultery, slander, harsh language, lying, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness. The same enumeration occurs in the Ashtāngahridaya of Vāgbhaṭa. Cf. also Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 189, n. 4.

⁴ Pandit Bhagvanlal omits sõtpadyamāna in the translation,

⁵ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates padr-ōpajīvya-samētam by 'with those who live on the skirts of the village.' Padra, which often occurs at the end of a village-name, seems to mean a village, here, the people living in the village. The expression seems to convey some miscellaneous rights enjoyed by villagers.

No. 22; PLATE XV

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 460

THESE plates were discovered in 1936 in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village about four miles to the east of Trimbak, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology. I edit the inscription here from the original plates which were kindly sent to me by the Superintendent of Archæology, Western Circle, Poona.¹

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12.8" in breadth and 9.4" in height. At the top of each plate there are two round holes, .6" in diameter, for two rings which must have originally held them together. One of the rings has since been lost. The ends of the other are soldered into the bottom of a ladle-shaped seal. On the face of the latter, which is roundish and measures about 1.8" in diameter, there appears in relief on a countersunk surface a solar symbol similar to that on the seals of the Kairā plates² of Dadda II, and below it the legend Srī-Jayabhaṭa. The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, are in a state of good preservation. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. There are thirty-nine lines in all, of which eighteen are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-one on the second. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters. As shown below, he is identical with Jayabhata III who granted the Navsāri plates. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the formation of some aksharas in the sign-manual of the present grant is different; compare, e.g., the aksharas ma, ja, bha and ta in the two signatures. The grant is written in a careless and cursive hand. Notice, for instance, the cursive form of li in kali and -ākulita-, both in 1.2. Several letters are mis-shapen or incompletely formed owing to the carelessness of either the writer or the engraver. See, e.g., 5 in -nistrinsa-, 1.5 and sri-Jayabhata-, 1.6; m in -samudbhūta-, 1.13 and kachchhikāmra-, 1.25, n in -pramāṇam, 1.27 etc. Many letters appear in varying forms; see, for instance, the form of ch in -charita-, 1.3 and -pravachan-, 1.6; of th in -natha-, 1.1, -manoratha-, 1.7 and yathā, 1.15; of p in -vismāpita- and -lokapāla-, both in 1.3; of m in -muni- and -Manu-, both in 1.6; of y in -yaso-, 1.4, maya, 1.15 and Vijadamba, 1.24; of r in -nivāraņa- and -guru-, both in 1.8; of v in iva and -vilasit-, both in 1.2, -vāsinah 1.34 etc. Owing to the similarity of bh, g and s, as well as of v, b and dh it sometimes becomes difficult to say what exactly was intended to be expressed. The jihvāmūlīya occurs in 1.14. Punctuation, which is redundant in several places, is generally indicated by a single dot, but in metrical passages by single or double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 60, 10 and 1 occur in the last line.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The text of the inscription is mutatis mutandis identical with that of the Navsāri plates. It shows generally the same orthographical peculiarities. One additional peculiarity noticed here is the doubling of k before t as in -samyukkta-, 1.33, and -nirbhukkta, Il. 36-37, which is in accordance with Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 47.

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 292 ff.

² Nos. 16 and 17, above.

The plates were issued from Bharukachchha by the illustrious Jayabhata, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had attained the pañchamahāśabda. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Navsāri plates, commencing from Dadda II. He is, therefore, Jayabhata III of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhata III, of three pieces of land, measuring sixty nivartanas in all, in the village Toranaka situated in the vishaya of Nandipura. In connection with their boundaries are mentioned the villages Jayapura, Viddhēraka, and Bhūtishōhī as well as the river Karillinī. The donee was the Brāhmana Nārāyana, the son of Chashtasvāmin, of the Sāndilya gotra and the Kauthuma sākhā of the Chhandoga (Sāmavēda), who was then residing at Brahmapurī. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, bali, charn, vaiśvadēva and others. The grant was made on the occasion of the Tulā-sankrānti on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Aśvayuja. It was recorded on the same tithi of the dark fortnight of Aśvayuja in the year 460 of an unspecified era. The charter was written by the Baladhikrita Sahabhata, the son of the Baladhikrita Durgabhata. The Dūtaka was the same as in the earlier Navsāri plates, viz. the Balādhikrita Bāvulla.

The tithi on which the grant was made is mentioned in words in 1.30, and that on which it was recorded is expressed by numerical symbols in the last line. The year is mentioned only once, in the last line, and is expressed in numerical symbols only. This makes it doubtful if the dot following the symbol for 60 indicates the number one, or is a redundant punctuation mark. I am inclined to take the latter view, because a similar mark

is used throughout in this record to mark punctuation.1

According to Kielhorn's final view, the Kalachuri-Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (the 5th September) in 248 A.C. and its months were pūrņimānta. Of the early dates of this era, only two2 admitted of verification and both of them appeared irregular according to this epoch. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far Kielhorn's conclusion about the epoch of the Chedi era is proved or disproved by the date of the present grant. The statement in the present plates that the Tula-sankranti, on which the grant was made, occurred in the dark half of Aśvayuja shows that the month was amanta.3 According to Kielhorn's final view, the date of the present grant would be expected to fall in 707 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 460 was current, and in 708 A.C. if it was expired. But in neither of these years, did the Tula-sankranti fall on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of the amanta Aśvina.4 Again, even if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began on Aśvina śu. di. 1 in 249 A.C. (not in 248 A.C.) as was first held by Kielhorn, the date of the present grant would fall in 708 or 709 A.C. according as the year 460 was current or expired. We have seen above that 708 A.C. does not suit. In 709 A.C. also, the Tulā-sankrānti did not5 fall on Āśvina va. di. 11. If, on the other hand, the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 as I have shown elsewhere6, the date of the

3 The month, if pürnimänta, would have been Kärttika.

¹ A similar redundant mark of punctuation occurs after the symbols indicative of the *tithi* in the same line. Again, if thus read, the year would be an expired one like those of the Navsāri and Kāvī plates of the same dynasty. If the symbols are interpreted to mean 461, the year would have to be taken as current; but current years are cited only exceptionally.

² Viz., the dates of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No. 21) and the Kāvī plate of Jayabhaṭa IV (No. 21).

⁴ In 707 A. C., the Tulā-sankrānti fell on the amānta Āśvina va. di. 8 and in 708 A. C. on Āśvina śu. di. 5.

⁵ In 709 A. C. the Tulā-sankrānti fell on Āśvina paurņimā.

⁶ See Introduction, above.

present grant, for the expired Kalachuri year 460 would regularly correspond to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C., according to the epoch 248-249 A.C. which suits other verifiable early Kalachuri dates. On that day the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of the amanta Aśvina commenced 45 minutes after mean sunrise and the Tulä-sańkrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the present grant.

As for the geographical names in the present record, Bharukachchha is, of course, modern Broach. Nändīpura is Nāndōd in the Rājpiplā subdivision of the Broach District. Tōraṇaka is still called Tōraṇ or Tōraṇmāl and lies only two miles to the north of Nāndōd. The statement in the present grant that Tōraṇaka was situated in the Nāndōpura vishaya proves the correctness of the identification of Nāndīpura with Nāndōd which was first proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The river Katilliṇī is clearly Karjan, on the right bank of which both Nāndōd and Tōraṇ are situated. Jayapura cannot be definitely located, unless it is Jesalpur, 3 miles to the north of Tōraṇ. As described in the present plates, it lies on the road passing through Tōraṇ. Bhūtishōhī may be Bhuchād, about 1½ miles from Tōraṇ, on the western bank of the Karjan¹. Viddhēraka cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. Brahmapurī, where the donee resided, is probably identical with Brahmapura, mentioned as the place of residence of the donee of the Jhar plates of Dharasēna II². It may be identical with Bāmanphaliā, nine miles south-west of Nāndōd.

TEXT3

First Plate

- मिद्धम्⁴ [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीभरुकच्छात्सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁵ तृष्णासन्तापहारिणि ।⁵ दिननाथिवस्तारितानुभावे ।⁵ द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानिवभवशा—
- 2 लिनि ।⁵ महति महाराजकण्णांन्वये कमलाकर इव राजहंसः प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁴— विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरो—
- 3 दार[च]रितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीह[वं]देवाभिभूतवलभीपितपरित्राणोप-जातभ्रमद-
- 4 दभाशुभा[भ]विभागयशोवितानः श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरश[ङ्कि]तागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंच-योपचीयमानम-
- 5 नोनि[वृं]ित[र]नेककण्टकवङ्श'संदोहदाहदुल्लंलितप्रतापानलो । विशितिनिस्त्र[ङ्श] श्वारादारि— तारातिकरिकुम्भ[मृ]क्ताफलच्छ-
- 6 लोल्लिसितसितयशोङ्शुका वगुण्ठितदिग्वधूवदनसरिसजः [श्री]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनु— प्रणीतप्रव[च]नाधिग—

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 292, n. 6.

² Bhavnagar Inscriptions, pp. 31 ff. and Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 187.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

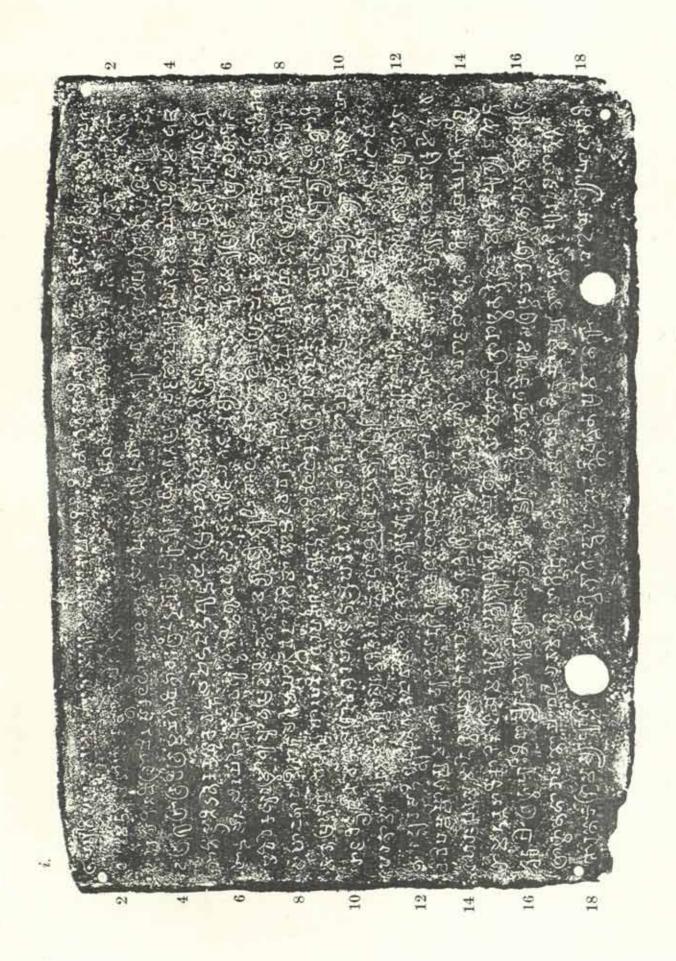
⁶ Read -विलिसतानाकृतित-. It is curious that the mistake has persisted in this record also.

⁷ Read -वंश-.

⁸ Read -निस्त्रश-.

[&]quot; Read -यशोंशुका-.

Anjaneri Plates of Jayabhata III: (Kalachuri) Year 460



- 7 मिववेकस्वधम्मीनुष्ठानप्रव[मि?]¹ वर्णाश्चमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसकलकलिकालावलेपः प्रणियजनम-नोर[थ]विषयव्यतीतविभव-
- 8 संपादनापनीता[शे]षशेष पार्त्यवदानाभिमानो मदिववशांकुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित—
 [ग्]रुगजिवरो—
- 9 हणप्रभावो ।³ विपत्प्रपातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिल[लो]कविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्यप्रतीच्या[घ]⁴–
- राजविज्[िम्भ]तमहासंग्रामनरपितसहस्रपिरवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यंविख्यात– बाहुसहाया–
- 11 परनामा । परममाहे [इव] रस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द [:*] श्रीदद्दस्तस्य सूनुरण (ने) कसमर-संघट्टघनघटितगजघटापाट-
- 12 नपटुरसिह्ण्युवनगहनदावानलो ।3 दीनानाथातुरसुह्रत्स्वजनव (व)न्धुकुमुदाकर[कौ]मुदीगि— (नि)[शा]करो ।3 भागीर[थी]प्रवाह इ—
- 13 व विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः शान्तनृरिव स[मु]द्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपितरादिवराह इ[व] स्वभुज-बलपराक्रमोद्धतध-
- 14 राघरः परममाहेश्वरस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्द)[:*] ग्री(श्री)जयभट×कुशली सर्व्वा[ने] व राजसामन्तभोगिक ।3 विषयपतिराष्ट्र-
- 15 ग्राम[म*]हत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदिश (शं)यत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनक्चै-हिकामु [क्म]कपुष्पयशोभि-
- 16 वृद्धये । ३ ब्रह्मपुरीनिवास्येतच्चातु्व्विद्यसामान्यशा [ण्डि]ल्यसगोत्र । ३ छन्दोग । ३ कौठुमसब्रह्म-चारिब्राह्मणचष्टस्वामिपुत्र-
- 17 ब्राह्मण[ना]रायणाय । विलच्छवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिकः (कि)योत्सप्पंणार्त्थं । नान्दीपुरविषयान्तगात । व
- 18 तोरणकग्रामस्य पूर्व्वोत्तरदिग्विभागे । द्वापञ्चाशन्निवर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं । यस्याघाटनानि । Second Plate
- 19 पूर्व्वतः जयपुरम्रामयायी पन्था हस्तिनिकागर्तासंलग्नः स (?) रो दक्षिणतः छ्रेद[की]वृक्षोप-
- 20 तकुटुम्बिदीपसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं । गैरातस्समुत्थितो दक्षिणाभिनु(मु)को वहरच । तथा अपरतः तोरणकग्रा-
- 21 मात् विद्धेरकग्रामयायी पन्याः तथा क्षेत्रमदिरोत्थितो सुमिआरवृक्षः तथा धम्मणगर्त्तागामी वहस्य। उत्तरतः धम्माणखट्टा ।3
- 22 एवमे 13 [त*] च्चत्राघाटनोपलक्षितं भूख [ण्डं] 13 तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे कच्छे 13 पंचित्रवर्त्तनप्रमाणं भृख [ण्डं] 13 यस्याघाटनानि पू-

¹ Read प्रवीणो.

² These two aksharas are unnecessarily repeated here.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Db is imperfectly formed here and appears somewhat like r. The reading given above is clear in the corresponding passage of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

⁶ The engraver first incised me and then tried to alter it into ne.

⁶ Y has here a cursive transitional form.

⁷ Here and in many places below, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

⁸ Read -संलग्नं.

P Read पंचनिवत्तन-.

- 23 व्वैतः बरद (ट) कम[य्या]दा म्लरितकुटुम्बरे [व]ल्लसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं । दक्षिणतः करिल्लिणीः नदी। व अपरतः [छ]त्त्वा (त्त्रा) भ्यूपलक्षितवरटकमर्या –
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिवजडम्बसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं । उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामोदरसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं । राज-कीयचरिका च । तदेवं चतुराघाट-
- 25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे । कच्छे । कच्छिकाम्म[नि]बद्ध-निवर्त्तनत्रयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं । यस्याघाटनानि
- 26 पूर्व्वतः करिल्लिणी नदी। दक्षिणतो (तः) सैव करिल्लिणी नदी। 2[अ]परतः भूति[यो]हीग्राम-[गा]मी सीमासन्धः उत्तरतो [ङ्को]ल्लवृक्षोपलक्षित-
- 27 करिल्लिणीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुरुचतुर्श्राघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयावस्थितष[ब्टि]निव-त्तंनप्रमा[णं] क्षेत्रं । सोपरिकरं । सभूत-
- 28 पात⁴प्रत्यायं । सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं । [स]र्व्वराजकीया-नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं । पूर्व्यप्रत-
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरिहतं । भूमिन्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राक्काण्णैवस्थि (क्षि) तिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्र-पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं । गृहस्थाव-
- उक् रक्(च)लक्सहितमद्याश्वयुजबहुले(लै)कादश्यां तुलासंकान्तेरवादु(वु)दकातिसर्गोण प्रतिपादितं— (तम्) । यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुं-
- उग जतः कृषतः कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वधासेथे विक्त (ति)तव्यमागामिभद्रनृपितिभरसम-द्वंश्यैरन्यद्वी (व्वा)यमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानितमिरपटला[बृ]तमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिम्मेंहापातकैस्सोप-
- उउ पातकैस्सं[यु]क्क्त[:*] स्यादित्यु⁵क्तं च भगवा(वता) दे(वे)दव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वग्गे तिष्ठिति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च ता−
- 34 न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककोटर[वा]सिनः [॥*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते ॥ भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिव्वसुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजभिस्सगरादिभि: [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि: 7 [त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) । [1३।1*] नु(अ)ग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णां भूव्वेष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [1*]
- 36 [लो]क्कत्र[यं] 8 तेन भवेतु दत्तं $(\pi \pi)$ । यः काच $(\pi \pi)$ नं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ 9 [४॥ 8] यानीह दत्तानि पूरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि 10 धम्मात्थैयशस्कराणि । नि—
- 37 र्भुक्कतमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि। को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ।[।५।।*] सु(स्व)दत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 38 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति ॥ लिखितमिदि (दं) बलाधिकृतदुर्माभटसूनुना बलाधिक्ष (क्र)तसह 12 भटे नेति ॥ बलाधिकृतवाबुल्ल –

* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

क इचतु is redundant.

4 Read सभूतवात-.

⁵ Read स्यादिति । उक्कतं च.

6 Metre of this and the following two verses: Anushfubh.

7 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

8 Read लोकत्रयं.

9 Metre of this and the following verse: Indravajrā.

10 Read नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि.

11 Read -योनुपालनम् ॥६॥ इति ॥ Metre: Anusbtubb.

¹ A similar expression occurs in the Dhank plates of Siladitya I-Dharmaditya. See Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 239.

¹² The aksbara ba has an unusual form here as in gaj-ādbirābaņa, ll. 8-9, above.

39 दूतकं ।। सं ४०० ६० 1 आश्वयुज ब १० १ 1 निम (व) द्वम् ।। स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभ-टा (ट) स्य ।।

Seal श्रीजयभट [:1*]

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp. 87 f.]

(Line 15) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the eleventh (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Aśvayuja, on the occasion of the sun's entering the Tula2 (rasi), granted with a libation of water, fields measuring sixty nivartanas in three pieces of land with their boundaries defined as follows:- a piece of land measuring fifty-two nivartanas in the north-east direction of the village Toranaka situated in the Nandipura vishaya, the boundaries of which are, -on the east, the road going to the village Jayapura (and) the tank adjacent to the pit Hastinika; on the south, the family-field belonging to the householder Dipa, separated by the field-boundary marked by the chhredaki tree, and a stream flowing from the field boundary3 towards the south; and on the west, the road going from the village Toranaka to the village Viddheraka and the sumiara tree growing on the boundary of the field and a stream flowing into the Dhammana pit; on the north, the Dhammana pit,-the piece of land defined by these four boundaries; further, in the marshy region in the southern direction of this very village, a piece of land measuring five nivartanas, the boundaries of which are, -on the east, the family field belonging to the householder Revalla separated by the boundary of barataka4; on the south, the river Karillini; on the west, the family field belonging to the householder Vijadamba separated by the boundary of barataka and marked by an umbrella; on the north, the brahmadeya field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and a royal road,—the field marked by these four boundaries; and on the south of this very piece of land, in the (same) marshy region, (another) piece of land measuring three nivartanas and surrounded by mango trees of the marshy region, the boundaries of which are, -on the east, the river Karillini; on the south, the same river Karillini; on the west, the boundary leading to the village Bhūtishōhī; on the north, the vitați(?) of the river Karillini marked by the ankolla tree,—(the fields measuring sixty nivartanas in all in three pieces of land with their four boundaries defind as above)together with the uparikara, with taxes on commodities manufactured and imported, with the income in grain and gold, with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom, free from the interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of the gifts to gods and Brāhmanas previously made (and) including houses, immovables and movables, -which are to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, accord-

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² Libra, the seventh sign of the Zodiac.

^a Mairā is a word unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. But the context shows that the meaning of a field-boundary is probably correct. Even now mērā has that sense in Marāthī, and mērē in Kannada.

⁴ Monier-Williams gives barațța în the sense of a kind of grain. It seems to mean here some plant used for the fencing of fields. A similar expressiion barațaka-maryādā-pūrwatab occurs also in line 7 of the Dhānk plates of Silāditya I-Dharmāditya (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 238 ff.), which Bühler translated as 'to the east of Baraţaka.'

ing to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, the son of the Brāhamaṇa Chashṭasvāmin, of the Śāṇḍilya gōtra, (who is) a student of the Kauṭhuma śākhā of the Chhandōga (i.e., Sāmavēda) who resides at Brahmapurī and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of that place, for the performance of five great sacrifices, viz., bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra, (reception of) guests and such other (religious) rites."

[For a translation of ll. 30-33, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 33) And it is said by the holy Vyasa, the redactor of the Vedas-

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 38) This (charter), the Dūtaka of which is the Balādhikrita Bāvulla, has been written by the Balādhikrita Sahabhaṭa, the son of the Balādhikrita Durgabhaṭa.

Recorded in the year 400 (and) 60, (the month) Asvayuja (and) the dark (fortnight) (and) (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 1.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhata.

Seal

The illustrious Jayabhata

No. 23; PLATE XVI

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

THIS plate was discovered by Rao Saheb Gopalji G. Desai of Broach in 1875.1 He found it with several other plates in the possession of the Kapila Brahmanas of Kavi, an ancient town in the Jambusar taluka of the Broach District, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the Mahi. Dr. Bühler, to whom its impressions were sent, made personal inquiries at Kāvī in the course of which he came to know the following history of the plates-Five or six hundred years ago a small tānk or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gangesvara Mahādēva at Kāvī was cleaned, and among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarha, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gangasagara in Bengal and took away two of the plates. The others remained at Kāvī.2' The present plate is the second and last plate of its set. It is still in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmanas from whom it was recently taken on loan by a medical practitioner of Bombay. The first plate, which was probably one of the two taken to Bengal, is not now forthcoming. The inscription on the second plate was edited with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Dr. Bühler in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff. Its photograph was subsequently published in Fleet's Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, Plate 272. Having failed to get a fresh impression of the original plate, I edit the inscription on it from a copy of the photograph in Fleet's book, kindly supplied to me by the Director-General of Archæology in India.

'Originally the plate measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 109.

² Loc. eit. Of the four other plates shown to Dr. Bühler, three forming a set contained a grant of Gövindarāja of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch (ed. by Bühler in Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.) and the remaining one, a grant of the Chaulukya Abhayapāla.

the latter has assumed a nearly semi-circular shape¹. Almost all the lost aksharas, except those at the end of 1.25 and the beginning of 1.26, can be supplied with the help of the recently discovered Prince of Wales Museum plates² of the same king. 'The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back, some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.³

As said before, this is the second plate of its set and contains, therefore, the latter half of the grant. The extant portion consists of twenty-six lines, all of which are inscribed on the same side. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III. The royal sign-manual is, however, in the northern characters. The only peculiarities that call for notice are the long mātrās denoting medial diphthongs 'which curl over three or even four aksharas', the curling stroke for medial ri in kri which is attached to the horizontal bar of k, instead of to its vertical, (see krishṇa- and -krita-, both in 1.4 and krishṇ-āhayō, 1.20), and the unlooped n in ndh of gandha-, 1.10 and -panthā, 1.12. The sign for the jihvāmūliya occurs in 1.22. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses embedded in the eulogistic portion and six benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in other records of the Early Gurjaras.

The extant portion of this grant begins abruptly with the eulogy of the donor, the illustrious Jayabhaṭa who had attained the pañchamahāśabda and was the lord of great sāmantas or feudatory chiefs. As already stated, the text of the eulogistic portion, so far as it goes, is identical with that of the Prince of Wales Museum plates. This Jayabhaṭa is, therefore, Jayabhaṭa IV of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. Much of the praise bestowed on him is conventional, but there is one important reference in v.2 to his victory over the Tājjikas or Arabs in the city of the lord of Valabhī. It is said that by the sharp edge of his sword he put an end to their oppression of the people even as a cloud with its showers extinguishes fire which is troublesome to the people.

The inscription records the grant, by Jayabhaṭa IV, of a field measuring fifty nivartanas on the south-west boundary in the village Kēmajju situated in the Bharu-kachchha vishaya. In connection with the boundaries of the field, the record mentions the villages Chhīrakaha, Jambhā, Gōliavali and Sīhu. The object of the grant was to provide for the supply of the materials of worship and repairs to the temple of the god Āśramadēva in the village Kēmajju.

The grant was made on the occasion of the Sun's entering the Karkaṭa-rāśi, i.e., the sign of Cancer, on the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha⁵. The year was mentioned in words at the end of 1.24, but owing to the breaking away of the

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 110.

² No. 24, below.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 110.

⁴ This important reference has escaped the notice of all scholars who have subsequently written about this grant; for they adopted Dr. Bühler's translation based on an incorrect reading of ll.6 and 7, viz., 'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi.' Jayabhata was thus supposed to be an enemy of the contemporary Maitraka king, while, as a matter of fact, he was his friend and deliverer.

⁵ The tithi is expressed in words in 1. 15.

lower right hand corner of the plate, the expression is partly mutilated. The symbols denoting the same year, which have been preserved in the beginning of the extant portion of 1.25, leave no doubt, however, that it was 486. Like other dates of the Early Gurjaras this must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. The tithi, on which the grant was recorded (nibaddha), was also mentioned along with the year in 11.24 and 25, and like the latter, is partly mutilated. The words Ashādha śu. Adityavāre are perfectly clear in 11.25. As regards the symbol following śu, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Kielhorn's remarks: In 1.25 the numerical symbol following upon śu is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen both in the impressions and in the photograph is the symbol for 10, as it occurs, e.g., at the end of the Valabhi grant of Dharasēna II...minus the curved line on the right; but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved and that, therefore, 10 was intended. It is more difficult to say whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2. The grant was, therefore, recorded on a Sunday, the 10th, 11th or 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshādha in the (Kalachuri) year 486.

With the epoch of 248-249 A.C., which Kielhorn at first fixed for the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and which he found applicable in the case of the date of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III, the date of the present plate should fall in 735 or 736 A.C. 'according as the figure 486 denotes the current year or the number of years expired'. Kielhorn found by calculation that 'in A.D. 735 the Karkata-samkranti took place on Thursday, June 23, which was the 13th of the dark half of a month, while the 10th of the bright half of Ashāḍha had fallen already on Sunday, June 5, i.e., no less than eighteen days before the samkranti. In A. D. 736, on the other hand, the Karkata-samkranti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of June 22; and the tenth tithi of the bright half of Ashādha began 21 minutes after mean sunrise of June 22, and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of June 23. The tithi, therefore, in all probability, was a kshaya-tithi, but, under any circumstances, the Karkata-samkrānti, in A.D. 736, did take place during the tenth tithi of the bright half of Ashādha. June 22, however, was a Friday, not a Sunday; and the nearest Sunday, June 24, was the 12th of the bright half of Ashādha, because the 12th tithi of the bright half ended on it, 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise's. Friday, the 22nd June 736 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the grant, and Sunday, the 24th June of the same year, the date of its recording.

The localities mentioned in the grant were fully identified by Dr. Bühler⁵. The village Kēmajju is the present Kímōj or Kīmaj. Straight to the west from Kīmaj at a distance of five or six hundred yards, there is the temple Āsamēśvar, Āśramadēva of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago; but it contains an ancient Linga, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village lies Sīgām or Sīgām, the Sīhugrāma of the grant; towards the south-west there is the village of Jāmaḍi, called also Sāmaḍi, which corresponds to Jambhā; and to the north we have the ruins of Gōlēl (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called Galōl), the

¹ Bühler referred it to the Vikrama era and as, according to the calculations of Prof. Bahudêva Sāstrī, in 429 A. C. corresponding to V. 486, the 10th tithi of the bright half of Āshāḍha fell on Sunday when the sun entered the sign of Karkaṭa, Dr. Bühler concluded that it demolished the theory that the Vikrama era was a forgery and was invented after the battle of Kōrur.

² The same symbol is used to denote 10 in the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

a Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ Loc. cit., p. 221.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 112.

Göliavali of the plate. Chhirakaha is not to be traced. Sölepur Sagari occupies the position assigned to it.'

TEXT1

Second Plate2

- ा [तुरङ्गमनिकरभङ्गभासुरो*]³ [ह्र]तदलितद्विरदकुम्भस्थलश (ग)लितमुक्ताफलनिक[रदन्तु-रासि*]-
- (छतामरीचिनिचय*]मेचिकतदक्षिणबाहुशिखरः पद्माकर इव प्रकटानेकलक्ष[णो न पुनर्ज्जं*]—
 - 3 [लाशयः क्षपा*]कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो न पुनर्शेषकर [:*] सागर इवान्तः प्रवेशितिव-पक्षभूभृद्मण्ड[लो] [न*]
 - 4 [पुनर्ग्राहाकुलः नारा*]यण इव सुदर्शनचकक्षपितिवपक्षो न पुनः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृत-भृतिनिचयो [न*]
 - ऽ [पुनर्भुजङ्गपरिवृतः।*] बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धमानस्वतन्द्येन [।*] प्रणामकामोल्पकरेण लोक[:*] कृतांज[लि:*]
- 6 [कान्तिमता कृ*][तोयं](यम्) [॥१॥*] असिधाराजलेन शमित[:*] प्रासभं वलभीपते:
 पु[रे] यो(ये)नाशेषलोकसं[ता]पकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो [ज*]-
 - 7 [यभटजल*]द एष⁷ [: ।।२।।*] स वि[गी]यति⁸(ते) देववधूकदम्म(म्ब)कैनृंपशतमकुटरत्निक-(र)णावलिरंजित्त (न)पादपङ्कजा (जः) समधिगतपञ्चम[हाश*]-
 - [ब्दो म*]हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकु (क)विषयपितरा– प्द्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकाद (दी) –
 - [न्सम*] नुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं (तम्)। यथा मया मातापित्रोका (रा)त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये केमज्जृ[ग्रा][म*]-
 - [नि*]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्यः गन्धघूपपुष्पदीपप्रदांतसंशीतकसत्रप्रवतनसत्मार्ज्जंनोदयेन⁹ देवकुलस्य खण्ड[स्फूटि][त*]—
 - [विशीण्णं*?]¹⁰संस्कारनव कर्म्माक्ता¹¹द्युत्सर्प्पणात्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्ग्यतकेमञ्जुग्रामे ग्राम-स्यापरदक्षिणसीम्नि पञ्चाशिवक्तं[नप्रमा]—

असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसमं वलभीपतेः पुरे येन । जनसन्तापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥

¹ From Plate 272 in Fleet's Sanskrit, Pali and Old Kanarese Inscriptions.

[&]quot;The first plate is lost.

The aksharas marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets, which are lost owing to the breaking away of the corners of the plate, have been supplied from the corresponding portions of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king (No. 24, below).

⁴ Read सकलकलाकलापान्वितो.

⁸ Read -हॉषाकर:

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

⁷ The verse is very corrupt. Its correct reading may be restored as follows:—

Dr. Bühler read असिधाराजलेन शमित (तं) प्रासभं वलभीपतेर्युदे (दें) यो न शेषलोकु (क)सभापकलापदस्तारिय कानल फलद This does not give a satisfactory meaning. Metre: Giti.

^{*} Bühler read सर्विभियंति and proposed to emend it as सर्वेगीयते. Our reading विगीयते can be explained as विविधं गीयते 'is extolled in manifold ways'.

PRead -प्रभातसंगीतकसत्त्रप्रवर्तनसन्मार्जनोदयेन. Bühler proposed to read प्रदानसंगीतक-.

¹⁶ The aksbaras are not clear. Bühler's reading 4fdd- does not appear to be warranted by the photograph. The last aksbara appears like nna. I propose to read vifirnna which generally accompanies khanda and sphutita.

¹¹ Read -कम्मोक्ताद्युत्सर्पणार्थं .

- 12 णं भलण्डः यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वंट (तः) छीरकहग्रामगामिपन्या दक्षिणतः जम्भाग्रामसीमासन्धिः अपरतः जम्भाग्रामा[त गोलिअवलि] -
 - 13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरतः केमज्जुग्रामासीहुग्रामक्तामी³ पन्था बटवापी च[।*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपल-क्षितक्षेत्रं सोपरिकदर
- 14 सभृतपातप्रत्यायं⁵ सघान्या⁶हिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं सर्व्य-राजकीयानामहस्तप्र-
- 15 क्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वापरदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राक्कीण्णविक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनम-द्याषाढश[द्वीदश[म्यां]
- 16 कर्कटकराशी8 संकान्ते रवी पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गेण देवदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं [1*] यतो-स्योचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भूजतः कृ-
- 17 षतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वधाषेधे वर्तातव्य⁹मागामिभद्रन्पतिभिः अस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वाय-मस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पा[ल]-
 - 18 यितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चाज्ञानितिमरपटलावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमा[न]कं वानमोदेत 110 स पञ्चभिम्मेंहापातकैस्सोपपातकैः
- 19 संयुति11 [स्या]दित्यवतं [च] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पष्टी12 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेता चानुमं-
- [ता] च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतीयास् शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं ३३ हरन्ति ये [॥४॥] बहु [भिव्वं*]-
- 21 [सुधा*] भुक्ता राजिभ: सगरादिभि: [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं-(लम्) [॥५॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं [भूवेंष्णवी*]
 - 22 [सूर्यसु*]ताश्च गाव: [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं य xकां वन गां च महीं च दद्यात्। [॥६॥*] यानीह [दत्तानि] पुरा नरें[द्रैहीनानि धर्मार्थ*]-
 - 23 [यशस्करा*]णि [1*] निर्भक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साघः पुनराददीत [11611*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्ना[द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं*]
 - 24 [महिमतां श्रे *]ष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनपालनमिति । [।।८।।*] श्रीकण्डकणकदूतकं ।। संवत्सरशत-तुष्टये प[डशीत्यधिके आपाढशुद्ध*]-16

follows relayment make her till at himsen as fill believe making off the

¹ Bühler reads प्रमाणो, but the last akshara is clearly णं. Read -निवरांनप्रमाणो.

^{*}I am not certain about the aksharas in brackets, which are very indistinct in the photograph.

³ Read केमज्जुप्रामात्सीहप्रामगामी. The verse is very crimpe. The cornel realing may be restored as follows

⁴ Read सोपरिकरं.

BRead सभूतवातप्रत्यायं.

⁷ The curve for the subscript y is faintly seen in the photograph.

^{*} Bühler reads कनकटकरशी, but the mark for medial ā is quite clear.

⁹ Read वित्ततच्य-.

¹¹ There is no superscript k here. Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तं च ।

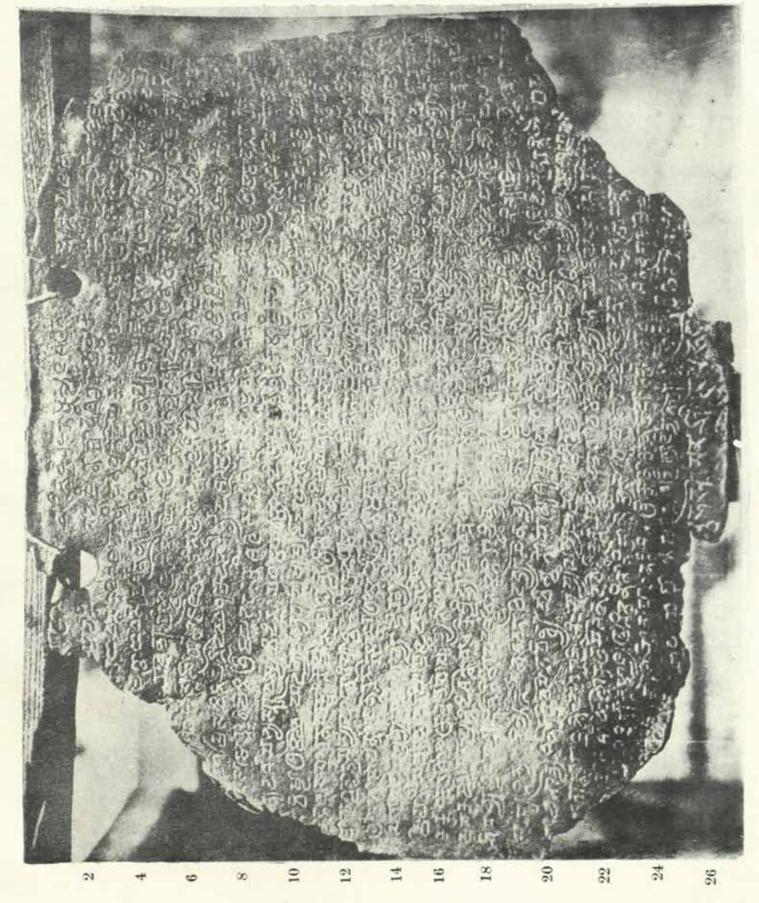
¹² The medial vowel is clearly I here. Read 962.

³³ Read भमिदायं.

¹⁴ The sign for jihuāmūliya, not noticed by Bühler, is quite clear here.

¹⁵ The aksharas in brackets in this and the following line are conjecturally supplied on the analogy of the wording in IL 49 and 50 of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below).

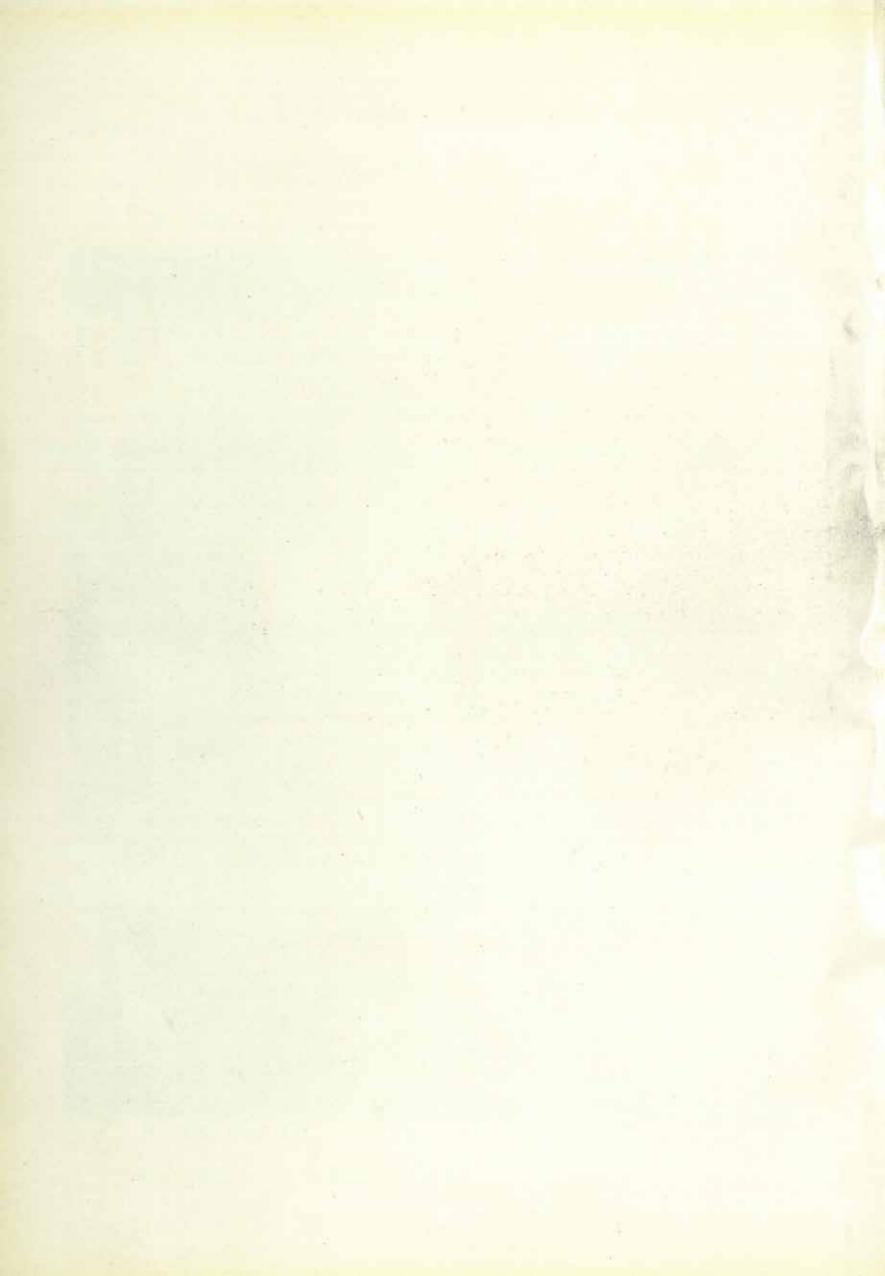
KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486



B. CH. CHHABRA. Res. No. 3977. E'96 - 763'51.

(From a photograph).

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUATTA.



- ा २०१ [द्वादश्यां सं*]४०० टि० ६ आषाढ शु १० [२] आदित्यवारे [निवदं लिखितं चैत-]
- 26स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट[स्य ।*]³

TRANSLATION

[His son is the illustrious Jayabhaṭa (IV)],—[who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of horses....]; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue [with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword which becomes uneven] with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes,⁴ [but who, (unlike a lotus-pool which contains a store of water),⁵ has not an insensible heart]; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all the digits, but who, (unlike the moon that marks the night 6, has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, [but who, (unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators), is not affected by greed]; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army? just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus Sudarsana, but who, (unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark-complexioned), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity as Siva takes a large quantity of ashes8 (to smear his body with), [but who, (unlike Siva whose body is entwined by serpents), is not surrounded by dissolute men].

(Verse 1) These people are made to fold their hands and to bow to him, who resembles the disc of the crescent moon, [since he is possessed of brilliance], has an increasing splendour of the body, and levies light taxes (even as the moon looks lovely, increases in size and sheds tender rays).

(Verse 2) This is that [Jayabhaṭa], who, with the edge of his sword, has forcibly vanquished, in the city of the lord of Valabhi, the Tājjikas⁹ who greatly oppressed all people, even as a cloud extinguishes with its showers the fire that troubles all people.¹⁰

(Line 7) He, the illustrious Jayabhata—who is praised in songs by assemblages of the wives of gods; whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the lines of the rays of jewels (set) in the diadems of hundreds of kings; who has attained the pañchamahāśabda, (and) is the lord of the great sāmantas (feudatory chiefs),—being in good health, addresses the following order to all king, feudatories, Bhōgikas, heads of vishayas, the Mahattaras of rāshṭras and villages, officials (and) others:—

1 For the reading of the tithi, see above, p. 98.

² The rame of the scribe is completely lost. He may have been the Mabābalādhikrita Sangulla who wrote the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king about three and a half months later, see below, p. 107, l. 51.

The plate shows a stroke like that of medial \$\vec{e}\$ on the aksbara following \$\vec{e}\$a. Bühler conjecturally restored the aksbara as \$d\vec{e}\$ (of \$d\vec{e}va\$), but none of the sign-manuals of Gurjara kings contains a name ending in \$d\vec{e}va\$.

There are puns on several words in the eulogistic portion. Here, e. g., lakshana (n.) means 'an auspicious mark' and lakshana (m.) means 'a crane'.

A pun on the word jad-ālaya (read as jal-ālaya by the rule dalay or =abbēdab).

6 Döshākara is taken as (1) döshā-kara, 'the maker of the night', and (2) dösh-ākara, 'a store of blemishes'.

² Bühler translates 'with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle-array,' evidently understanding chakra in the sense of the chakra-vyūha, but then, there remains no word meaning 'an army.'

There is a play on the word bhūti meaning (1) prosperity and (2) ashes, and another on bhujanga meaning (1) a dissolute person and (2) a serpent.

9 I.e., the Arabs.

10 Bühler translated the passage as follows:—'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the imperuosity of the lord of Valabhi,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world, and (giving them the fruits of their wishes)—is praised..........'. This translation misses the important historical reference altogether.

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father as well as of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Karkataka (Cancer), on the holy day of the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Ashadha, granted, with a libation of water as a dēvadāya1, a piece of land measuring fifty nivartanas and (lying) on the south-western boundary of the village, in the village Kēmajju situated in the famous vishaya of Bharukachcha, the boundaries of which are, -on the east the road leading to Chhirakaha, on the south the junction with the boundary of the village Jambha, on the west the road going from the village Jambhā to the village Göliavali, on the north the road going from the village Kêmajju to Sīhu and the well near the banyan tree,-the field defined by these four boundaries, together with the uparikara, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (which is) not to be entered by chātas and bhatas; (which is to be) free from interference of all officers of the State; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brahmanas; (and the grant of which is to last) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,-to the divine (god) Aśramadeva established in the village of Kēmajju, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps (and) the morning musical service, of the maintenance of an alms-house, of cleaning the temple, and of the repairs of the broken, rent and dilapidated (portions), (and) of (building) new structures."

[For a translation of ll. 16-19, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 19) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas— (Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 24) This (charter), the Dūtaka of which is the illustrious Kaṇḍakaṇaka, has been written and recorded by [me].....in the year four hundred increased by eighty-six [on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Ashāḍha, the year] 400 (and) 80 (and) 6, (the month) Āshāḍha, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 2, on Sunday.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhata.

No. 24; PLATE XVII

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV:: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

'These two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1920, when the Society's collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known.' They have been edited before by Mr. G.V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff. They are edited here from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. Acharya.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, measure 12.7" by 10." Each

¹ I. e., a gift made in honour of a god.

² Mr. Acharya calls him Jayabhaṭa III, identifying Dadda II-Praṣāntarāga of the Kairā and Saṅkhēdā plates (above, Nos. 16-17 and 19-20) with Dadda-Bāhusahāya. But this view is incorrect, Apart from the difference in their birndas, the former was a devotee of the sun and the latter of Mahēśvara. So the two princes were not identical. For some more arguments, see my note on the plates in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

of them has two holes, '6" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally held them together; but neither the rings nor the seal, which must have been connected with one of them, is forthcoming. Some portion of the upper left-hand corner of each plate has been broken away, which has resulted in the loss of from one to fifteen aksharas in ll. 1-14 on the first, and from one to three aksharas in ll. 29-33 on the second plate. Besides, a few aksharas have become illegible owing to the corrosion of the surface of the plates in some places. The record consists of 51 lines, of which 28 are inscribed on the first, and 23 on the second plate. The average size of the letters is about .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras. It would suffice to draw attention to the following peculiarities of individual letters. The sign for medial (long) ū in -nmūlita-, 1.8, is added to the top of m and not to the bottom as is usually done; the medial ri of kri is formed as in the Kavi plate only in one place, viz., in Mahabaladhikrita-, 1.50-; in other places it appears in its usual form, see, e.g., -Valadhikrita- in the same line; d shows a loop in suchanda-, 1.23, but contrast its form elsewhere, e.g., in -Kaundinya-, 1.35; n has no loop in kaumud-indu-, 1.17; b is generally rectangular, but in svabhuja-bala-, 1.14, it is elongated, and in bali-, 1.36, it is roundish. It is generally distinguished from v, but in -Valadhikrita-, 1.30, it is indicated by the same sign as that for v. Another letter, which is occasionally liable to be mistaken for v, is dh, see, e.g., the forms of the two occurring side by side in -adhiraja-vijrimbhi-, 1.10. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses which occur in the eulogy of the donor and six more expressing benediction and imprecation at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It is carelessly written, especially on the second plate. The eulogy of the first four princes given here closely agrees with that in the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates, while a considerable portion of the description of the last prince is the same as in the Kāvī plate. The text of Il. 16-24, however, which describe Ahirola and his son Jayabhata IV is not known to occur anywhere else. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities noticed in connection with other Early Gurjara grants.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhaṭa born in the great family of Maharāja Karṇa, who had attained the pañchamahāṣabda and was the lord of Mahāṣāmantas (great feudatory chiefs).¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhaṭa, of the village Mannātha situated in the famous Bharukachchha district. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Āchchaḍa², the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga, of the Hēṭāvuka sub-caste,³ who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and was a student of the Mādhyandina ṣākhā of the Vājasanēya (or White Yajurvēda). He had emigrated from the pathaka and āhāra of Lōhikaksha. The object of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other rites. The Dūtaka was the illustrious Dēiyaka and the scribe the Mahābalādhikrīta Saṅgulla, the son of the Balādhikrīta Alla.

The grant was made and written on the fifteenth day of the dark half (called amāvāsyā in 1.40) of Āśvina in the year 486. The year and the tithi are expressed in 11.49-50, both in words and numerical symbols. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As the Kalachuri year according to my view began on Kārttika śu. di.1, the date of the present grant would be later than that of the Kāvī plate by more

¹ The place of issue is not known, as the first few aksharas in 1.1, where we could have expected its mention, are lost owing to the breaking away of the left-hand upper corner of the first plate.

² Mr. Acharya reads his name as Uchchada, but there is no trace of any mātrā on the left of # in Bhatt-Āchchadāya, 1. 36.

³ See below, p. 109, n. 3.

than three and a half months.1 Taking the year as expired and the month as amanta, the corresponding Christian date would be the 9th October 736 A.C. It does not admit of

The present inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor-

Dadda (who gave protection to the lord of Valabhi when he was attacked by the Emperor Harshadeva)

Jayabhata Dadda (Bāhusahāya)

> Jayabhata Ahirōla Jayabhata

As stated above, the description of the first four princes is exactly as in the Navsāri and Anjaneri plates of Jayabhata III. They must, therefore, be identified with Dadda II (alias Praśantaraga), Jayabhata II, Dadda III (alias Bāhusahaya) and Jayabhata III. The next prince Ahirola, the son of Jayabhata, is mentioned in the present plates only. Like his father, he was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Siva), attained the pañchamahāśabda and was the lord of great feudal chiefs. His description in other respects is merely conventional. His son Jayabhata is similarly described. He must be called Jayabhata IV and distinguished from Jayabhata III, who issued the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates and who was his grandfather. The latter portion of his eulogy in the present inscription occurs also in the Kāvi plate. Its historical importance has already been noticed.2 The rest is a mere conventional description.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, Bharukachchha has already been identified with Broach. Mannatha the donated village is probably Magnath³ on the right bank of the Dhadhar about 2 m. south-east of Jambusar, and 25 m. north of Broach. Lõhikaksha I am unable to locate.

TEXT4 sele more battereline bed ald (also a First Plate, 10) avanually and in LAXA surface,

स्वस्ति [1*] सत्ततलक्ष्मी *] विवासभते । विवासनाप [हारिणि] [दिनना]थवि[स्ता]रिता[नुभावे] द्विज[क-] Beiyala and the stribe the Alahan

¹ This is according to the amanta scheme. According to the purnimanta scheme, the interval would be about two months and a half. ind go of Alvina la the year 186. The re-

² See above, p. 97.

Both Mannatha and Magnatha are corrupt forms of Magnanatha (the submerged Lord) and evidently owe their origin to the presence, in the village, of a temple, probably of Siva, which was submerged by the Dhadhar, Mr. Acharya identifies Mannatha with 'Manad, about a mile and a half north-east of Mehegam, on the north bank of the river Narmada' Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 148.

⁴ From the photographs kindly supplied by Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

⁵ The aksharas marked with an asterisk in this and the following rectangular brackets, which are lost, are supplied from the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III (Nos. 21 and 22, above).

⁶ This mark of punctuation is redundant,

- 2 [लोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि*] । महति महाराजकण्णीन्वये । कमलाकक (र) इव रा-[जहं]सः प्रवलकलिकाल-
- [विलसितानाकुलितविमलस्वभावो गं*][भीरो]दारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानस[ः प]-रमे[व्वरश्रीहर्ष]देवाभिभृतव-
- [लभीपतिपरित्राणोप*] जातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितान[:*] श्रीदद्स्तस्य सू[नुरश-
- ्रानोपमुक्तविभवसं*]चयोपचीयमानम[नो]निर्वृतिरनेककण्टकवंडश²संदोहदाहदुल्लंलितप्रतापा— नलो नि—
 - 6 [शितनिस्त्रिशधारा*] दारितारातिकरिकुम्भमुक्त³मुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोङ्शुका⁴वगु— [ण्ठ]त[दिग्वधू]वदनसर—
 - 7 [सिज: श्री*]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधम्मनिष्ठान[प्रवीणो व]— ण्णाश्रम—
 - 8 [व्यवस्थो*] न्मूलितसकलकलिक (का)लावलेपः प्रणयिजनमनोरथवजय⁵व्यतीतविभवसंपाद— ना[प] नीताशेज (प)—
 - 9 [पा] त्यिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशा ङ्कुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्र-[भा]वो विप-
 - 10 [तप्र*]पातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिस्तिललोकविश्व (श्रृ)तपरोपकारका (क) रणव्यसनः प्राच्य-प्रतीच्याधिराजविज्मिन
 - 11 [त*] महासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्य्य[वि]स्यातवाहुसहा-याप-
 - 12 [र*] नामा । परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[:*] श्रीदह्स्तस्य सूनुरनेकसमरसंघट्टघन-घटितगजघ-
- 13 [टा*] पाटनपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहत्स्वजनवन्न (बन्धु) कुमुदाकरकौमुदी— निशाकरो [भागी]—
- 14 [र*]थीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव समृद्भूतका (क) लक्लारावमहावाहिनीपतिरा-दिथ (व) राह इव स्वभुजबल-
- पराक्रमोद्घृतघराघर: परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्दो) महासाम[न्ताधि]पति[:*] श्रीजयभटस्तस्य सुतः शौ[र्यो]—
 - 16 दण्डोदयोत्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गभूपालमौलिमालाचुम्बितचरणयुगलः सकलाभिगामिकादिगुणानुरागनि— [बर्भ]रम- विकास स्वासन्तिकाला विकास विकास
 - 17 नसा स्वयं वृतो राजलक्ष्म्या ।¹ कौमुदीन्दुदीधितिचकवालिवमलयक्षःशेखरितमेकिशिखरो रणाङ्गणा— गतवरवै—

To make the party of the plant and the street of the stree

18 रिवारणघ[टा]कोटिकुद्दा(ट्टा)कदोईण्डश्चतुर्विवद्या[घिग]मोप[बृ]ङ्हित⁰प्रज्ञातिशयसम्यक्य-(क्प्र)व[त्ति]तनीतिमाग्गीनु[रं]जित-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read -वंश-.

³ The Navsāri and Anjanēri plates omit मुक्त.

^{*} Read -पर्गाणुका-.

^{*} It would be better to read विषय as in the Anjaneri plates.

^{*} Read -पबंहित-.

- 19 प्रकृतिः प्रकृतिकल्याणाशयत्वादस्पष्टः क[लि]कालकालिम्ना । सिम्नहितयौवनोपनतानन्तविष-योपभोगसीस्ये
- 20 सहजशत्र्तया वशीकृ[तेन्द्र]यग्रामः पा[ड्गुण्य]प्रयोगनिपुणः शक्तिला(त्र)योपचितमहिमा 11 परममाहेश्वर: सम-
- 21 [धि*][ग]तपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्त (न्ता)धिपति श्री [मद्द]हिरोलस्तस्य सकलभ्वनतिलकस्या— त्मजो निजगुणगणमालालं-
 - 22 कृतीनेकनरेन्द्रवन्दारकवन्दवन्दितचरणा[र]विन्दद्वयः कन्देन्द्रसितसिन्द्वार[कस]मधवलयशःसधाध-
 - 23 विलतसकलघ[रा]मण्डल[:*] स्चण्ड²स् (प्र)ताप (पा)नलकविलताखिलजगद्रपप्लबो दुर्ध्वार-शरासारसम्सो (त्सा) [रित]-
- 24 सक[ला]रातिचकवालः प्रधानप्रधनप्रध (धा)वितप्रकटकरिघटापाटनपटः चट्लरणाङ्गणावङ्गण-(न) रव³-
- 25 णतुङ्गतु रिङ्गोम[नि]करभङ्गभासरो । दतदा(द) लितद्विरदमवत मनता [फ]लिनकरदःतरा-सिलतामरीचिनिच[य]-
- 26 मि (मे)चिकतदक्षिणबाहुशिखर पद्माकर इ[व*] प्रकटाण(ने)कलक्षणो न पुनर्जेलाशयः क्षपाकर [इव]
 - 27 सकलकला[क]लापान्वितो न पुनर्होषाकर: सागर इ[वा]न्त:प्रवेशितविपक्षम्-
 - 28 भूनमण्डलो न पून: ग्राहाकुल: नारायण इव सदर्शनचत्र-

Second Plate

- 29 [क्षपित*] विपक्षो [न पु]नः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिच[यः] न पुनर्भुजङ्गप-
- ३० [रिवृत*][: 1] बालेन्द्रबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धम (मा)नस्वतनदयेन । प्रणामकामोल्पकरेण लो-
- 3¹ [क: कु*] तांजिल: कान्तिमता कृतोयं (यम्) ॥⁵ [१॥*] सिसघाराजलेन शामित: प्रसभं वल-[भी]पतेः पुरे योनाशेषलोकसं-
- 32 [ताप*]कलापदतिज्जिकानलः जरा (य) भटजलद एष⁶ [: ॥२॥*] स विगीयते देववधकद[म्बै]— र्नुपशतमकटरत्निकरण[]*]वलि-
- 33 [रं*]जितपादपं कि]ज: समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभट: कशली सर्वानेव
- 34 मन्तविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-
- 35 रा[त्मन]श्चैहिकाम्ब्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । लोहिकक्षपकथाहार विनिग्गैततत्त्रैविद्यसाम (मा)-न्यकौण्डिन्यसगोत्र-
- 36 वाजि[मा]ध्यन्दिनस[ब्र]ह्मचारिहेटावुक[ब्रा]ह्मणादित्यनागपुत्रभट्टाच्चडाय⁸। वलि 1 चरुवैश्व-- देवाग्निहो[त्रा]तिथिपञ्च-

असिघाराजलशमितः प्रसभं बलभीपतेः पुरे येन । जनसंतापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥ Metre : Giti.

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read प्रमण्ड-.

³ Mr. Acharya read here - 不言-.

⁴ The corresponding passage in the Kavi plate reads द्विरदकुम्भस्यलश (ग) लितमुक्ताफल-.

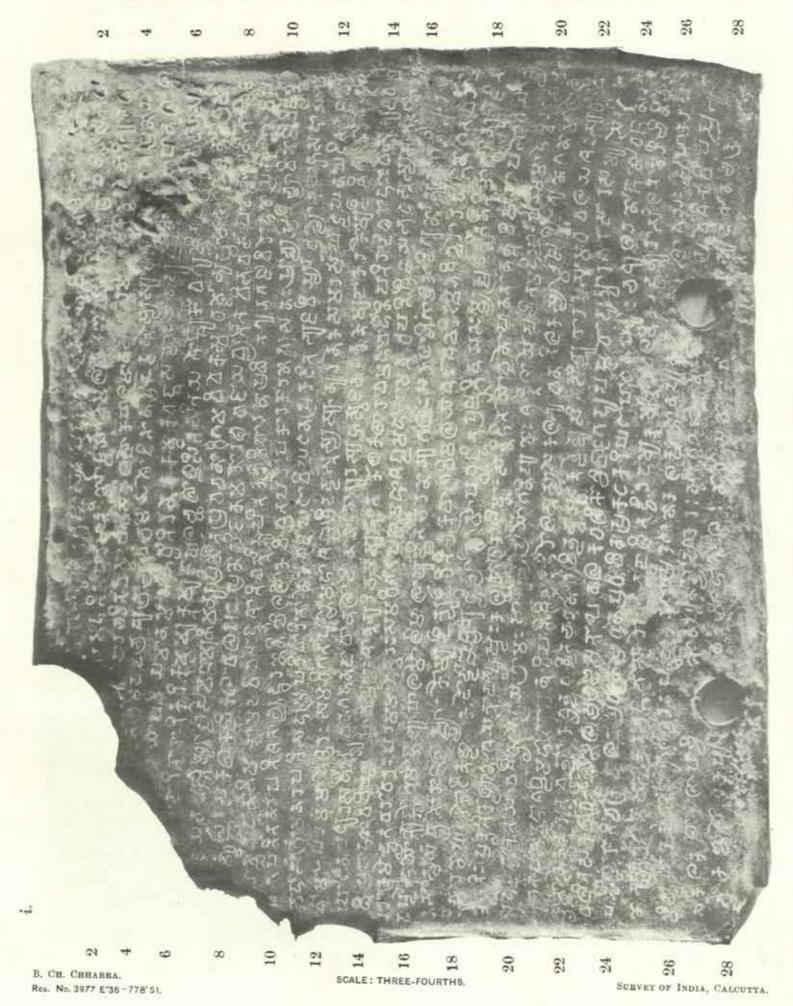
A Metre: Upajāti.

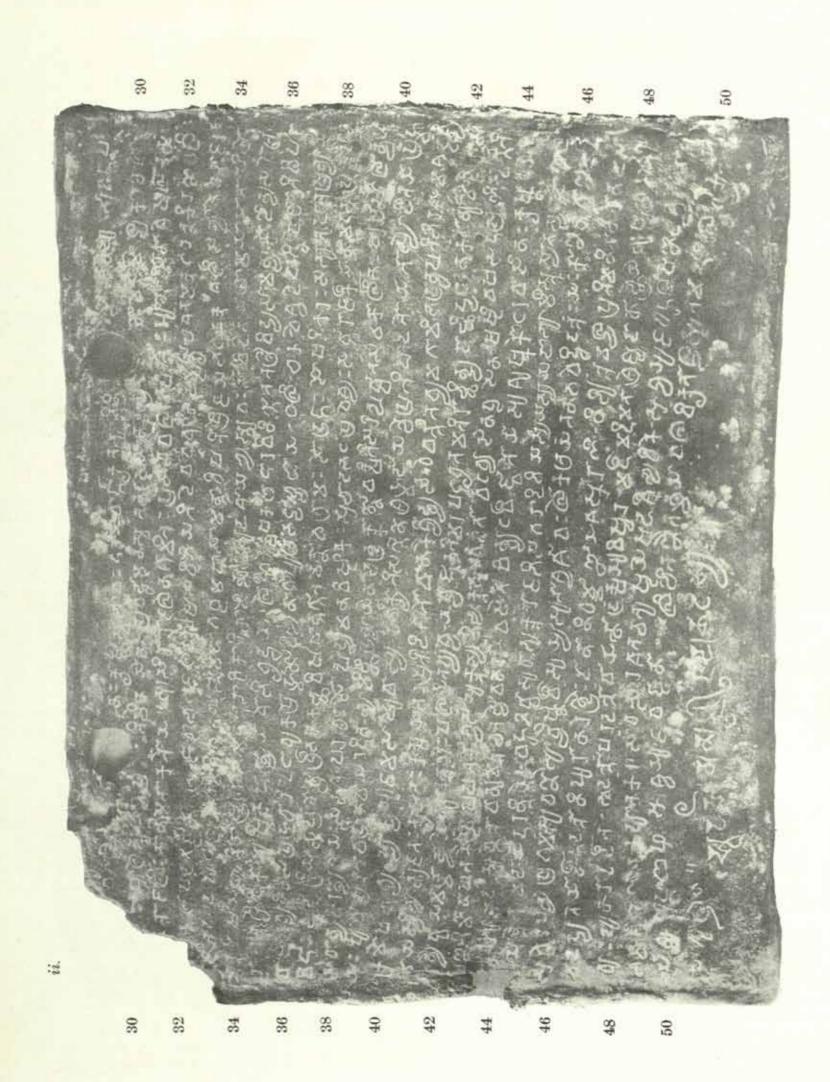
a Read the whole verse as follows :-

[?] Read -पथकाहार-.

^{*} See above, p. 103, n. 2.

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486





- वि(म)हा[यज्ञा]दिकिया(यो)त्सप्रा(पं)णा[त्यं] श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतमन्नाथग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकर: सभतपातप्र'न्या (त्या)य[:*]
- सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सदशापर(रा)धः सोत्पद्यम(मा)नविष्टिकः अचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीया-नामहस्तप्र[क्षे]पनी (णी)-
- 39 यः पु(पू)[व्वं]प्रत्तदेवब्रह्मवा(दा)यरहितः भूमिन्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्र (न्द्रा)क्रीण्णंवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्व-तसमकालीनः पुत्रपौला(त्रा)न्व[य]-
- क्रमोप[भोग्यो]द्याश्वयुजमसामुवास्या² उदक्या³तिसर्गेण श्र (ब्र)ह्मदायत्वे[न*] प्रतिपादितो या (य) तोस्योचितयाप्र (ब्र)हा-
- वा(दा)यस्थित्या भुजतः कृषतः कक्ष (र्ष)यतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वच (द्वचा)सेथे वित्ततव्यम-(मा)गामिभद्रन्यतिभिरयमश्म (स्म) दृंश्य-
- [र*] न्यैर्व्व (वर्वा) यमनमा (स्म) द्वायोनुमन्तव्यः प(पा) लयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानितम (मि) रपट-[ला*]वतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यम[मा]नकं [वा]न्मे (मो)दे[त] स
- [प*]ञ्चिभमेंहाप(पा)तकैंस्सोपप[पा]तका(कै)इच संयुक्त[:*] स्य(स्या)दित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्य(व्या)सेन । षष्टिवष(षं)सहस्र(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे ति-
- [छिति*] भृ[मि]द[: ।*] आच्छेता वा(चा)नुम[न्ता] च त(ता)स्वे(न्ये)व नरके वसेत् [॥३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयास् शृष्ककोटरवासिन: [1*] कृष्णा[हयो] हि
- [जा*]यन्ते भ्(भ्)[म]दायं हरन्ति ये। [।४।।*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजिभ[:*] सगरादिभि: 1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [त]दा फलं(लम्) [॥५॥*]
- 46 अन्तेरपत्यं प्र[थ]मं सुवर्ण(णं) भूव्वेष्णवी सु(सू)य्य(र्या)सुताश्च शा(गा)व:[।*] लोकत्रयं त(ते)न भवेदि दत्तं ॥ यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च [महीं]
 - 47 च दद्यात [11६11*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रे: दानानि धर्मञ्चं ध्यासकराणि ।7 नि[र्भ]त्त-मल्यप्रतिमनि⁹ तानि को नाम सा-
 - धुः पुनराददीत ।10 [1011*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा या (य) त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठ (ष्ठि) र । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोन् [पलनमिति] (पालनम् 11 ।।८।। इति।)
- 49 भट्टश्रीदेइयकदूतकं ॥ संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडशीत्यधिके । ग आश्वयुजबहुलपञ्चद[श्यां]
 - 50 संम्व[त्*] ४०० ८० ६ आश्वयुज व १० ५ [1*] लिखितञ्चैतन्मया व (व)ल[ला] धिकृता-ल्लसुतमहाब[लाधिकृत-]
 - 51 संगुल्लेन ॥

स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

¹ Read सभूतवात-.

² Read -द्याश्वयुजमासामावास्यायां.

^{*}Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

Metre of this and the next two verses: Anushtubb.

⁶ Read विन्ध्याटवीध्वतोयास्.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

^{*} Read धम्मात्थ-.

⁹ Read निर्मृवतमाल्यप्रतिमानि.

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹¹ Metre: Anushfubb.

TRANSLATION (fa) To be left at the first translation (fa) to be left at the fall of the

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp. 87 f.]

(Line 15) His son (was) the illustrious Ahirola,—the pair of whose feet was kissed by the crest-wreaths of kings who held their heads on high by reason of (their) valour and army; who was freely chosen by the goddess of fortune, her mind being overpowered by love for all his attractive royal qualities and other excellences; who provided the peaks of the Mēru (mountain) with the crest of (his) fame, spotless like the mass of lunar rays on the full-moon day; whose staff-like arm was wont to destroy crores of excellent elephant hosts of the enemies on the battlefield; who delighted his subjects with the paths of moral conduct properly laid by his great wisdom enhanced by the acquisition of the four lores; who, noble-minded as he was by nature, was not affected by the blackness of the Kali age; who, being naturally averse to pleasures (derived) from the enjoyment of innumerable objects close at hand (which were) presented by (his) youth, controlled all his sense organs; who was adept in the use of the six measures of policy1, whose greatness was increased by the triad of powers (saktis)2, who was the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, attained the pañchamahāsabda and was the lord of the great feudatories.

(L. 21) The son of him, who was an ornament of the whole world, is the illustrious Jayabhata (IV),—who is adorned with the wreaths of his numerous virtues; the pair of whose lotus-like feet is saluted by many hosts of eminent kings; who has white-washed the whole orb of the earth with his fame, which in brightness resembles kunda3 flowers, the moon and white sindwara4 flowers; whose extremely terrible fire of valour has put an end to the troubles of the whole world; who with the showers of his irresistible arrows has routed the hosts of all his foes; who is clever in piercing the crowds of elephants that are openly made to charge in great wars; who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of swift and tall horses that trot and prance about on the battlefield; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword, which becomes uneven with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks5, as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes, but who, (unlike the lotus-pool which contains a store of water), has not an insensible heart; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all digits, but who, (unlike the moon that marks the night), has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, but who, (unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators), is not affected by greed; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus, Sudarśana, but who, (unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark complexioned), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity just as Siva takes a large quantity of ashes (to smear his body with), but who, (unlike Siva whose body is entwined by serpents), is not surrounded by dissolute men.

[For a translation of ll. 30-34, see above, p. 101.]

(L. 34) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have today on the new-

¹ These are sandhi 'peace,' vigraha 'war' yāna marching, āsana 'sitting encamped,' dvaidhībhāva 'duplicity' and sanisraya 'alliance with a more powerful king.'

These are prabbutva, 'power derived from one's royal position', mantra, 'the power of good counsel' and utsāba, 'personal energy'.

Jasminum multiflorum.

⁴ Vitex Negundo.

⁵ For the explanation of the puns in this and the following clauses, see above, p. 101, notes 4-8.

moon day of the month Āśvina granted with a libation of water as a brahmadāya,¹ the village Mannātha situated in the famous vishaya of Bharukachcha,—together with the udraiga and the uparikara, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (which is) not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas; (which is to be) free from interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxîm of waste land;—to Bhaṭṭa Āchchaḍa² the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga of the Hēṭāvuka³ (sub-caste) of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, who is a student of the Mādhyandina śākhā of the Vājasanēya, who has emigrated from the āhara and pathaka of Lōhikaksha and belongs to the community of the Trivēdins of that place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (viz.) bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra, (and the reception of) guests and such other (religious) rites.

[For a translation of II. 40-43, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 43) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 49) This (charter), the Dūtaka of which is the Bhatta, the illustrious Dēiyaka, has been written by me, the Mahābalādhikrita Sangulla, the son of the Balādhikrita Alla, on the fifteenth (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja in the year four hundred increased by sixty,—the year 400 (and) 80 (and) 6, (the month) Āśvayuja, the dark (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Me, the illustrious Jayabhata look and soon our stale

¹ I.e., a gift made to a Brāhmana. Villages or lands so granted had special privileges.

² See above, p. 103, n. z.

³ In later times Hējābuka came to signify 'a horse-dealer'. The Mitākibarā on the Yājāavalkya-Smriti, ch. II, v. 30 mentions the Hēṭābukas together with betel-sellers, weavers and shoemakers as persons who formed guilds, and the commentary Bāļambhatti explains that the Hēṭābukas are dealers in horses. They sell them either personally or through their agents in different places. The commentary adds that the word is well-known in the Gurjara-dēša. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 183 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII,

individual letters, we may notice that the writer has confounded a and b in some place; 10 grabhebati, 1.6, and hierakută, 1.57. The carnive subscript or occurs in both one in history drabhebati, both in 1.22. Both the forms of I have been used,—the nombern with a shortened right limb as in Inhanis, and Ishapitai, both in 1.9, and the sombern with the right limb bear to the left as in priphingulable and karbai, both in 1.25. A peculiar form of the occurs in Antiduc, 1.32. The sign for the illustration is used in 11.8 and 43, and that for the spalmaring in 11.50, 17 and 47. The symbols for the numbers 400 and 4 occurs

The language is Sanskrit. Hacqus for three yeares embedded in the collegistic

Since this article was written, the place have been published by Mr. G. II. Muse he do some of the Making Hinter of the December of the Making Hinter of the December of the Making Hinter of the Making States.

One of the rances for identifies was postage the equivious of some postion of the relation to as originally written, for the squee between posts ways desirant in an and again designably written, for the squee between posts ways desirant in a and transform to consist the mention of the Athle post and the same of the Senated village, the boundaries of which years attended with the words argued of explorated. Nevertheless, it cannot be raid that the present and its only a revived from all the carbon growt, for it differs quarterably from its there are, for instance, no beauthorise of the practed village connitronal in the later test.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SENDRAKAS

No. 25; PLATE XVIII

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

THESE plates were discovered in 1937 at Kāsārē, a village thirty-four miles almost due west of Dhulia in West Khandesh, Bombay State. They are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Mandala, Poona. I edit the inscription here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Mandala.

They are two copper-plates measuring 7.7" in length and 5.5" in breadth. At the top of each there is a roundish hole about .4" in diameter for two rings which hold them together. One of them carries a conical seal with a circular face measuring 1.5" in diameter, which has the legend Srī-Allašakti. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 108 tolas. The record consists of thirty-three lines, of which fourteen and fifteen are incised on the inner sides of the first and the second plate respectively, and the remaining four on the outer side of the first plate turned upside down. The writing is in a state of good preservation almost throughout. The size of the letters varies from .1" to .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the grants of the Early Gurjaras. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are of uneven size and are carelessly formed; those on the outer side of the first plate are more than double the average size of the rest. Besides, the aksharas originally engraved in ll. 20 and 21 were subsequently beaten in, and others much larger in size incised over them. The earlier aksharas have, however, been left over through inadvertence between 11.19 and 20. Some more can be read with patience and perseverance here and there from the traces left behind. It is not possible to say definitely when the record was thus tampered with, or altered by authority; but the form of the letters subsequently engraved indicates that the alteration must have been made in the same period, to which the rest of the inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds.2 As regards individual letters, we may notice that the writer has confounded v and b in some places, see prabhabati, 1.6, and bhagabato, 1.27. The cursive subscript m occurs in brahmana- and -brahmachari-, both in 1.22. Both the forms of / have been used,—the northern with a shortened right limb as in lokanāni, and lokapālah, both in 1.9, and the southern with the right limb bent to the left as in prithivivallabha and kuśali, both in 1.18. A peculiar form of dh occurs in Ashādha, 1.32. The sign for the jihvāmūlīya is used in 11.8 and 18, and that for the upadhmānīya in ll. 10, 17 and 27. The symbols for the numbers 400 and 4 occur in 1.31.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses embedded in the eulogistic

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been published by Mr. G. H. Khare in the Sources of the Mediaval History of the Deccan, Vol. II, pp. 66 f.

² One of the reasons for alteration was perhaps the omission of some portion of the record in I. 20 as originally written, for the space between yathā mayā Brāhma- in I. 20 and yasya ch-āghāṭanāni in the next line is not sufficient to contain the mention of the jākhā, gōtra and name of the Brāhmaṇa donee and the name of the donated village, the boundaries of which were introduced with the words yasya ch-āghāṭanāni. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the present text is only a revised form of the earlier grant, for it differs materially from it; there are, for instance, no boundaries of the granted village mentioned in the later text.

portion and one more added at the end to convey benediction and imprecation, the record is in prose throughout. It is written in an ornate style, but contains two grammatical blunders in the second verse. As regards orthography, we may notice that the medial ri is in many places written as ri; see -nighrishta, 1.4, drishtvā, 1.5 etc.; v and b are generally expressed by separate signs, but in prabhabati 1.6, and bhagabatō, 1.27, v is indicated by the sign for b; the consonant following r has been correctly reduplicated in several places, but in varshsha-, 1.27 it violates Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued by Allaśakti of the family of the Sēndrakas, who had attained the pañchamahāśabda and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The birudas Pṛithivīvallabha and Śrī-Nikumbha³ are mentioned in connection with his name. The charter in its revised form purports to record the grant of fifty nivartanas of land to the south of the river Pa(?)rṇandha⁴ in the village Pippalakhēṭa, in honour of the deity Alaṅghyēśvara. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bālapravasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra, who was a student of the Mādhyandina śākhā of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda. The grant was written by Dēvadinna by the order of the Mahābalādhikṛita, the illustrious Vāsava.⁵ It was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āshāḍha in the year 404, expressed in numerical symbols⁴ only, of an unspecified era.

In the eulogistic portion we are told that Allasakti was the son of Adityaraja, who was himself the son of the illustrious Nikumbha. The description of these princes is quite conventional and mentions no historical event. Another grant of the Sendrakas found at Mundkhēdē near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh has been published by the late Mr. G.K. Chandorkar. It gives the following genealogy—

Bhānuśakti (Śrī-Vallabha)

Ādityaśakti

Nikumbhallaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivīvallabha, who attained the pañchamahāśabda)

Jayaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivīvallabha, Vikramāditya, Nikumbha)

¹ Notice, for instance, the puns in v. 2, which make the comparison of Ādityarāja with the sun possible and the description of Allasakti in Il. 15-17 in which the names of all the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven.

² Viz., the ungrammatical form chakshū-bhūtah, l. 9 and the wrong sandhi -tsutō =dityarājah, l. 10.
³ That Nikumbha is a biruda is shown by the fact that the royal name occurs without it in the legend on the seal, as well as in l. 17.

⁴ The first aksbara of this name is uncertain.

The text reads Śrī-Vāsavasava-samādēśāt but the aksbaras sava seem to have been repeated by mistake.

⁶ Of the symbols, the first denoting hundreds is clearly a sign for 400 and the second, except for the curve at the top, is the usual sign for 4. It may be noted that a similar curve is attached to the top of the symbol denoting 4 in the date of the Surat plates of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, No. 19, Pl. XXII. The symbol would have to be taken as denoting 40 if the following symbol denotes a unit number like 7, but in that case its date (K. 447 or 696 A. C.) would be later than the date Śaka 602 or 680 A. C. which we have for Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti in his Mundkhēdē plates. I, therefore, prefer to take the last sign to denote de, corresponding to di (dina) which occurs before the symbol of the tithi in early Brāhmī records. It is noteworthy that the scribe of the present grant wrote also the Bagumrā plates of the same king and the Mabābalādbikrita was also the same in both, (see p. 121, n. 41, below). The names of both are mentioned in another grant of Allaśakti (see N. I. A., Vol. I, p. 747.) The date of the present grant must, therefore, be within a few years on either side of the date K. 406 of the Bagumrā plates.

⁷ This grant has been published twice, but without a facsimile, first in the Marāthī monthly Prabhāta, Vol. I (pub. in 1908), and again in the Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdhaka Mandala for Saka 1834. The plates are not forthcoming now.

The use of Nikumbha as a biruda prefixed to the name of Jayasakti suggests that the word is a biruda in the name Nikumbhallasakti also and, therefore, the real name of the prince was probably Allasakti. Of the four princes named in the Mundkhēdē plates two,—Adityasakti and Allasakti,—are thus common to our grant. This shows that Nikumbha was another name or title of Bhānusakti, and he being the founder of the family, it was used as a biruda by his descendants. It is again plain that Jayasakti was the son of the Allasakti who issued the present plates. As stated above, Allasakti's present grant was made in the year 404, while Jayasakti's Mundkhēde plates were issued in the year 602. The only way in which we can reconcile these two dates is to refer the former to the Kalachuri era and take it to correspond to 655 or 654 A.C., and the latter to the Saka era, corresponding to 680 A.C. As Jayasakti was the son of Allasakti, the interval of nearly twenty-six years between the two dates appears quite natural.

Referring the date of the present grant to the Kalachuri era, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the new-moon day of the pūrnimānta Āshāḍha in the current Kalachuri year 404 fell on Saturday, the 1st of June 653 A.C. when there was a solar eclipse as stated in the present record. There was no solar eclipse either in pūrnimānta or amānta Āshāḍha in 652 A.C. or 654 A.C. The date of the present plates is noteworthy, because it is one of the two early verifiable dates of the Kalachuri era which cite a current year, and secondly its month was pūrnimānta, while the prevailing custom in Gujarat and the Deccan was to cite amānta months. The Kalachuri year, as shown elsewhere, was Kārttikādi. From an examination of several dates of the Vikrama era, Kielhorn came to the conclusion that the southern (Kārttikādi) year of the Vikarma era was joined with the pūrnimānta as with often as with the amānta scheme. It should, therefore, cause no surprise if we find that the Kārttikādi year of the Kalachuri era also was occasionally and exceptionally joined with the pūrnimānta scheme in Gujarat and the adjoining country.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Pippalakhēṭa is probably Pimpalnēr, about 9 miles west of Kāsārē. The river Parṇandha may be the Panjhrā which flows along the northern boundary of Pimpalnēr. The land to the south of it was, therefore, within the boundary of the village as stated in the present grant.

TEXT 5 of ments of the state of

First Plate: Inner Side

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] मेरुमहीध[र]शिखरस्थिर[र]चिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि
 - महति सेन्द्रकराज्ञामन्वये⁷ अनेकचातुई्न्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट—

The eclipse was a total one and was visible in India, I could sel out and bloom belongs out it

² For the other early Kalachuri date citing a current year, see the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, No. 28, below.

² The month in the Anjanëri plates of Jayabhata III is amānta as shown above. In the later Kalachuri dates from North India and Madhya Pradesh, the months are invariably pūrnimānta.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 401. For a later date in a pārņīmānta month from Gujarat, see the Kadī copper-plate inscription of the Chāulukya Mūlarāja, dated V. 1043, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 192. See also ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 166.

⁵ From the photographs of the plates kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

^{*} Expressed by a symbol,

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराजानामन्वये

- अ लब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण[:*] स्वभुजवलविक्रमकान्त¹महीमण्डल[:*]
 - 4 प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरो[म]क्टनिद्धिष्टपादपङ्कुजो पुनरपि च [1*] [आजो] नि-
 - 5 [िम] ब्रक् [म्भ]प्रगलितरुचिर[ब्या]प्तभूमी हता[स्वे] ।3 द्विषट्वा सङ्गाङ्गु आलं क्षरदन-
 - 6 ण(णं) प्रस्कारद्विद्यद(दा) मं (भम्) । स्थात् (तुं) शकोपि येषां प्रभव (व) ति न रणे ताद्रिशा भन (भ)तानां

7 राजासीच्छ्रीनिक्म्भ[:*] [स्]रपतिसद्रिशो⁷ वंशज⁸ सेन्द्रकाणां (णाम्) [॥१॥*] विभ्राण (णो) भा*निरागम (ग)

8 जग (न) हितमननं सर्व्वदा सानुराग×कुर्व्वाणप्त्रोन्नतना10 [गु]रकटकभित (भृतां) भूभू-

- 9 ता(तां) [म] द्वि (द्घन) पादं (दम्) [1*] लोकानां चक्षमृत्र ग्रह्मामतजनतमा लोकपाल: प्रि(प)धिव्या(व्यां) धि(श्री)मा(मान्)
- 10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[ल*]स्तत्सतोदित्यराज¹2[: ।।२।।*] तस्यात्मज×प्रबलिरपुब-

लोद्भृतविभ[व]प्रध्वंसहेत्ः शरदमलशशा द्भुमण्डलामलयशाः

- 12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनगन्ध[व्वं]निषेवितस्सेव्यो रम्या(म्य)ज्ञानकम्मैभावितम-
- 13 नाइच गरुड इव विनतानन्दजण (न) नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता-
- 14 विग्रह [:*] यश्च विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितगुर:18

Second Plate

- 15 [ध]यविनध्व (द्वः) सदा [थ्री]मानर्जनकर्मभावितमना[:*] सही (द्वी)मस (से)ना-
- 16 न्वित[: 1*] धर्मात्मा सहदेव[पृ]जितवपु[:*] स[सा]मान्य[दा]नस्सदा[मित्रा?] कृ[ध्ण14]क्-
- 17 [लो*] [यु]विष्ठिरसमो रा[जा]ल्लशक्ती¹⁵ क्षितौ¹⁶ [॥३॥*] मातापितृपादानुद्धचात[:*]
- 18 मन्नह्मण्य[:*] समावाप्त¹⁷[प*]ञचमह(हा)शब्द[:] प्रिथिवीवल्लभ¹⁸श्री निकुम्भालल्लशक्ति×कुशली सर्विनेव राजसाम-

¹ The cognate Bagumrā plates (No. 26) read विनक्रमानकान्त-.

^{*} Read -निष्टपादपङ्कजः.

^{*} This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read वृष्ट्बा.

⁵ Read खड़ांश्-.

⁶ Read तादुशा-.

ग Read -सद्शो.

⁸ Read वंशज:

D Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁰ Read ×ximani.

¹¹ The correct grammatical form would be चञ्चनतः which would not, however, suit the metre. Read

¹² The correct sandbi of तत्सुत: and आदित्यराज: would be तत्सुत आदित्यराज:, but this would go against the metre. Read तत्सुतादित्यराजः. Metre: Sragdharā.

¹³ Read -ग्रुध्या-.

¹⁴ The reading of these four aksharas is uncertain.

¹⁵ Read राजाल्लशक्तिः.

¹⁶ Metre: Sărdūlavikrīdīta.

¹⁷ Read समबाप्त-.

¹⁸ Read पृथिवीवल्लम-.

- 19 न्तविषयभोगिक[चो]रोद्धरणिकदण्डपाशिकदूतश (ग)मागमिकग्राममहत्तराधिकादि (रि)कादी [न्]
- 20 समाज्ञापयत्यस्त् व[:*] संविदितं यथा मया पिप्पलखेटग्रा[मा*]न्तर्गत-
- 21 [प] ण्णंन्धदि (दी) दक्षिणत[:*] भूनिवर्तनानि वर्तनानि3
- 22 पञ्चाशतः ब्राह्मणवाजि (ज)सनेयसब्रह्मचारिमाद्धधन्दिनिक (क) हणात्रेयसगोत्रबालप्र-
- 23 वसिताय भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन्या (ना) चन्द्राक्कीणां[व]क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुत्रपौ[त्रा]-
- 24 न्वयभोग्यतयालङ्घयेश्वरदेवपादोपयोगाय(या)समै⁶
- 25 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभित्रि (वृ)द्धये⁷ उदका-
- 26 तिसम्मेंण प्रतिपादितो8 यतोस्मद्वकदाजे ⁹रण्ये (न्ये) व्वाम्मा (गा) मिन्नि (न) पतिभिरस्म दा-
- 27 योनुमन्तव्यॅंप्रतिपालियतव्यश्चेत्युवतं¹० भगव (व)तो (ता)व्यासेन¹¹ व्यासेन [1*] षष्ठिम्वर्षं¹१स−
- 28 हस्राणि स्वर्गों मोदित भूमिद: [1*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के)
- 29 वसे [त्*]¹³ [॥४॥*]क¹⁴छारामतलभो[ग्य](ग्या)नि [स*][दा] मर्यादया [।*]

First Plate : Outer Side

- 30 महाबलाधिकित¹⁵ श्रीवासवसवसमादेशा¹⁶[त्*]
- 31 लिखितमि[दं*] देवदिन्नेनेति [1*] सं ४०० ४ दे¹⁷
- 32 आषा[त]18 ब आमा[व]स्या¹⁹ सुर्ययहो-
- 33 परागे [॥*]

Seal

श्रीअल्लशक्ति [:1*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

³ These four aksharas are superfluous.

4 Read पञ्चाशद्.

5 Read -वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसन्नह्मचारि....बाह्मणवालप्रवसिताय

⁶ Read -यास्मित्पत्रो-.

⁷ Read -वृद्धय.

* Read प्रतिपादितानि so as to agree with भूनिवर्तनानि in l. 21.

P Read -समद्रंशजे-.

10 Read -श्वेति । उनतं च ।

11 Read वेदव्यासेन.

12 Read पॉस्ट वर्ष-.

13 Metre: Anuthtahh

14 The aktharas are quite clear here, but I am not certain about the meaning. Perhaps कच्छारामतलानि भोग्यानि सदा मर्यादया is meant.

15 The engraver first incised नि which he later altered into कि. Read महाबलाधिकृत-.

16 Read श्रीवासवसमादेशात् There is a redundant and unconnected curve on the left of Ja.

17 This aksbara is superfluous.

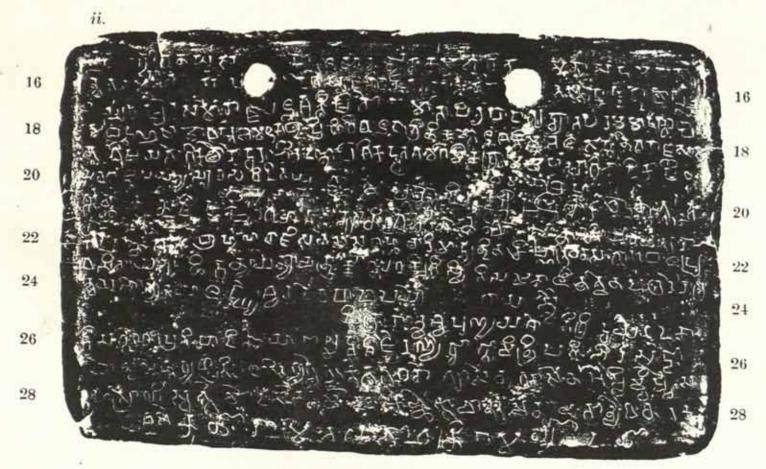
18 The form of this aksbara is unusual.

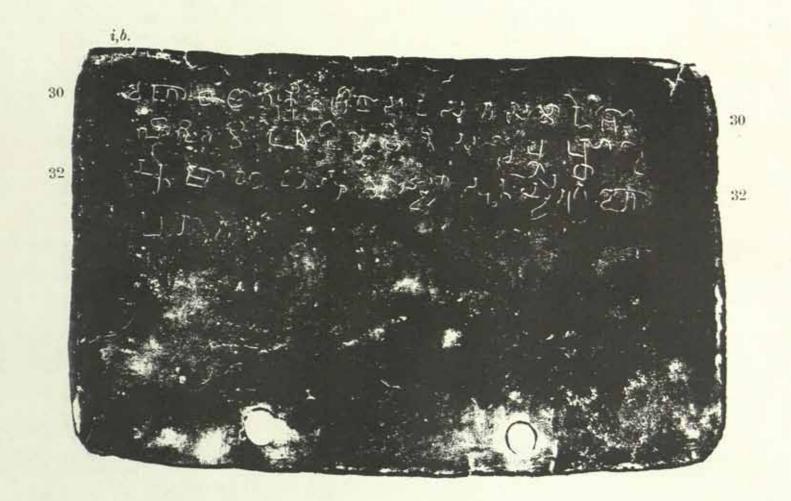
19 Read अमावस्थायां.

² The aksbaras from here onwards up to बाह्यण in l. 22 are written in a much larger form and are engraved over other previously written aksbaras, which, though beaten in, can be read here and there. Between lines 19 and 20, the aksbaras यया भया बाह्य which were previously written and were meant to be connected with अस्तु वः संविदितं in l. 20 can be read quite clearly. Similarly, between lines 20 and 21, the words यस्य नाघाटनानि are still legible. The following portion of that line lay under the aksbaras पिणालचेट etc. and can be read with some diffidence as उत्तरते(तः) स(?)न्यनदी पूर्व [तः] ... याणक-. In the next line which lies partly between ll. 21 and 22 and partly below the aksbaras in l. 21 one can read बाम[:] दक्षिणतः ... पश्चिमत[:] त(?)टाकीस(?)मतो. Traces of some five aksbaras can be seen after बर्तनानि in l. 21 of the text, which may be read एवं चतुरा-.

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404







Seal



(From a photograph).

TRANSLATION TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! In the great lineage of the Sēndraka kings which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (and) the fame of which has become expanded, (there was the illustrious Bhānnsakti¹), who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all the feudatories who bowed to him. And again.—

(Verse 1) Born in the family of those eminent Sēndrakas,—seeing the mass of lustre of whose swords, emitting sparks of fire and resembling flashes of lightning, even Sakra can not hold his ground, fighting on the battlefield where horses lie slain and the ground of which overflows with blood flowing from the cut-off frontal globes (of the hostile elephants)—there was the king, the illustrious Nikumbha, who resembled Indra.

(V. 2) His son (was) the illustrious Adityaraja, the guardian of the people,—whose fame spread (all) over the earth; who was stainless like the sun; who had the splendour of the sun; who with affection always thought of the well-being of the people; who placed his foot on the heads of great kings who had large armies, even as the sun casts his rays on the summits of high mountains having extensive ridges²; (and) who, being like the eye of the people as the sun is of the worlds, has destroyed the ignorance of the people (even as the sun dispels darkness).

(Line 10) His son (is) the Prithivīvallabha, illustrious Nikumbha, Allaśakti³, who has caused the destruction of the greatness, due to might, of his powerful adversaries; whose stainless fame is like the orb of the spotless autumnal moon; who is waited upon by learned men and musicians even as the lord of gods (i.e., Indra) is served by the Vidyādharas and Gandharvas⁴; (who is) fit to be served; who has his mind purified by delightful knowledge and actions; who causes delight to the humble even as Garuda did to (his mother) Vinatā; who has put an end to disputes about (the possession of) ploughed fields⁵ as Rāma finished fighting for (the rescue of his wife) Sītā;⁶ who, again, is—

(V. 3) The king Allaśakti who on earth bears resemblance to Yudhishthira, because his fortune is governed by the Brāhmaṇas, (because) he honours the elders, (and) is always at the head and ready; because his mind is purified by righteous deeds even as

¹ This name does not occur in the text, but is supplied from the corresponding passage of the cognate Bagumrā plates. The repetition of the expression Sindrakāṇām vañsajab in v. 1 below shows that the verse is to be taken separately and not to be connected with the preceding expressions in prose.

² There are puns on the words *bbūbbrit* meaning 'a king' and 'a mountain,' *pāda* meaning 'the foot' and 'a ray' and *kaṭaka* meaning 'an army' and 'the ridge of a mountain'.

³ Though the expression *frī-Nikumbha* seems to be inseparably joined to *Allafakti*, the legend on the seal shows that the royal name was *Allafakti* only.

⁴ This and the following expressions in the original admit of a double interpretation on account of puns on some words occurring in them.

⁶ The Arthafastra of Kautilya has a chapter entitled Sītādhyaksha which deals with agricultural matters.

Or, if we take vigraba in the sense of 'the body,' it may mean 'as Rāma put an end to Sötā's bodily form' the reference being to the disappearance of Sitā underground as described in Vālmīki's Rāmāyāņa.

Yudhishthira's was by the (valorous) deeds of Arjuna¹; because he is pious-minded and is followed by an excellent army as Yudhishthira was called Dharma² and was accompanied by (his brother), the noble Bhīmasēna; because his gifts are always shared by the Brāhmaṇas (lit., those whose person is worshipped) together with the gods, even as Yudhishthira's person was honoured by Sahadēva and his gifts were shared (by all); because his family is friendly and untarnished, even as Yudhishthira's brother Nakula exterminated his foes.³

(L. 17) He, the Prithivīvallabha, the illustrious Nikumbha Allaśakti,—who meditates on the feet of his mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (and) very pious; and who has attained the pañchamahāśabda,—being in good health, addresses the (following) order to all the kings, feudatories, heads of vishayas, Chaurādharanikas, Daṇdapāśikas, Dūtas, Gamāgamikas, the Mahattaras of the village, officials and others:—

(L. 20) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (My) parents and Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, fifty nivartanas of land to the south of the Parnandha river in the village of Pippalakhēţa,—to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa Bālapravasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra, who is a student of the Mādhyandina śākhā of the Vājasanēya (or White Yajurveda), for the use of the god Alanghyēśvara.

(L. 26) Wherefore future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve (this) our gift."

It has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor (of the Vēdas),-

(Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse).

(L. 29) The banks, groves and tanks (in the donated land?) are to be enjoyed at all times according to the (proper) custom.

This (charter) is written by Devadinna by the order of the Mahābalādhikrita, the illustrious Vāsava. In the year 400 (and) 4, on the new-moon day in the dark (fortnight) of Āshādha, on (the occasion of) a solar eclipse.

that the Seal and on Long on very and only 12 month

The illustrious Allasakti

*In the case of Yudhishthira, dbarm-ātmā is to be explained as dbarmah ātmā (svarūpam, nāma vā)
yasya. He was known by the name Dbarma.

5 See the discussion about the date above, p. 112.

¹ This and the following expressions, in which the names of the Pandavas are cleverly interwoven, are intended to be construed with Allasakti and Yudhishthira.

³ In the case of Allasakti, the pada-ebebbēda is mitra-akrisbņa-kulē and in that of Yudhishthira it is amitra-ākrisb-Nakulē (amitrān ākarshati iti tādrifah Nakulē yasya). The correct grammatical expression in the latter case should, however, be amitr-ākriṣ-Nakulē.

^{*} The Gamāgamika (lit. he who superintends the egress and ingress of travellers) was evidently an inspector of passports. The Arthasāstra of Kauţilya mentions a similar officer called Mudrādbyaktha.

No. 26; PLATE XIX

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 406

THE plates were found in 1881 together with several others² by a labourer of Surat, 'who was engaged in excavating the pro tempore kitchens for a large wedding party at Bagumrā³ (Zilla Balesar) in the Gaekwad's territory.' They were edited by Dr. G. Bühler first in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Band CXIV, pp. 169 ff. and subsequently with some emendations and a translation accompanied by excellent lithographs in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs as well as from fresh ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

"The grant is engraved on two copper-plates,—now in the British Museum,—each measuring about 7\sums^2" by 5\sums^2". The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates have been inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxidisation'5.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the inscriptions of the Early Gurjaras. Owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, the same letter appears in varying forms in different places. Contrast, e.g., the form of d in -dana-, 1.5 with that in -dakshinya-, 11.5-6; of t in pranat-, 1.4 with that in -gatib, 1. 13; of bh in -vallabha-, 1. 15 with that in -gabhiro-, 1. 12; of m in -dama-, 1. 5, -Nikumbh-, 1. 15 and maya, 1. 18 with the cursive one in -Lakshmi-, 1. 9, Brāhman-, 1. 17 etc.; of n in -kālīnah, 1. 22 with that in gagana-, 1. 1. It is noteworthy that t shows a vertical stroke at the top in -paṭal-, 1. 30, Vindhy-āṭavī-, 1. 33 etc.; y appears in a transitional form without a hook in its left limb, while I shows both the northern form as in -Lakshmi-, 1. 9, -manidal-, 1. 7, -bala-, 1. 8, and the southern one as in kalpaluma-, Il. 7-8, -pālana-, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit, and except for a verse in praise of the sun in the beginning and the usual benedictive and imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The ignorance of the person who drafted it is disclosed by the innumerable mistakes of grammar which disfigure the record from the beginning to the end. He uses, for instance, -amala-yasasab, l. 7 as the nominative of amala-yasas instead of the correct form amala-yasab, seems to be ignorant of the rule that the words connected by iva must be in the same case, for he writes Kalpaldrumam-iva... jan-öpabhujyamāna-vibhavō, Il. 7-8, Janārddanam-iva... rājya[b*], Il. 8-9, and employs wrong declensional forms like Brāhman-öttarām for Brāhmān-öttarān, 1. 17, -dhikarik-ādīm for -dhikārik-adīn, 1. 18 etc., and incorrect compounds like rajahšri for rājyaśrī, 1. 29, apahritam-

Ind., Vol. IX, p. 32.

¹ Bühler gives the royal name as Nikumbhallasakti, but as shown above, (p. 112), Nikumbha was only a biruda and the proper name was Allasakti. A grant of the same king recently discovered in Khandesh calls him Nikumbhāllasakti, (N. I. A., Vol. I, p. 747).

² These were the plates of the Gujarat Räshtrakūţa Dhruva II, dated Śaka 798, Ind. Ant. (Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.) and those of the Gujarat Räshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 810 (ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff).
³ The ancient name of this place was Umvara, see l.50 of the Bagumrā grant No. 1 of Indra III, Ep.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol., XII, p. 179. ⁵ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 265.

asēsha-bala-rājyab for apahrit-āsēsha-bali-rājyab, 11.8-9. Besides these, there are several mistakes of sandhi and omissions and transpositions of syllables and words which are pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. As regards orthography, we find that ri is used instead of the vowel ri in several places, see, e.g., -prithu-, 1.1, -āvrita-, 1.30, krishn-, 1.33; the letter preceding and following r is correctly repeated in -vikkram-ākkrānta-, 1.4, -kriy-ātsarppan-, 1.21, sarw-ādāna, 1.23 etc., but wrongly in varshsha-, 1.34.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Prithivivallabha, Nikumbha Allaśakti of the family of Sēndraka kings, who was the son of the illustrious lord of men, Ādityaśakti, and the grandson of the lord of men, the illustrious Bhānuśakti. No place of issue is mentioned in the grant. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Balisa in the āhāra of Trēyaṇṇa. The donee was Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and the Mādhyandina śākhā of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda. He was then a resident of Vijay-Āniruddhapurī. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihūtra and other rites. The Dūtaka was Srīvallabha Bappa and the scribe the Sandhivigrahādhikrita Dēvadinna.¹ The grant was written by the order of a Mahābalādhikrita whose name is imperfectly written here, but who was probably identical with the illustrious Vāsava mentioned with the same title in the Kāsārē grant. We learn from lines 38-39 that the scribe, Dēvadinna, was his younger brother.

The date of the grant is expressed in words as the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādrapada in the year 406 of an unspecified era. Like the date of the Kāsārē plates, this date also must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year² 406, to the 10th August 656 A.C. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

Of the place-names in the present grant Trēyaṇṇa was identified by Dr. Bühler with the village Tēn near Bārdōli in the Surat District of Gujarat. It is evidently identical with Trēnna which is mentioned as the headquarters of an āhāra in the Bagumrā plates of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa branch and with Tēnna mentioned in the Bagumrā plates (second set)⁴ of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Indra III. In the latter grant the place is said to be situated near Kammaṇijja in the Lāṭa country and was bounded on the east by Vāraḍapallikā. This description completely agrees with the situation of Tēn which is only about 15 miles south-east of Kāmrēj, the modern representative of Kammaṇijja and lies only about a mile to the west of Bārdōli, the ancient Vāraḍapallikā. Balisa, the village granted in the present plates, is plainly identical with Valiśā or Baliśā which is mentioned as defining the western boundary of the village Tēnna in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III. It can be identified with the modern Wanēsa which lies about two miles south-west⁵ of Tēn. Vijay-Āniruddhapurī cannot be identified, but it must have been situated not very far from Tēn. It is mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates⁶ of Vyāghrasēna and was probably the capital of the Traikūṭakas.

¹ He is the writer of the Kāsārē plates (No. 25, above). Both Vāsava and Dēvadinna, again, figure in another grant of Allasakti found in Khandesh (N.I.A., Vol. I, p. 749).

² If the year was current, the date of the grant would correspond to the 22nd August 655 A. C. ² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 181.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 36.

⁵ The identification was suggested by Dr. Bühler who pointed out that 'the change of la to na is very common in Gujarāti, e.g., in nahān for lahān.' Wanēsa is not, however, to the south-east of Tēn as stated by Bühler.

⁶ Above, No. 9; see p. 27.

-many is a many street TEXT

First Plate

- सिद्धम्² [।*] प्रथमदिक्सरसीप्रिथु³ पंकजं गगनवारिधिविद्युमपल्लवं (वम्) [।*] त्रिदश[रक्त]— जपाकुसुमं नवं
- दशतु वो विजयं रिवमंडलं[लम्] ।। [१।।*] स्वस्ति [।*] मेरुमहीघरविजर स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते विकसि—
- 3 तमहति यशिम सेन्द्रकराज्ञा मन्वये नैकचानु (तु) ईन्तगजघ[टा]टोपसमर सङ्घट्टल−
- 4 ब्यविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगणः स्वभुजवलविक्कमाक्कान्तमहीमंडलः प्रणताशे-
- प्रसामन्तिशारोमुक्[ट*]निघृष्टपदपंकजः नयविनयसत्यशौचाचारदमदयादानदा—
- 6 [क्षि]ण्यश्रीसंपदुपेतो नरपतिः श्रीमद्भाणु (नु)शक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो (तः) शरदम-
- 7 लशशांकमंडलामलयशसः⁹ सवितारिमवोदयवन्तमनुरक्तमंडलं¹⁰ च कल्पलु—
- 8 मिम¹¹वाभिवांछिताशेषजनोपभुज्यम (मा)नविभवो जनाईनमिवापहितमशेषव[ल]-
 - 9 राज्य¹² परचकानुरक्तलक्ष्मीकः श्रीमनरपतिः वादित्यशक्तितस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुष्यात[:*]
 - 10 श्रीमा[न्द]क्षिण[गुरु]बाहुदंड: प्रिथिवी 14पालनक्षमो व्यपगतसजलजल 15जलघर-
 - 11 पटलब्योमतलगतशरदिन्द्किरणधवलतरयशोविसा(ता)नलिघताभोधि य16 पर
- 12 परमगभीरो दिवद्विजाततवजनबंधवापभुज्यमनविभवो 17 भवसूनुरिवाप-
 - 13 तिहत[ग]ति:18 शत्ति¹⁹रिवोपात्तराज्यः समदद्विरदवरसलीलगतिरर्जुन इवाशेषसं-
 - 14 ग्रामविजयी अनवरतविक्कमात्साहशक्तषपनः 20 काम इव समदन 21 युवतिजा (ज)न-

¹ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff., and ink impressions supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

^{*} Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read -qq-.

⁴ Metre: Drutavilambita.

s Read -शिवर- as in the Mundkhēdē plates of Jayaśakti published in the Prabbāta, Vol. I, No.

⁶ Read विकसितयशसि महति as in the Mundkhede plates.

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराजान-1.

⁸ Bühler read समद and remarked, "The connection of समद 'furious' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before gaja." But the correct reading is samara as in the Mundkhëdë plates.

[•] The same reading occurs in the Mundkhēdē plates. Read -मलयशाः.

¹⁰ Read सिवतेवोदयवानन् रक्तमंडलश्च.

¹¹ Read कल्पद्रम इवा-.

¹² Read जनाईन इवापहताशेषवितराज्य:.

¹⁵ Read श्रीमन्नर-.

¹⁴ Read दक्षिणगरुबाहदण्डपृथिवी-.

¹⁵ The aksbaras III are unnecessarily repeated.

¹⁶ The engraver wanted to incise -लंघितांभोधिः धिया, but omitted the धिः by mistake and unnecessarily repeated the aksharas पर. In the corresponding passage, the Mundkhēdē plates have लंघितांभोधिपरापरः (पाराबारः?).

¹⁷ Read देवद्विजातिस्वजनबांधवोपभुज्यमानविभवो as in the Mundkhēdē plates.

¹⁸ Bühler read इव प्रतिहताराति:, but the akshara वा in इवा is clear in his lithograph and the letter that follows vā is certainly ga, as r ends in a serif in the present record. The Mundkhēḍē plates have भवसून्रिवाप्रतिहतशक्तिः in the description of Ādityaśakti.

¹⁹ Read शक्ति-.

²⁰ Read -विकमोत्साहशक्तिसंपन्न: .

²¹ Bühler reads समान-, but our reading is clear in his lithograph,

- 15 नयनन (नं)दनः श्रीमप्रीयिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्लशक्तिः सर्व्वनिव यथा स(सं)वध्यमा-
- 16 नका[न्*] राजराजस्थानीयचोरा(रो)द्धरणिकदांडपाशिकदूतगमगिमक भटच (चा)टिस (से)-
- 17 वकादी [न्*] ब्राह्मणोत्तरां विणग्दनपदामन्यांश्च विषय [प*]तिराष्ट्रग्रामरू (क्)-
- 18 ट[टा] युक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादीमनयुत्यस्तु वो विदित (तं) मय (या)
- 19 परलोकावेक्षत्वम (मं)गीकि (कृ)त्य

Second Plate

- 20 मह[त्फ]लं⁵ [च] श्रुत्वा दतः श्रेयण्णाहारांतर्गतविषये विलसग्रामो
- 21 बलिवहवैदवदेवाग्नी (ग्नि)होत्रादित्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्त्यं (त्यं) मातापित्र (त्रो) रात्मनश्च पु-
- 22 ण्ययशोद्रि (वृ)द्धये आच (चं)द्राक्तां (क्कां) ण्णंबक्षितित्यिति श्समकालीनः पुत्रपो (पौ) त्रान्वयक-म (मो)-
- 23 पभोग्यः सभुतवातप्रत्ययोपरिकरः सर्व्वादानदित्यविष्टिप्र(प्रा)तिभेदिकापरिहीनः (णः) 10
- 24 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच (चा)टभटप्रवेश्य[:*] सोद्रङ्गः सपरिकरः भाद्रपदपीण्णम[मा]स्यां विज-
- 25 यानिरुद्धपुरीवास्तव्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि (ज)सनेयम[मा]ध्यंदिनसब्रह्मचारिणे वप्पस्वामि-
- 26 न(ने) दीक्षितस्यित्ये12 उदकातिसर्गेण प्रति18प्रतिपादित: [1*] यतोस्मद्वशाजे14रन्यैटर्वा-
- 27 गाम (मि) चि (न) पतिभिन्नेलव (वे) णुकदलीसारं संसारं जलबुद्बुदोपमं च जीवितमवधार्यं
- 28 शिरीपकुसुमसद्विशाचंपा¹⁵ च यौवन (नं) गिरिनदीसलिलगत्वराणि चैश्वय्यं [स्या]णि प्रवस (ल)-
- 29 पवनाहताश्वतंथपत्रचंचलां च रजःश्रीरित्यय16माकलय्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमंतवः (ब्यः)
- 30 प्रतिपालियतव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानपटलावित¹⁷मितराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं व (वा)नुमोदेत
- 31 स पंचिभिम्मेंह[हा]प[पा]तकै: सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च 18 [भग]वता [पारा]शरयेंण वे-
- 32 दव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिव्वंसुधा भुक्का (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिर्यंस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[:*]
- 33 तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) 10 ।। [२॥*] विध्याटवीषु (ध्व) तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कि— (क्र) ध्णा[हयो हि] जायन्ते भूमिद (दा)—

¹ Read श्रीमत्पृथिबीवल्लभनिकुम्भाल्ल-.

^{*} Read -गमागमिक-.

Read बाह्यणोत्तरान् विणम्जानपदानन्यांश्च.

⁴ Read -दीननुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

⁸ Dr. Bühler reads महार्थ व (च), but महत्कलं is the correct reading which occurs also in the Mundkhēdē plates.

⁸ Read ततः In the Mundkhēdē plates Mr. Chandorkar read शुद्ध ततः which also may be शुत्वा ततः.
7 The name of the vishaya is inadvertently omitted here. Perhaps the intended reading is नेयण्याहारविषयांतगांत—.

^{*} Read -स्थिति-,

^{*} Read -प्रत्याय:- and delete परिकर:, as सपरिकर: occurs in the next line.

¹⁰ In the corresponding passage of Gurjara grants, (e.g., No. 16, l. 34, above), the expressions used are सञ्जीदानसंप्राह्यः सर्वेदित्यविध्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणः.

¹¹ Read सोपरिकर.

¹² Read दीक्षिताय, or perhaps दीक्षितस्थित्ये.

¹³ Delete प्रति.

¹⁴ Read -रमद्रंशजै-.

¹⁸ Read -कृसुमसद्वापायं.

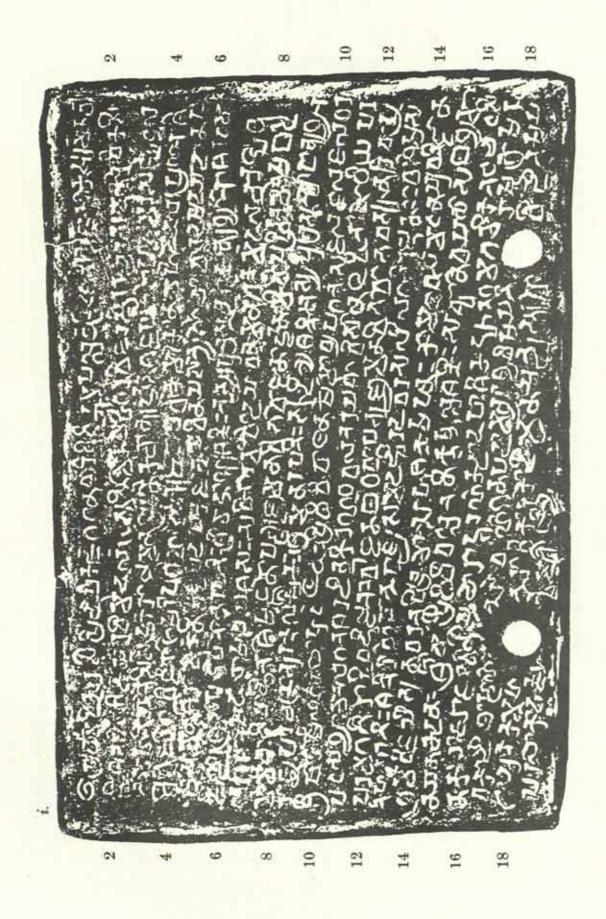
¹⁶ Read -चंचला च राज्यश्रीरितीद-.

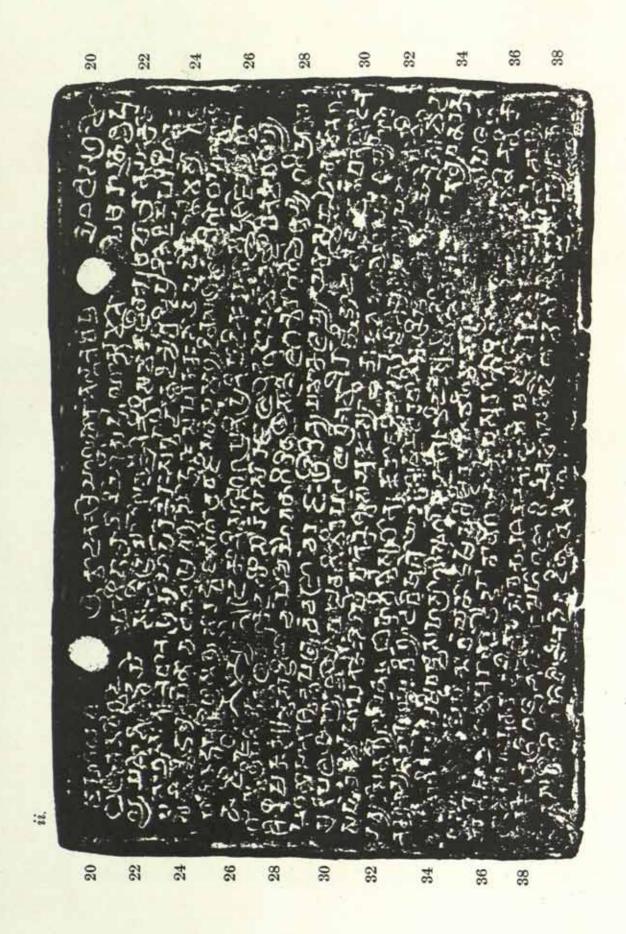
¹⁷ Read -वृतमति-.

¹⁸ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

¹⁹ Metre of this and the following three verses: Anushtubb.

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 406





34 [यं हरं*] ति¹ ये । ।[३॥*] पष्टिं वर्ष्यं (पं)सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता चा[नुमन्ता*] च तान्येव नरक(के)

s वसे[त् ।।४।। स्वदत्तां पर*]दत्ता(त्तां) वं(वा) यनाद्रष⁸ युधिष्टि(ष्ठि)र (।*) मही(हीं)

महिमतां [श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो*] नुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [५॥*]

- 36 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि धर्मार्त्वय[श*]स्कराणि [।*] नि[र्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति*]मानि तानि को
- 37 नाम [साधृ]: पुनराददीत³ ।। [६॥*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षड्तरे [भाद्रपदशुद्ध]पञ्चदश्या— (श्यां)
- 38 दूतकोत्र श्रीवल्लभव[प्प]: [1*] महावलाधित्रि (कृ)तमासमादेशाम किखितमिदं तस्यैवानु-

39 जि]न स(सं)घी(घि)विग्रहाधिकि(कृ)तदेविदस्नेनेति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May the orb of the sun, the large lotus of the lake of the first (i.e. eastern) quarter, the coral leaf of the ocean of the firmament, the fresh jasmine flower of the gods, grant you victory!

(Line 2) Hail! In the great lineage of the Sēndraka kings, which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (and) whose fame has become expanded, (there was) the illustrious Bhānuśakti, the lord of men, who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all feudatories who bowed to him; who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, character, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, courteousness and excellent fortune.

(L. 6) His son (was) Adityaśakti, the illustrious lord of men, who meditated on his feet; whose glory was spotless like the orb of the clear autumnal moon; who, being possessed of prosperity and having (his) kingdom devoted to him, resembled the sun which (also) rises and has a red orb; who, with his wealth desired and enjoyed by all people, was like the wish-fulfilling tree; who took away the kingdoms of all powerful (kings) as Janārdana⁵ took away the entire kingdom of Bali; and whose fortune was fond of the enemies' kingdoms.⁶

(L. 9) His son, the illustrious Prithivivallabha, Nikumbha Allasakti,—who meditates on his feet, who is glorious (and) is capable of protecting the earth with his staff-like right arm; whose canopy of glory, which is whiter than the rays of the autumnal moon (shining) in

The aksharas marked with an asterisk in rectangular brackets in this and the following lines have been almost completely damaged by rust.

^{*} Read यत्नाद्रका.

³ Metre: Indravajrā.

^{*} Perhaps like the scribe, this officer also was the same as in the Kasare plates. If so, the reading should be -वासवसमादेशाल्.

⁵ I.e., Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. There is a play on the word bali meaning (1) 'a powerful prince' and (2) 'Bali, the king of demons'.

⁶ This means, as Bühler has suggested, that 'his Fortune was not contented with his empire, desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them'.

the sky from which water-laden clouds have disappeared, has stretched beyond the ocean; who is extremely deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brāhmaṇas, friends and relatives; who, like the son of Bhava, has his progress unchecked; who, like Sakti, has obtained a kingdom, whose gait is graceful like that of a choice rutting elephant; who, like Arjuna, has obtained victory in all battles; who is endowed with unfailing prowess, energy, and might; who, like Cupid, delights the eyes of love-lorn ladies,—addresses the (following) order to all the kings, Rājasthānīyas, Chaurāddharanikas, Dāndapāsīkas, Dūtas, Gamāgamikas, bhatas, chāṭas, servants and so forth, merchants and residents of the Janapada, the foremost of whom are Brāhmaṇas, and others, heads of vishayas, those of rāshṭras and villages, Ayuktakas, Mahattaras, officials and others, according as it might concern them!—

- (L. 18) "Be it known to you that having regard to the other world and having heard of the great reward (of gifts of land), I have granted, on the full moon day of Bhādrapada with a libation of water, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, the village Balisa situated in the āhāra and vishaya of Trēyaṇṇa,—together with duties on commodities manufactured or imported (into the village), with udranga, with uparikara, being exempt from all dues, gifts, forced labour, and special rights; which is not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, according to the maxim of waste land; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the dīkshita Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who is a student of the Mādhyandina śākhā of the Vājasanēya (or White Yajurvēda) and a resident of the victorious Aniruddhapurī, for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaišvadēva, agnihōtra and other (religious) rites.
- (L. 26) Wherefore, future kings whether born in our family or others, having tealized that wordly existence possesses as (little) worth as reeds, bamboos and plantain trees (possess sap), and that life is (evanascent) like a water-bubble, and having considered that youth is liable to fade like a firisha flower, that prosperity slips away like water of a mountain stream, and that fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an Asvattha tree which is struck by a very strong wind, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! But he who with his mind shrouded by the veil of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with minor sins!"
- (L. 31) And the holy Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, the redactor of the Vēdas, has said—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 37) In the year four hundred increased by six, on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādrapada. The Dūtaka for this (charter) is Srīvallabha Bappa. By the order of the Mahābalādhikṛita [Vāsava]⁵ this (charter) has been written by his own younger brother, the Sandhivigrahādhikṛita Dēvadinna.

¹ I. e., Kärttikēya.

The Purānas mention Sakti as a son of Vasishtha by his wife Arundhati, but there is no particular legend about his having obtained a kingdom. If the reading is fakty=aiv-ōpāttarājyaḥ, it would mean 'who obtained his kingdom only by his prowess'.

³ Bühler's rendering 'who, like Cupid, is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans' is incorrect. It was based on the mislection samāna for sa-madana.

⁴ Bühler's translation 'however they may be connected with him' does not appear to be correct. The royal order is addressed to all who may have anything to do with the donated village.

⁵ See above, p. 118, n. 1.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

was increased by this vider barelier, the interchase Vilegend/libys, who bear the troop's

No. 27; PLATE XX

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

THESE plates were found at Navsāri, the headquarters of the Navsāri division of the Surat District, in the Bombay State. They were first edited, with a lithograph and a translation, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently published, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, pp. 229 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-lithograph.

Dr. Fleet has given the following description of the plates :-

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about $8\frac{5}{8}$ " long by 5" broad at the ends, and $4\frac{7}{8}$ " in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The ring is about $\frac{3}{10}$ " thick and $\frac{1}{12}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about $\frac{1}{12}$ " in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto $Sr\bar{i}$ - $\bar{a}siraya$. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 2 lbs. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.¹²

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs at the top of the letters. V and dh appear closely similar in some places, compare, e.g., v in vikrama, 1. 6 with dh in yudhi- in the same line; b is rectangular in bala-, 1. 5 and roundish in brahmachāri, 1. 15. A final consonant is indicated by a slanting stroke or a curve at the top, see phalam, 1.20. The sign of the jihvā mūlīya occurs in 1.12 and the numerical symbols for 400, 20 and 1 in 1.21.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the mangala sloka in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and one benedictive verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The inscription is very carelessly written. Not only have rules of sandhi been frequently neglected, but letters and even words have in some places been omitted, as will be seen from the transcribed text. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of ri for ri as in Mātristhavira, l. 15, and of the guttural nasal for the anusvāra in vinsaty-, l. 21.

The plates were issued from Navasārikā by the Ywarāja (crown-prince) Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya, the son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman of the Chālukya family.² The Chālukyas, we are told, were sons (i.e., descendants) of Hārītī and belonged to the Mānavya gōtra. They are said to have been brought up by the seven Divine Mothers, to have attained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya and to have obtained the boar ensign. About Dharāśraya-Jayasimha we are told that his prosperity

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 230.

² As in the following grant (No. 28), the dynastic name occurs here as Chalikya.

Satyāśraya and Prithivīvallabha and the titles Mahārājādhirāja and Bhaṭṭāraka. Vikramāditya is further described as the conqueror of the Pallavas and as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Nāgavardhana and was the son of the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha. Vikramāditya and his father Pulakeśivallabha are plainly identical with Vikramāditya I and Pulakeśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty. The former was the suzerain of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha whom he placed in charge of South Gujarat. As for Nāgavardhana, Mr. A.M.T. Jackson thought that he was a successor of Pulakeśin II, and ruled in the period between 640 A.C. and 669-70 A.C. Pandit Bhagvanlal, on the other hand, accepted Dr. Fleet's opinion that Nāgavardhana may be the name of a god or guru.¹ The use of paramamāhēšvara in addition to Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudhyāta as an epithet of Vikramāditya indicates that Nāgavardhana was probably the guru² of Vikramāditya I.

The object of the inscription is to record the donation of the village Āsaṭṭi in the Kaṇhavala āhāra of the Bāhirikā vishaya. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bhōgikka-svāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, a student of the Adhvarayu (vēda)³ who was residing at Navatārikā. The charter was written by the Sāndhivigrahika, the illustrious Dhanañjaya.

The date of the grant is given both in words and numerical symbols as the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 421 of an unspecified era. The grant was evidently made during the reign of Vikramāditya I, who is the last king mentioned in it with imperial titles and who flourished from about 654 A.C. to 650 A.C. Its date must, therefore, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 429, to the 28th January 671 A.C. It does not admit of verification, but it clearly falls in the reign of Vikramāditya I.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Navasārikā is clearly Navsāri where the plates were found. I identify Kaņhavala, the headquarters of the āhāra in which the donated village was situated, with Kaṇhi, 6 miles south of Bārḍōli. The village Āsaṭṭigrāma was identified by Dr. Bühler with Astgām⁶ which lies only about to m. south-west of Kaṇhi. The Bāhirikā vishaya of which Kaṇhavala āhāra was a subdivision means the Outer District. It was probably so called with reference to the neighbouring one, viz., Antarmaṇḍalī vishaya mentioned in the Pārḍi plates of Vyāghrasēna, which bordered it on the east. To the north of Kaṇhavala āhāra lay the Trēyaṇṇa āhāra, mentioned in the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti⁷ and the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva⁸ which was probably another sub-division of the Bāhirikā vishaya.

1 Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 111-2.

4 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 102. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 24.

5 If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 9th January 670 A.C.

² Similarly in his Nāsik plates (below, No. 28, line 12) Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman is described as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious Anivārita. The latter was evidently his guru.

² I. e., the Yajurveda.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 198. Fleet objected to the identification on the ground that "in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt 'Ashtgām,' which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsaṭṭigrāma". Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 231, n. 4. I find the name as Astgām in the Degree Map No. 46 H. Besides, the fact that Astgām is situated not far from Kanhi (ancient Kanhavala), and no other village of a similar name can be traced in the neighbourhood, supports the identification proposed by Bühler.

⁷ Above, No 26.

[&]quot; Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

(4) pures transferre TEXT's devices in process yest 11

Animosa, minimosimus asses First Plate: (1m) tom animaling property

- र सिद्धम्² [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्ण[ब*]म् [।*] दक्षिणोन्न-तद (दं)ष्ट्राग्नवि-
- 2 शा(श्रा)न्तभुवन (नं) वपुः (॥१॥*) श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूय[मान*]मानव्यसगोत्रा-णाम् (णां)
- 3 हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभि[रभि*]विद्वतास⁴ कात्तिकेयप-
- 4 रिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नाराय[ण*]प्रसादसमासादितवराहल-
- 5 व्छिनिक्षणे रक्षणे वशेकृताशेष⁵महीभृतां चलिक्यानामान्वये⁶ निजभुजबलपराजिता-
- 6 खिलरिपुमहिपालसमेतिविरामयुधिष्टोपमान⁷ सत्यविकम[:*] श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभः [।*] तस्य
- 7 पुत्रः परममाहेश्वरमातापितृश्रीनागवद्वंनपादानुद्वचातश्रीविकमादित्यसत्य (त्या) —
- 8 श्रयपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरममाहेश्वरभट्टारकेन अनिवारितपौरुषा-
 - 9 कत⁹पल्लवान्वयेन ज्यायसा भात्रा समर्वोद्धतविभृतिर्द्धा (दं) राश्रयश्रीजयसिंह-
- वम्मं(म्मा) [।*] तस्य पुत्रः शरदमलसकलशशधरमरीचिमालावितानविशृद्धकीत्तिपताका-

Second Plate

- 11 विभासितलमन्तदिगतराह:10 प्रदाता रोजराज¹¹ [इ*]व रू[प*]लावण्यसौ-
- 12 भाग्यसम्पन्न×कामदेव [इव*] सकलकलाप्रवि (वी)णः पौरुषवान्विद्याधरचक्र-
- 13 वित्तव12 श्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराज(जो) नवसारिकामधिवसत् (न्) नवसारि-
 - 14 काव (वा) स्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रगोमिस्वामिनः 13 पुत्रः स्वा (सा) मन्तस्वामी । तस्य पुत्रा-
 - 15 य¹⁶ मात्रि¹⁵स्थविर[:*] तस्यानुजभाता¹⁶ किक्कस्वामिन:¹⁷ भोगिक्कस्वामिने अध्वर्य्यृ[स]ब्रह्म-चारि-

like the operating undefinde of rays of the species full moon;

- 16 णे बाहिरिका¹⁸विषयान्तर्गतकण्हवलाहारविषये¹⁹ आसट्टिग्रामं सोद्रङ्गं सप-
- ¹ From the photo-lithographs facing p. 232 in Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII.
- ² Expressed by a symbol.
 - 3 Metre: Anushtubh.
- Read -affected. all against montantly all layerships not all (or ... I)
- 8 Read -वराह्लाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेष- as in No. 28, below p. 129.
 - n David Dead
- Read -रिपुर्महीपालसमिति रामयुधिकिरोपमानः करती bar samp , weed drive is wolong , Assdu X
- * Read -भट्टारकेण.
 - " Read -कान्त-.
 - 10 Read -समस्तदिगन्तराल:.
- 11 Read राजराज.
 - 12 Read -चन्नवर्त्ताव.
- 13 Both Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Hultzsch read —सगोत्रागामिस्वामिन:, but I think the stroke connected with त्र properly belongs to ना, though owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver it is not connected with it.
 - 14 Read पुत्र: Dr. Hultzsch however construes this with भौगिककस्वामिने which occurs later on.
 - 15 Read मात्-.
 - 18 Read तस्यानुजञ्चातु:.
- 17 Some word like पुत्राय is omitted here. Dr. Hultzsch proposes to supply शिष्याय.
- ¹⁸ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the name as Thābarikā, but in several other records we meet the round b as here.
- ¹⁹ The second विषये seems to be superfluous. Read कण्डवनाहार. Pandit Bhagwanlal read the name as कण्डवनाहार-, but the subscript letter in the second akshara is exactly like the fifth akshara in this expression which is undoubtedly हा.

- 17 रिकरं उदकोत्सर्गेपूर्व्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये दत्तवान् [1*]
- 18 वाताहतदीपशिखाचञ्चला (लां) लक्षी (क्मी)मनुस्मृत्य सर्व्वेरागामिन्पतिभि धम्मदायो1-
- 19 नुमन्तव्य: [1*] बहुभिव्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[: 1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू-
- 20 मि[:*] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्² [॥२॥*] माख (घ) शुद्धत्रयोदश्यां लिखितमिदं सान्धिवग्रह-(हि) कश्रीधन (नं) जयेन
- 21 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकविङ्शत्यधिके ४०० २० [१] [॥*] सिद्धम् [।*]

Seal श्रीआश्रय [: ।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishņu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean, and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk.

- (Line 2) In the family of the illustrious Chalikyas,—who are of the Mānavya gōtra which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (i.e. descendants) of Hārītī; who were brought up⁷ by the Seven Mothers,⁸ who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha (II) who possessed unfailing prowess; who, by the might of his arms, vanquished all his foes; and who, in the assembly of kings, could be compared to Rāma and Yudhishṭhira.
- (L. 7) His son (is) Dharāśraya, the illustrious Jayasimha, whose prosperity has been augmented by his elder brother, the *Prithiv vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father who were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and (on those of) the holy Nāgavardhana, and who has overcome the family of the Pallavas by his unchecked prowess.
- (L. 10) His son, Śryāśraya, the illustrious Śīlāditya, the crown-prince, who has brightened the regions between all quarters by the banners of his glory, white like the spreading multitude of rays of the spotless full moon; who is liberal like Kubēra, endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness like the god of love, proficient in all arts and valorous like the Emperor of the Vidyādharas; (he) residing at Navasārikā,

¹ Read -न्पतिभिषम्भेदायो. Dr. Hultzsch proposed to read न्पतिभिरयमस्मद्दायो as in line 29 of the Surat plates (No. 29), but this is unnecessary.

¹ Metre: Anushtubh.

³ Read एकविशत्यधिके.

⁴ There are faint traces of the unit visible in the photo-lithograph.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

Read श्याश्रय:.

⁷ I. e. made prosperous.

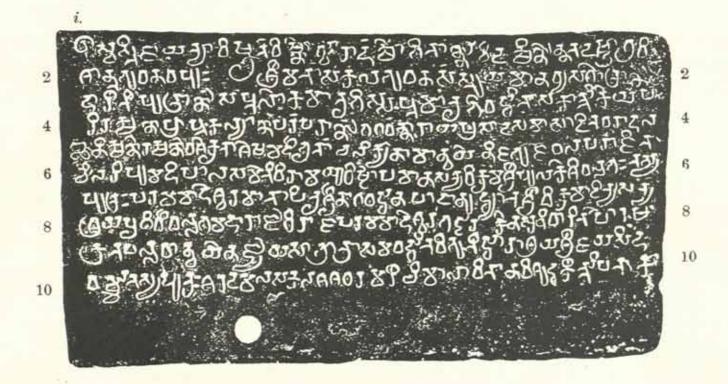
⁸ The seven divine mothers are named as Brāhmī, Māheshvarī, Kaumārī, Vaisņavī, Vārāhī, Indrānī and Chāmundā. Some enumerate eight divine mothers, adding Charchikā or Kālasankarshinī to the above list. See Kshirāsvamin's and Bhānuji Dīkshita's commentaries on Amarakösa I, 1, 35. Halāyudha says they are only seven in number.

I.e., Naravāhanadatta, sec Katbāsaritsāgara, p. 513.

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

Seal







B, CH, CHHABRA. Reg. No. 3977 E'36-776'51. SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



has granted, with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (his) mother and father and of himself, the village Āsaṭṭi in the Kaṇhavala āhāra¹ which is situated in the Bāhirikā vishaya, together with udraṅga and uparikara, to Bhōgikkasvāmin, (the son) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Māṭṭisthavira (who is) the son of Sāmantasvāmin, (who is himself) the son of Gōmisvāmin² of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who is a student of the Adhvaryu (Vēda) and a resident of Navasārikā.

(L. 18) (This) religious gift should be consented to by all future kings, bearing in mind that wealth is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp struck by wind.

(Here follows a benedictive verse).

(L. 20) This (charter) has been written by the Sāndhivigrahika, the illustrious Dhanañjaya, on the thirteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one, (in figures) 400 (and) 20 (and) 1. Success!

Sryāśraya of course bester to the state of

No. 28; Plate XXI

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

THESE plates were discovered at Nāsik the head-quarters of the Nāsik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to light by Rao Saheb G. S. alias Babasaheb Deshpande of Poona, who made them over to the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. They have been published before, with lithographs, by Mr. G. H. Khare in the Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan, Vol. I (1930), pp. 8ff. I am grateful to the authorities of the Maṇḍala for permission to include them in this volume. I edit them here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle.

The copper-plates are two in number, each measuring 8" broad, 4.7" high and 1" thick. They are held together by a ring which passes through a hole .4" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. This ring has a circular seal with the legend Sri-Dharāśraya in relief. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. A few aksharas have, however, been damaged by verdigris in lines 10-14 and 25-29, and some more have been completely lost by the breaking away of a small piece in the upper right corner of the first plate and the perforation of a large hole in lines 2-4. Fortunately, nothing of historical interest has been lost. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fifteen are inscribed on the first, and the remaining fourteen on the second plate. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Åbhōṇa and other grants of the Early Kalachuris. The record has been carelessly written, the rules of sandhi and the distinction of long and short vowels not being properly observed in several places. Some aksharas have, again, been irregularly or imperfectly formed, see, e.g., āmīndyāy- for āchchhindyād- in 1.21, and -la(?)-tudēv- for -vaiśvadēv- in 1.17. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke at the top in vasēt, 1.24. The sign of the upadhmānīya occurs in 1.21, and the numerical symbols for 400, 30, 10 and 6 in 1.28.

¹ See above, p. 125, n. 19.

² Loc. cit., n. 13.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for a verse in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and three benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after r, the use of the dental for the lingual sibilant in varsa-, 1.23, and that of the guttural nasal for the anusvāra before h in Jayasinha-, 1.13.

The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which generally occurs in the beginning of the grants of the Early Chālukyas.1 This is followed by a description of the Chālukya family as in the preceding grant (No. 27). The first historical member of this family mentioned here is Kirtivarman (I). He bore the biruda Prithivivallabha and the Imperial titles Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, and had his body sanctified by the avabhritha bath in an Asvamedha sacrifice. His dear son was the Mahārāja, the illustrious Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha (II), who obtained the title of Paramēśvara by defeating the illustrious Harshavardhana, the lord of Uttarāpatha (North India). His son Jayasimhavarman granted the present plates. He is said to have obtained victory in several battles with four-membered armies2 and to have vanquished and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows, the entire army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā. He was a devotee of a saintly person whose name has been partially lost in line 11. The ending -fiva which can still be read shows that he was an ascetic probably of the Saiva, as distinguished from the Pāśupata, sect. He is described as the author of a (Sanskrit) play entitled Harapārvatīya. As its name signifies, the play treated of some incident in the life of Siva and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. Jayasimha is further said to have been meditating on the feet of his father, mother and the illustrious Anivarita, who was probably his

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayasimha, of the village Dhōṇḍhaka in the Nāsikya vishaya on the occasion of the Vishuva or vernal equinox which fell on the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Trivikrama, the son of Prītiśarman, who belonged to the Bharadvāja gōtra and the Vājasanēya śākhā. The record was written by Māna (?), the son of the Bhōgika

Nāgabhata.

The inscription contains a date in line 28, which has not been noticed before. It is expressed in numerical symbols only, as the 10th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436 of an unspecified era. As Dharāśraya-Jayasińha, who made the present grant, was a son of Pulakeśin II who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.C., this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 436, to the 21st March 685 A.C., but as no week-day or nakshatra is mentioned with it, it does not admit of verification. But the statement in line 19 that the grant was made on the occasion of the vernal equinox which fell on the same date, i.e., on the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra, is important; for it gives us some details for verification. This tithi in the current Kalachuri year 436 ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 21st March 685 A.C.3; but the Vishuva or Mēsha-san-krānti had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day, i.e., the

2 See below, p. 131, n. 1.

All the other walls

¹ The dynastic name occurs here as Chalikya. See also, above, No. 27.

This is according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., which suits other verifiable early dates of the era. In the expired year 436, the sankranti occurred 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 686 A.C., but the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra had ended ten days before, 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise on the 10th March 686 A.C.

20th March. The sankrānti thus did not take place during the tithi of the date, but such slight discrepancies in regard to the moment of sankrāntis are not infrequently met with. Besides, the auspicious moment (punya-kāla) of the Mēsha sankrānti extends to as many as fifteen ghaṭikās before and after the sankrānti. It would seem, therefore, that though the sankrānti took place a little before noon of the 20th March 685 A.C., the gift was made in the evening when the tenth tithi was current². Hence the latter is coupled with the sankrānti in the present grant³.

Of the geographical names occurring here, the rivers Mahī and Narmadā are too well-known to need identification. Nāsikya is plainly identical with Nasik, the well-known holy place in the Bombay State. Dhōndhaka, the donated village, is, as already pointed out by Mr. Khare, clearly identical with Dhōndēgāon, 12 miles north by west of Nasik.

TEXT4

First Plate

- ा सिद्धम्⁵ [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णा(ष्णो)व्वा(र्व्वा)राहं क्षोभिताण्णंवं(वम्) [।*] द[क्षि]-णोन्नतदंष्ट्रा[ग्र][विश्वा*]-
- 2 न्तभुवनं वपु:⁶ [॥१॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसा(सं)स्तूय[मानमा]न⁷व्य[सगोत्राणां*]
 - इारि(री)तीपुत्राणा(णां) सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा[तृ][भिरभि*]वद्धितानां का[त्तिके]-
 - 4 यपिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराण(णां) भगव[न्नारा*]यणप्रसादसमा[सा]-
- 5 दित[वा]राहलांस (छ)नेक्षणस (क्ष)णविश (शी)क (कृ)ताशेषमहीभृ [तां] च[लि]क्यना[®] कुलमल— (लं)क—
 - 6 रिष्णोरश्वमेघावभूय (थ)स्नानपावित्रिकितश्गात्रस्य पृथिवि (वी)वल्लभमहाराजाघिरा-
- 7 जपरमेश्वरिश्व (श्री) किर्तिवम्मेराजस्य 10 प्रियात्य (त्म) जा (ज) उत्तराप [था] विपतिश्चि (श्री) हर्षं— वद्ध (द्धे) नपरा—
 - 8 जयोपल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरापरनामध(ध)य[:*] सा(स)त्याश्रया(य)श्रि(श्री)पुलकेशिवल्लभमहा— राजस्त—
 - 9 त्सु[तोने]कचातुईन्तयुद्धलब्धविजयो महि(ही)नम्मदान्तरालधवलफलिग (शि)लि(ली)म-
 - खजालविजितवि[नि]हतवज्जड¹¹समस्तसैन्या (न्यो) हरपार्व्वति (ती)यनाटककरणवि—
 - 11 स्यातकवि.... 12 शिवभट्ट (ट्टा) रका (क) भिक्षवयर्च्नमुद्रा 13 विधानमसृणितकरत-

¹ Cf. मेषे सूर्यसङ्कान्तौ प्रागृध्यं च पञ्चदश पञ्चदश घटिकाः पुण्यकालः । See Dharmasindhu (Nirnayasagar Press), p. 160.

² It began 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 685 A. C.

³ For a similar case of a sankrānti occurirng before the commencement of the stated tithi, see the date of the Bijapur stone inscription of the Western Chālukya Somēšvara II, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIII, pp. 115 ff.

⁴ From photographs.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁷ The curve on na has been cancelled.

⁸ Read चलिक्यानां.

⁹ Read -पवित्रीकृत-.

¹⁰ Read -क्रीतिंबम्मं राजस्य-

¹¹ In the photograph before me, this akthara appears like pa, but it is clearly da in the lithograph accompanying Mr. Khare's article in S. M. H. D., Vol. I, pp. 8 f.

¹² About four aksharas are gone here.

¹³ Read शिवभद्रारकिमझबेच्चनमुद्रा-. The sign of the medial a in dra is clear in Mr. Khare's lithograph.

- 12 लाजु (ञ्ज) लि: परम[ब्रह्म]ण्यः मातापितृश्रीमदनिवारितपादानुद्वचातो घरा-
- 13 श्रयश्रि(श्री) जयसिङहवम्मेराजः सा (स) व्वनिव विषयपा (प) तिग्रामकृट-
- 14 महत्तराधिकादीन्समनुदश्यति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिन्ना (न्नी)सि-
- 15 क्यविषये ढोण्डकग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सपरिवारः पूर्व्वाघाटनवि-

Second Plate

- 16 शुद्धः आचन्द्राक्काण्णवक्षतस्यति⁵समकालीनः पुत्र[पौ]त्र (त्रा)न्द (न्व)य (यो)प-
- 17 भोग्यः बलिचरु[ल] तुदेवा⁶ग्निहोत्रित्रयोत्सप (पं)णाय मातापित्रोरा-
- 18 त्मन[इच] पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये नासिक्यवास्तव्या (व्य)वाजसनेयभरद्वाजस-
- 19 गो श्वाया (य) [छि] (प्री) तिशम्में पुत्रत्रा (त्रि) विकमाया (य) [चै] त्रमासशुद्धदशम्यां विषुए (वे) उदक-
- 20 पूर्वं प्रतिपादितः [।*] या(य)तोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभिरयमस्मद्दायो-
- 21 नुमन्तव्य×पालियतव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानितिमरपटला⁸वृतमितरामीन्द्याया9-
- 22 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिभ[मं]हापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्तं¹⁰
- 23 च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ।। षष्टि (ष्टि) वर्स (र्ष) सहस्राणि स्वाग्गे¹¹ मोदति भू-
- 24 मिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्यो (न्ये)व नरके वसेत्¹² ॥ [२॥*] विन्ध्याटवि (वी)ध्य-(ध्व)तोयासु
- 25 शुष्ककोटरवासि[न]: (।*) कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।। [३।।*] व-
- 26 हुभिव्वंसुधा [भुक्ता] राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
- 27 स्य तस्य तदा फ [लं] (लम्) ॥ [४॥*] पूर्विदत्तां [द्विजा*]तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रष (क्ष) युविष्ठिर [।*] महीं महिम-
- 28 ता (तां) श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छ्रे]योनुपालनं (नम्) ।। [५॥*] सं ४०० ३०¹³ ६ [चै] शु १०॥ लिखितमिदं न (ना) –
- 29 गभट [भोगिक] पुत्रमा [ने?] नेति ॥

Seal

श्र(श्री)[ध]राश्रय [:।*]14

1 Read परमब्रह्मण्यो.

* Read -श्रीजयसिहबम्मराजः.

Read -महत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति.
 Usually the reading is सोपरिकर.

5 Read -शितिस्थित-.

- " Read —वेश्वदेवा— as in other plates of the time.
- 7 There is a redundant visarga after an.
- * There is a redundant dot after 研.
 - 9 Read -राच्छिन्द्यादा-.
 - 10 Read -स्स्यादिति । उनतं.
 - n Read स्वर्गे.

12 Metre of verses 2-5: Anushtubh.

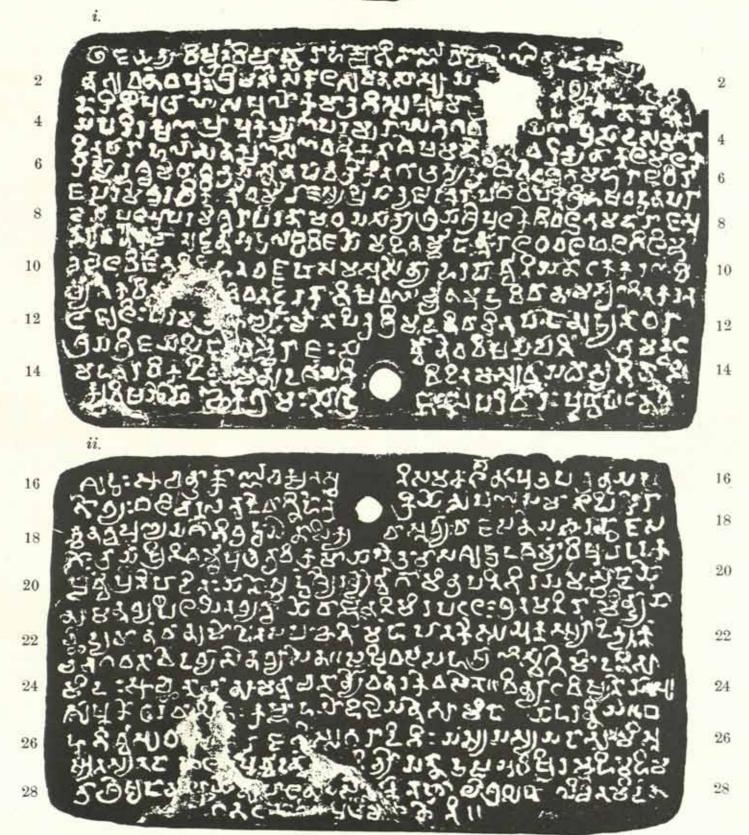
13 This symbol is slightly different from the usual one for 30. It occurs exactly in this form on Kshatrapa coins. See the first and fifth symbols for 30 in Plate LXVI, A. R. A. S. I. for 1913-14.

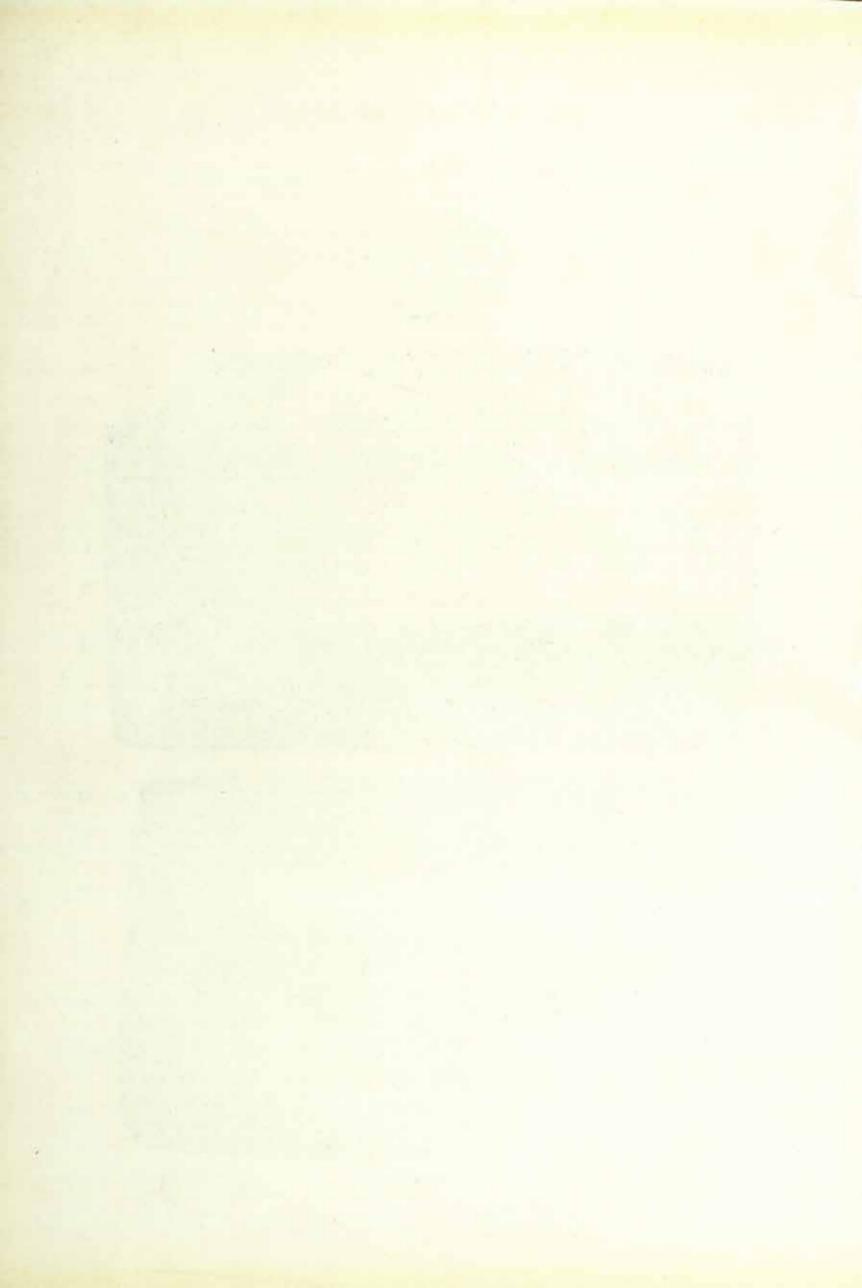
¹⁴ Mr. Khare says that there are two lines on the seal, the second of which contains the akshara fri, but I fail to see clear traces of any aksharas in that line. On the other hand, the first akshara of the legend appears to be an imperfectly preserved fri, its upper curve denoting medial i being now damaged. The following akshara dba is also partly mutilated by a depression which has since been formed in its place. It may be noted that the legend on the seal of the Surat plates (No. 29, below) of Yawarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya also is Śri-Dbarāśraya.

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

Seal







TRANSLATION

Success!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishņu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk!

- (Line 2) (There was) the Mahārāja Satyāśraya, the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha (II), who obtained the other title of Paramēśvara by vanquishing the illustrious Harshavardhana, the lord of Uttarāpatha; who was the dear son of the Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Kīrtivarmarāja, who had his body sanctified by the avabhritha (bath) in an Aśvamēdha sacrifice; who adorned the family of the illustrious Chalikyas who are of the Mānavya gōtra, which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (i.e. descendants) of Hāritī; who were brought up by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa.
- (L. 9) His son, Dharāśraya, the illustrious Jayasimhavarmarāja,—who meditates on the feet of (his) mother, father and the illustrious Anivārita; (who is) very pious; who has obtained victory in several battles with four-membered¹ armies; who defeated and exterminated with (his) bright-tipped arrows the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā; the palms of whose folded hands were softened by performing the mudrās² for the worship of the religious mendicant Bhaṭṭāraka-śiva, a poet who has attained celebrity by his composition of the play Harapārva-tīya,—addresses all heads of the vishayas (districts), the headman of the village, Mahattaras, officials and others (as follows):—
- (L. 14) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, We have granted, on (the occasion of) the Vishuva (vernal equinox) on the tenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, by previously (pouring a libation of) water, the village Phōndhaka in the Nāsikya vishaya, together with the udranga and (other) appurtenances,—which has clear previously (determined) boundaries; which is to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth would endure; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons;—to Trivikrama, the son of Prītiśarman of the Bharadvāja gōtra and Vājasanēya (śākhā), who is a resident of Nāsikya, for the performance of the (religious) rites of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva (and) agnihōtra.
- (L. 20) Wherefore, future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!"
 - (L. 22) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
 (Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.)
- (L. 28) The year 400 (and) 30 (and) 6, (the month) Chaitra, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10. Written by Māna (?), the son of the Bhōgika Nāgabhaṭa.

Seal

The illustrious Dharāśraya.

¹ See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4. In line 3 of the Bagumrā plates of Allasakti, chāturddanta qualifies gaja and has, therefore, to be taken to mean 'four-tusked.'

² Mudrā is a particular position of fingers practised in religious worship.

No. 29; PLATE XXII

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 443.

THESE copper-plates were found in the possession of a merchant at Surat, the chief town of the Surat District in the Bombay State. They were published together with the Navsāri plates of Pulakēŝirāja¹ by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. His article on them was accompanied by a lithograph and a translation. I edit the inscription here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India through the good offices of the Curator of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, where the plates are now deposited.

'The plates are two in number and measure 10½" by 7½". The outer sides are left blank; on the inner sides the lines run breadth-wise as on the Valabhi plates. Two rings, a plain one and one with a seal attached, held the plates together, passing through the holes in the bottom of the first and in the top of the second. The former has been lost, while the latter remains in its proper position. The seal has the shape of an inverted cone with a round top, 1½" in diameter....It bears the inscription Srī-Dharāšraya, the name of the donor's father. Below this is the representation of a flower resembling a blown lotus'. To judge from the impressions the plates are in a state of excellent preservation throughout.

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Navsāri plates of the same donor. There are small knobs at the top of letters. The initial \tilde{e} which is open on the left closely resembles l which has everywhere a short vertical and is distinguished from it only by the absence of a knob at the top. The forms of the rare initial \tilde{e} in Osumbhalā, 1.21, and of the looped d in Sāṇdilya, 1.19 are noteworthy. The sign of the jihvāmūliya occurs in ll. 10 and 26, and that of the upadhmānīya in ll.13, 14 and 29. Punctuation is marked by single or double dots, in ll.1, 23, 36 etc., by a small circle in 1.32 and by the vertical strokes in ll.1, 18 etc. The numerical symbols for 400, 40 and 3 occur in 1.36 and those for 10 and 5 in 1.37.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses in the beginning, one in praise of the boar incarnation and the other glorifying the donor's suzerain Vinayāditya, and four benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the formal part of the grant contains in ll.26-28 several expressions copied verbatim or with slight changes from the earlier Sēndraka records,⁴ and in ll.28-29 some more taken from the Kalachuri grants.⁵ The record is correctly written almost throughout, solecisms being very few. As instances of the latter, we may notice that the gender of punyē in l.25 does not agree with that of the noun tithan which it qualifies, and the affix of the comparative is prefixed (and not suffixed) to the adjective subhaga in l.31. As regards orthography, we may note that the class-nasal is almost always used in place of the anusvāra; the visarga after vikrama in l.2 is dropped in accordance with vārttika on Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 36; the guttural nasal is incorrectly used for anusvāra in Narasinha, l.2,

¹ No. 30, below.

² P. V. O. C., pp. 211-212.

³ Above, No. 27.

⁴ In place of nala-vēņu-kadalī-sāram in 1.27 of the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti (No. 26, above), the present plates have kadalī-garbba-sāram, the following expressions up to rājya-laksbmīb (a variant for rājya-lrīb) being the same in both.

⁵ These are fasi-kara-ruchirain. yasas=chichishubhib. See Nos. 12, 14 and 15 above

-Jayasinha-, 1.14 and -chatvārinšad-, 1.36; and the consonant following r and that preceding y and r are doubled in some places, see Kārmmaņēyō-, 1.3, -anuddhyātō, 1.11 and -chakkra-, 1.15.

The plates were issued by the Yuwarāja Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya from his victorious camp at Kusumēśvara near Kārmaṇēya. The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, which generally occurs at the beginning of the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas. The next verse eulogizes Satyāśrayavallabha, the illustrious Vinayāditya. In the prose portion which follows, we are told that in the family of the Chālukyas¹ there was the Mahārāja Satyāśraya, the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha, whose head was sanctified by the avabhrītha bath in the Bahuswarṇaka and Aśvamēdha sacrifices, and who obtained the war-standard of the illustrious Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (North India). His son was the Mahārāja, the illustrious Vikramāditya-Satyāśrayavallabha, who exterminated the family of the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, and conquered the three kingdoms.² His son was the illustrious Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Bhaṭṭāraka Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya. His paternal uncle was Dharāśraya, the illustrious Jayasimha, who attained pure fame by his victories in many battles, and who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya who made the present grant.

The first three princes mentioned in II.3-12 of the present inscription with the title Mahārāja or Mahārājā are evidently Pulakēśin II, his son and successor, Vikramāditya I, and the son and successor of the latter, Vinayāditya, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The last of these, who is identical with the Vinayāditya glorified in the second verse in the beginning of this record, was clearly the suzerain of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha and his son the crown prince Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, when the present grant was made. The title Ywarāja of the latter prince and the legend Srī-Dharāśraya on the seal indicate that Jayasimha was then living and Sryāśraya was making the grant on his behalf.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of a field situated on the eastern boundary of the village Ōsumbhalā in the āhāra and vishaya of Kārmaņēya to the Brāhmaṇa, the dīkshita Matrīśvara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gōtra and the community of the Chaturvēdins of Kārmaṇēya and was a religious student of the Kāṇva sākhā of the Adhvaryu, i.e., Yajurvēda. In connection with the boundaries of the field is mentioned the village Allūraka. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The Dūtaka was the Balādhikṛita Ammagōpa. The charter was written by the Balādhikṛita Chēlla.

The grant is dated in II.36-3, both in words and numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi (paurnamāsī) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the year 443 of an unspecified era. As the known dates of Vinayāditya range from 687 to 695 A.C., the date of the present grant must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 443, to the 23rd July 693 A.C. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, Kārmaņēya was identified by Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ with Kamrēj, about 10 m. north-east of Surat. Further, Dr. Bühler has shown⁵ that Ōsumbhalā is modern Umbhēl, about 7 miles south of Kamrēj, and

¹ The dynastic name occurs as Chalukya in this and the next grant (No. 30).

² These were the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms of South India.

³ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 2nd August 692 A. C.

⁴ P. V.O. C., p. 215. Kammanijja, the Prakrit form of the place-name, occurs in the Bagumra plates (two sets) of Indra III, Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 32 and 36.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 198.

Allūraka which bounded it on the east is still called Alurā and lies about 4 miles from Umbhēl. Kusumēśvara, which has so far remained unidentified, is probably Kōsmārā, about 6 m. south-west of Kamrēj¹ and 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl.

TEXT2

First Plate

- मिद्धम्³ [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहङ्क्षोभिताण्णंवम् । दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः⁴ ॥ [१॥*]
- वरसिङ्ह°विक्कम स्तुतविमलयशा जगित विजयते वीरः[।*] स्थिरबलविनयादित्यः सत्याश्रयव-
- तलभः श्रीमान्⁶ ॥[२॥*] स्वस्ति [।*] काम्मंणयोपकण्ठकुसुमेश्वरावासितविजयस्कन्धावा—
 राच्छीमतां स—
- 4 कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा-
- तृभिरहरहरभिवर्द्धिताना ङ्कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणाम्भगवन्नाराय-
- 6 णप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषे (ष) महीभृताञ्चल्क्याना ङ्क-
- 7 लमल ङ्करिष्णुब्बंहुसुवर्णंकाश्वमेधयागावभृथस्नानपिवत्रीकृतिशरा नृगनहुषययाति—
- 8 धुन्धुमाराम्बरीषप्रतिमस्सकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनलब्धयुद्धपताकस्सत्याश्रय-
- श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्वधातोनिवारितवीर्यंविलङ्कितान्या—
- 10 लङ्घचारिभूपालबलxकाञ्चीपुरीशपल्लवान्वयप्रमाथी परिगृहीतत्रैराज्यराज्यः श्री-
- 11 विक्कमादित्यसत्याश्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य पुत्रस्तच्चरणानुद्धधातो विनयाद्यसाधारणरा-
- 12 जगुणालङ्कतो विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रिथिवी विललभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टा-
- ाः रकस्तस्य पितृव्यस्यानेकसमरविजयसमुद्भूतविशुद्धकीर्त्तें द्रपरममाहेश्वरस्य धराध-
- 14 यश्रीजयसिङह⁸वम्मंण×पुत्रस्तच्चरणकमलाराधनपरो नयप्रतापविजृम्भितान्यमहीपा-
- 15 लचक्कस्सकलकलाप्रवीणो रतिचतुरविलासिनीजनमनोहारिरूपलावण्यसौभाग्यस-
- 16 मेतो विद्याधरचक्कवर्तीव श्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराजस्सर्वानेव राजसामन्तविष-
- 17 यपतिग्रामभोगिकमहत्तरादीन्यथासम्बद्धधमानकान्समाज्ञापय-
- 18 त्यस्तु वस्संविदितम् ॥ मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 19 कार्म्मणेयचातुर्विवद्यशालासामान्यशाण्डिल्यसगोत्राध्वर्य्युकाण्वस-
- व्याचारिणे बाह्मणनण्णस्वामिपुत्रदीक्षितमातृश्वराय भूमिच्छिद्र—

¹ This identification may be opposed on the ground that it is not near enough to Kamrēj to suit the statement in the present grant, but we must remember that Tēnna, which is described as situated near Kammanijja in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III, is as much as 13 miles distant from it.

² From impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India,

^a Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: Anushfubb.

⁸ Read नरसिंह—.

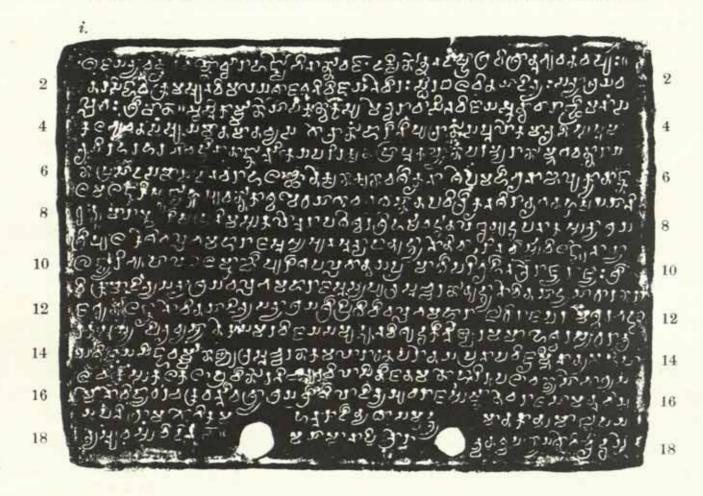
⁴ Metre: Āryā.

⁷ Read -पृथिवी ...

^{*} Read -श्रीजयसिंह-.

PRead -मात्रीस्वराय.

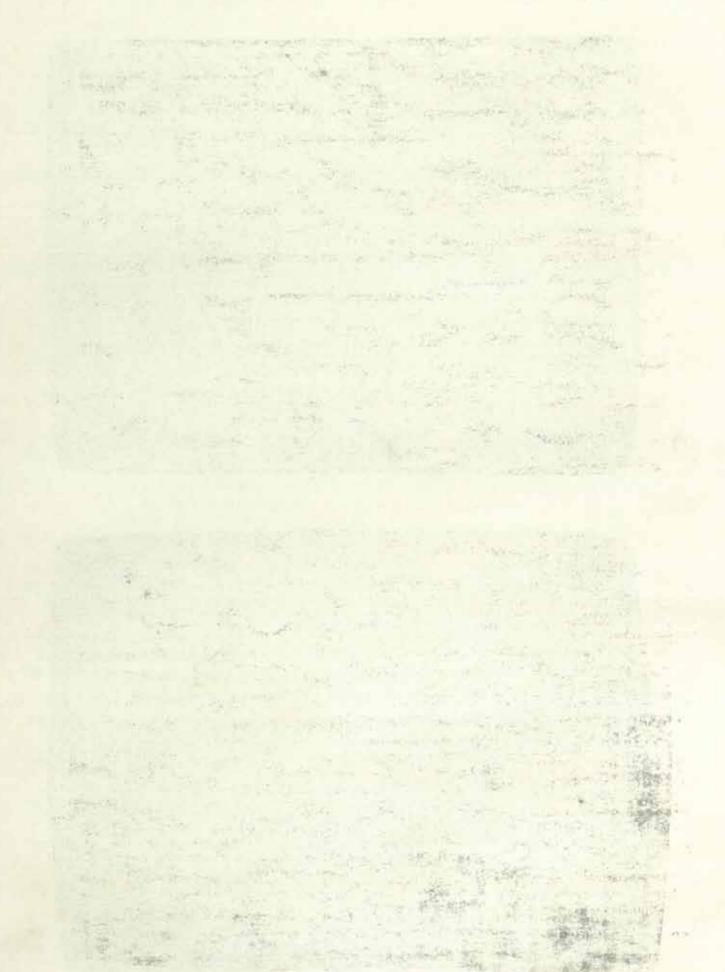
SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA (KALACHURI) YEAR 443







times of a log of the man annual and the first of the second



- 21 न्यायेन काम्मंणेयहार¹विषयान्तर्गंतओसुम्भलाग्रामे² पूर्वंस्यां सीम्नि क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्वंतः अ-
- 22 ल्लूरकग्रामसीमा 13 दक्षिणतः शमीवृक्षवल्मीकतडाकिकापालिः पश्चिमतोम्बिलकावृक्षौ उत्त-
- 23 रतो मल्लावितडाकपालिमधुकतडाकिकाग्रामदेवीक्षेत्रसीमा 13 एवमेतच्चतुःसीमाभ्य-
- 24 न्तरप्रतिष्ठितम्पञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्त्रियोत्सर्पणाय पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यमाचन्द्राक्कार्ण्णविक्षिति-
- 25 स्थितिसमकालीनं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकादिपरिहीनं पृण्ये तिथौ श्रावणपौर्णमास्या-
- 26 मुदकातिसम्गेंण प्रतिपादितम् । यतोस्मद्वङ्यै^६रन्यैव्वीगामिभद्रन्पतिभि×कदलीगव्भैसारं
- 27 संसारं जलबुद्बुदोप[म*]ञ्च जीवितमवधार्य्य शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायञ्च यौवनं गिरिनदीस-
- 28 लिलगत्वराणि चश्वय्योणि ।⁷ प्रबलपवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचञ्चला च राजलक्ष्मीरिति शशिकररु-
- 29 चिरं स्थास्नु यशश्चिचीपुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य ×पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानितिमरपटला-
- 30 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत । र पञ्चिभम्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः
- 31 स्यादिप चोक्तमृषिश्रवेकेन विकच [कु] वलयदलनिकरतरसुभग वपुषा सत्यवतीनन्दनेन भग-
- 32 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । पष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वग्गें मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च
- 33 तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁰ ।। [३।।*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्का¹¹कोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भिनदा-
- 34 यं हरन्ति ये ॥[४॥*] बहुभिव्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यंस्य 12 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-
- 35 लं(लम्) ॥ [५॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युघिष्ठिर । महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे— योनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[६॥*]
- 36 संबत्सरशतचतुष्टये त्रिचत्वारिङश¹³दिधिके श्रावणशुद्धपौर्णमास्या (स्याम्) ॥ संवत्सर ४०० ४० ३ श्रावण-
- 37 शु दि १० ५ [1*] दू[त]को बलाधिकृताम्मगोपः [1*] लिखितञ्च बलाधिकृतचेल्लेनेति ।।

Seal

श्रीघराश्रय [:।*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk!

(V. 2) Triumphant in the world is the illustrious Satyāśrayavallabha-Vinayāditya of firm valour, a hero of renowned (and) stainless fame, who is like Narasimha in heroism!

¹ Read काम्मणेयाहार-.

² Read -गतीसुम्भलाग्रामे.

³ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁴ Read -परिहीणं.

³ Read पुण्यतियी.

⁶ Read समद्वंदये-

⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

^{*} Read स्यात् । अपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवरेण.

⁹ Read -निकरसुभगतर-

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following three verses: Anushtubb.

¹¹ Read श्राप्त-

¹² Read -स्सगरादिभि: । यस्य

¹³ Read त्रिचत्वारिशदधिके.

(Line 3) From the victorious camp fixed at Kusumeśwara near Karmaneya,1-

Adorning the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya gōtra; which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (i.e., descendants) of Hāritī; who were brought up² day by day by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the Mahārāja the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha (II), whose head was sanctified by the avabhritha³ bath in the Bahuswarnaka and Aśvamēdha sacrifices; who is equal to Nriga, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dhundhumāra and Ambarīsha; who has won the war-standard from the illustrious Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha⁴ (North India).

- (L. 9) His son (was) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Vikramāditya (I), Satyāśrayavallabha, who meditated on his feet, who, by his irresistible valour, vanquished the armies of hostile kings unconquerable by others; who exterminated the family of the Pallava (king), the lord of the city of Kāñchī, and who conquered the three kingdoms.
- (L. 11) His son (is) the illustrious Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Bhaṭṭāraka Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, who meditates on his feet and is adorned by humility and other uncommon royal excellences.
- (L. 13) The son of his paternal uncle, the illustrious Dharāśraya-Jayasimha-varman, whose pure fame has sprung from his victories in many battles, and who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—(viz.) the crown-prince the illustrious Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya,—who is intent on worshipping his lotus-like feet; who has defeated the armies of other kings by his political wisdom and valour; who is proficient in all arts; who, like the Emperor of the Vidyādharas, is endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, attractive to the minds of coquettish women clever in amorous sports,—addresses the (following) order to all kings, feudatories, heads of vishayas, Bhōgikas of villages, Mahattaras and others, according as they may be concerned?:—
- (L. 18) "Be it known to you (that) for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted with a libation of water on the holy day, (viz.) the full-moon day of Srāvaṇa, a field on the eastern boundary of the village Ōsumbhalā situated in the āhāra (and) vishaya of Kārmaṇēya,—to the east of which is the boundary of the village Allūraka; to the south, a śamī tree, an ant-hill (and) the dam of a small tank; to the west, two ambilakā8 trees; to the north the dam of the mallāvi tank, the small tank called Madhuka, (and) the boundary of the field dedicated to the village goddess,—the field lying within these four boundaries, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, according to the maxim of waste land, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, exempt from all gifts, forced labour and

3 I.e., the final bath, taken after the sacrifice is over.

¹ The sentence is continued below in the words 'the son of his paternal uncle' in l. 13.

² I.e., made prosperous.

⁴ Rājašekhara (K. M., p. 94) says that the country beyond Prithūdaka (modern Pēhoā in the Karnal District of the Panjab) is Uttarāpatha. Here, however, the whole of North Ind'a is meant.

⁵ Vijrimbhita 'expanded, manifested', appears to be used here in the unusual meaning of 'defeated'. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, translates the expression as 'who has pleased the multitude of other kings'.

⁶ This is Naravāhanadatta.

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates yathā-sambadbyamānakān by 'wherever posted'.

These are tamarind trees according to Pandit Bhagvanlal.

special rights,—to the dikshita Matrīśvara, the son of the Brāhmaņa Naṇṇasvāmin, who is of the Sāṇḍilya gōtra and a student of the Kāṇva (śākhā) of the Adhvaryu (i.e., Yajurvēda), and belongs to the community of the Chaturvēdins of Kārmaṇēya, for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other (religious) rites.

- (L. 26) Wherefore, gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (little) worth as the interior of a plaintain tree (possesses sap), and that life is (evanescent) like a water-bubble, and (having considered) that youth is liable to fade like a sirisha flower, that prosperity is as fleeting as the water of a mountain stream, and that royal fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an asvatha tree which is struck by a very strong wind, and being desirous of accumulating lasting fame lovely like moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, will incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."
- (L. 31) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the son of Satyavatī, the best of sages (and) the redactor of the Vēdas, whose body was more lovely than an assemblage of the petals of a full-blown lotus:—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 36) On the full-moon day in the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvaṇa in the year four hundred increased by forty three—the year 400 (and) 40 (and) 3, (the month) Śrāvaṇa, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. The Dūtaka (of this charter is) the Balādhikṛita Ammagōpa, And (this charter) has been written by the Balādhikṛita Chēlla.

Seal
The illustrious Dharāśraya.

No. 30; PLATE XXIII

NAVSARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 490.

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were sent to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji by a Parsi gentleman of Navsāri. They were published, with photo-types and a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-types. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner sides only, measure each 11½" by 9½". They are held together by two rings, one of which has a seal, showing two figures in relief, 2" in diameter, which, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal,¹ were intended to represent the donor's parents. The seal bears the legend Srī-Avanijanāfrayaḥ, on the left of the male figure. Except for some letters here and there which have become much worn, the inscription is fairly well preserved. The record consists of fifty-one lines, of which twenty-five are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-six on the second. The average size of the letters is .12".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Sryāśraya Sīlāditya. As regards individual letters, we may notice that the rare jh occurs in śarajha-, 1.23; the subscript th has a notch in sthātavyam-, 1.41, but not in -sthītyā in the same line; the superscript r is horizontal like the mātrā for medial ē in -vimardyamāna-, 1.26; and the sign for | occurs in -Kānchaļē and -Gōvindaļi-, in 1.38. A

¹ P. V. O C., p. 212. Pandit Bhagvanlal did not notice the legend on the seal.

final consonant is indicated by its short form with a horizontal line at the top, see vasēt, 1.45. The sign of the jihvāmūliya occurs in 11.7, 16, 28 and 30, and that of the upadhmāniya in 11.7, 10, 14, 17 and 20. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters

with wedges at the top.

The language is good and, on the whole, correct Sanskrit. The fierce fight with the Arab invaders is graphically described in II.23-33. It is noteworthy that in its eulogistic part the inscription contains in II.18-19 one long compound expression, copied for the first time from Gurjara records. No such borrowing from Gurjara grants is noticed in the earlier inscriptions of the Sendrakas, nor even in those of Pulakeśin's elder brother Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya. Except for the maigala ślōka in praise of the boar incarnation and four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the close, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following r doubled in many cases, see, e.g., Vishnōr=vvārāham, 1.1, -Kīrttivarmma-, 1.6, etc. The guttural nasal is used for the anusvāra before ś in -nistrinśa-, 1.19, gh for h in; Jayasingha-, 1.17 and the jihvāmūlīya for sh in -nihkrayikrita-, 1.28. The vowel ri is used for ri in -nistrimśa-, 1.8 and vice versa in -Prtīhivī-, 1.34. On the other hand, the somewhat rare sandhis in -vaksha-sthala, 1.22, and -dashtōshtha-, 1.28, are in accordance with the vārttikas on Pāṇini's rules VIII, 3, 36

and VI, I, 94 respectively.

The plates were granted by the illustrious Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of the Gujarat branch of the Early Chālukyas. The inscription opens with the usual verse in praise of the boar incarnation. Then comes the genealogy of the donor. In the family of the Chālukyas1 who are described here as in the grants of Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya,2 there was the Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Satyāśraya-Kīrtivarmarāja, whose body was sanctified by the avabhritha bath in an Aśvamēdha sacrifice. His son was the illustrious Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and obtained formidable power by his defeat of the illustrious Harshavardhana, the lord of the Uttarapatha. His son was the Paramabhattaraka, the illustrious Satyāśraya-Vikramāditya who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. He regained his kingdom with the help of his excellent horse Chitrakantha and vanquished the three kingdoms, Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇdya. His younger brother was the Paramabhattāraka, the illustrious Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarmarāja, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the Paramabhattāraka, the illustrious Jayāśraya-Mangalarasarāja, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and reconquered his own dominions by the might of his arms. His younger brother, the Paramabhattāraka, the illustrious Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, who was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, made the present grant.

Of the six princes mentioned above, the first three, Kīrtivarman, Pulakēśivallabha and Vikaramāditya, are plainly identical with Kīrtivarman I, Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I respectively, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The next three, viz., Dharāśraya-Jayasiriha, Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, though here mentioned with the high-sounding title Paramabhaṭṭāraka, were of a feudatory rank and owed allegiance to the Imperial house of Bādāmi. The name of Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, whose Navsāri and Surat plates bear earlier dates, is omitted here, probably because he pre-

deceased his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha.

In ll. 23-33 the record describes graphically the Arab invasion of the Chālukyan kingdom and the fierce fight which was fought in the vishaya of Navasāri. We-are told

¹ See above, p. 133, n. 1.

² Nos. 27 and 29, above.

that the Tājika army which had conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshṭra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings, invaded the district of Navasārikā during the course of its campaign to conquer all southern kings. There they were opposed by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. A fierce battle was fought, in which Pulakēśin won a decisive victory. Thereupon the illustrious Vallabha-narēndra, who was plainly the contemporary Chālukya suzerain, in token of his appreciation of Pulakeśin's heroism, conferred upon him the following four titles, viz., Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra (the Pillar of the Deccan), Chalukkikulālankāra (the Ornament of the Chalukya family), Prithivīvallabha (the Lover of the Earth), Anivartakanivartayitri (the Repeller of the unrepellable).

The vigorous style of the description of the battle, which is unique in inscriptional literature, suggests that the present record dated K. 490 was composed soon after it was fought. Again, as shown above, in its eulogistic portion, the record has, for the first time, incorporated a passage which is known to occur only in Gurjara grants. This makes it probable that it was composed after the Gurjara kingdom was annexed. The last date of the Gurjaras is K. 486 (736 A.C.). The Arab invasion must therefore be dated during the period K. 486-490 (736-739 A.C.)¹ and may have taken place in 737 A.C. The contemporary Chālukya Emperor, who appreciated Pulakēśin's heroism, was probably Vikramāditya II (circa 734-747 A.C.).

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Padraka in the āhāra and vishaya of Kārmaņēya on the Mahākārttikī (i.e., the full-moon day of Kārttika) for the performance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra and other rites. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaļi, the son of the Dvivēda Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaļē, who belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and was a student of the Taittirīya śākhā. He had emigrated from Vanavāsī.

The grant was intended to be dated both in words and numerical symbols, but the former have, for the most part, been omitted through inadvertence, and the date is given in numerical symbols as the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 490. Like the dates of Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya's grants, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired² year 490, to the 21st October 739 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Vanavāsī, from which the donee had emigrated, is a well-known place of the same name in North Kanara. Navasārikā and Kārmaņēya have been already shown to be identical with the modern Navsāri and Kamrēj.³ The village Padraka may be represented by the modern Pārḍi, 4 miles east of Navsāri.

TEXT4

First Plate

सिद्धम्⁵ [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोव्विराहं क्षोभिता[ण्णं]वं(वम्) । दक्षि[णोन्नतदं]ष्ट्राग्र [वि]श्रा[न्त]भुवनं व[पु:]⁶ ॥ [१॥*]

¹ The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata IV were dated towards the close of the Kārttikādi Kalachuri year 486, while the present inscription was incised in the beginning of the Kalachuri year 490. Hence there is a difference of only three years between the Christian equivalents of the two dates.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 1st November 738 A. C. There was a lunar eclipse on that day, but there is no mention of it in the present grant.

Above, pp. 124 and 133.

⁴ From the photo-types accompanying Pandit Bhagwanlal's article,

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: Anuthtubb.

- श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां स[प्तलोक]मातृभिस्स[प्तमातृभि]रभिव-
- ३ द्विता[नां] [का]त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादि—
- 4 तवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषभूभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णु[रश्वमेघा]वभृत¹—
- इस्तानपवित्रीकृतगात्रोनेकनरपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगणिकरणसमु[ल्लिसतो]द्योतित°चर-
- 6 णकमलयुगलस्सत्याश्रयप्रिथिवी³वल्लभ⁴महाराः⁵जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीत्तिवम्मैराजस्तस्य
- 7 स्तस्तत्पादान्ध्यात≍परम देवताविश (शे) षवद्वंदनीयतमस्सकलशास्त्रात्थंतत्वभ रक्षिक-
- 8 रनिष्ठुरप्र[कोष्ठ]करकलितनिशितनिस्तृंश⁸प्रहारदलितप्रमुखागतवैरिवारणकुंभस्थलोच्छल-
- ९ त्प्रत्यग्रधवलिनम्मेलमुक्ताफलप्रकरकुंभस्तवकसमभ्यिच्चतसमरधरित्रीतलः श्रीमदुत्तराप-
- 10 [थाघि]पतिश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धोग्रप्रताप≍परममाहेश्वरोपरनामा सत्याश्र-
- 11 यः⁹ श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातोनेकनरपतिसामन्तमकृटकोटिघृष्टचर-
- 12 णारविन्दयुगलो मेरुमलयमन्दर्रविध्यसमानधैय्योहरहरभिवर्द्धमानवरकरितुरगरथ-
- 13 पदातिवलो मनोजवैकचित्रकंठास्यप्रवरतुरंगमेणोपाज्जितस्वराज्य[:*] विजितचेरचोलपां-
- 14 डचकमागतराज्यत्रय≍परममाहेश्वर≍परमभट्टारकस्सत्याश्रयः श्रीविक्रमादित्यराजस्तस्या—
- 15 नुजो विजितसकलारातिपक्षश्चतुरुदिधपर्य्यंन्तमालामेखलायाः क्षितेम्मंण्डनभूतो मत्ते-
- 16 भकुंभमण्डलविदारणxकेंसरिकिशोरै 10रिव विक्रमैकरसस्समस्तदिङमंडलप्रख्यातकीत्तिः प-
- 17 [र]ममाहेश्वर×परमभट्टाः¹¹रकघराश्रयः श्रीजयसिङ्घ¹²वर्म्मराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
- 18 ध्यातस्सकलजनमनानंद¹³भूतोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधू-
- 19 प्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलिनिस्त्रिङ्गा³भप्रतापो निजभुजप्रभावोपाज्जितस्व—
- 2० कीयभूभागमण्डल≾परममाहेश्वर≾परमभट्टारकजयाश्रयश्रीमङ्गलरसराजस्तस्यानु-
- 21 जस्तत्पादपंकजा[रा]धनानुध्यात[:*] प्रतिदिनमुपचीयमानोदयः शैशवादेव समस्तगुणगणा-
- 22 घिष्ठानभूतः स्वयंवरयैव राजलक्ष्म्या समासादितवक्षस्थलो घवलयशोवितानविमलीकृतस-
- 23 कलजगन्मण्डलः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः शरझ¹⁵षिर¹⁶मुद्गरोद्गारिणि तरलतरतारत-रवारिदा¹⁷
- 24 रि[तोदित]सैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्र[चा]वोटकमौर्य्यगूर्ज्जरा[दि]रा[जे] नि:शेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षिति— पतिजि—

⁶ This visarga is superfluous.

Read -धावमृब-

Read -तोइचातित-.

B Read -पश्चिम-

⁴ The engraver first incised b and then corrected it into bb.

⁶ Between प्रम and देवता there appear two dots horizontally placed which indicate that the engraver at first wanted to incise some letter there, but changed his mind afterwards.

⁷ Read -तत्त्वज्ञ--

[&]quot; Read -निस्त्रश-

⁹ Read -माहेश्वर: सत्याश्रयापरनामा.

¹⁰ Read - किशोर इव.

¹¹ This visarga is superfluous. Read - HETCH-.

¹² Read श्रीजयसिंह-.

¹³ Read -मनवानंदभूतो-.

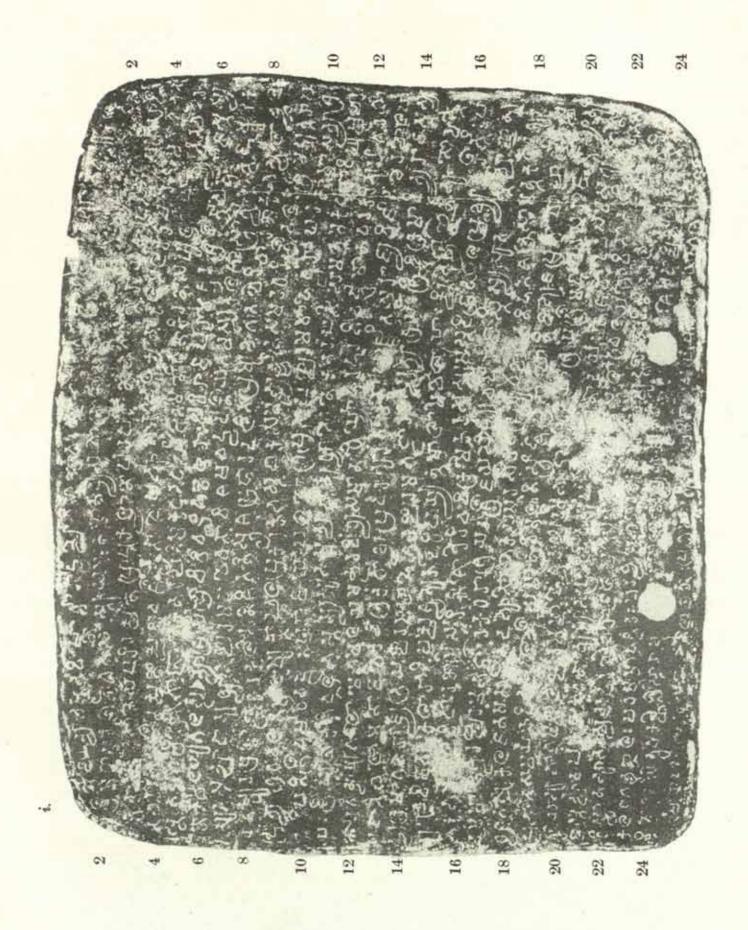
¹⁴ Read -- निस्त्रश-.

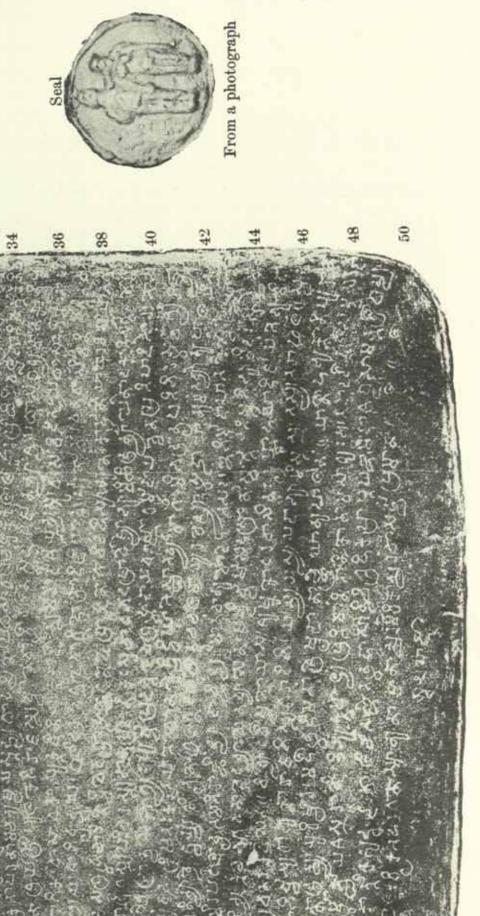
¹⁵ There appears only one dot after jba. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, read ज्ञारहा: and took it as referring to Pulakēširāja.

¹⁶ Bhagvanlal read this word as tirt. Jbashira is derived from √ jbash to hurt.

¹⁷ There is some mistake here. Perhaps the intended reading is तारतरासिदारितोदित-.

NAVASARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 490





25 [गी]ष[या दक्षिणापथप्रवेशा]भिलाषिणि¹ ॥ प्रथमभेव नवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते [त्वरित]—

Second Plate

- 26 तुरगसरमुखरखुरोत्वातघर[णिघू]िलघूसरितदिगन्तरे कुन्तप्रान्तिनतान्तिवमर्द्यमानर[भसाभि-घावि]तो-
- 27 द्भटस्थूलोदरविवरविनिर्गातांत्रप्रोथु श्तररुधिरधारारंजितक [वच]भीष [ण]वपुषि । अस्वामिमहा-
- 28 स[न्मा]नदानग्रहणनि: ऋयीकृत (स्विशारीभिमुखमापतितैर[द]यदशनाग्रदण्टोष्ठ (पुटैरने-
- 29 कसमराजिरविवरवारि (वैरि) करिकटितटह्य (?) विघटनविगलितघनक्षिरप [टल] पाटलितपटु कृपाणपट्टैरपि महा-
- 30 योधैरलब्बपरभागैः विपक्षक्षपणाक्षेपिक्षप्रक्षिप्ततीक्ष्णक्षुक्प्र⁷प्रहारविलूनवैरिशिर×कमलगलनालैरा-
- 31 हवरसरभसरोमांचकंचुकाच्छादिततनुभिरनेकैरपि नरेंद्रवृंदवृंदारकैरजितपूर्व्वे ॥8 व्यपगतमस्माक-
- 32 [मृ]णमनेन स्वामिनः स्वशिरःप्रदानेनाद्य तावदेकजन्मीयमित्येवमि[वो]पजातपरितोषानन्तरप्र— हतपटुप—
- 33 टहरवप्रनृत्तकबन्धबद्धरासमंडलीके । समरशिरिस विजिते ताजिकानीके शौर्य्यानुरागिणा श्रीव-ल्लभनरें-
- 34 द्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारचलुक्किकुलालंकारप्रिथिवीं वल्लभानि— वर्त्तकनिव—
- 35 त्तंयित्रवनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सर्व्वनिवात्मीयानस्मद्वं (नात्मवं)शजानन्यांश्च यथासंबध्यमान— कान्विष
- 36 [य]पतिग्रामभोगिक 18 वासावकायुक्तविनियुक्तकादीन्समनुदश्येयत्यस्तु 10 वः संविदितं (तम्) । यथास्माभिम्मातापि-
- 37 त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । बिलचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादित्रियोत्सप्पंणात्थे । बनवासि 11-विनिग्गतवत्स-
- 38 सगोत्रतैत्तिरिक¹²सब्रह्मचारिणे द्विवेदब्राह्मणकाञ्चळे¹⁸ ब्राह्मणगोविदळि¹⁴सूनुने¹⁵। काम्मैणेयाहार-विषयांतर्गत-
- उत्र पद्रकग्रामस्सोद्रंगस्सपरिकर¹६स्सदानप्रदानकः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनोदकातिसग्गेण
 महा-

¹ Bhagvanlal read fमलायमानाः, but the correct reading given here was suggested by Bühler. The following marks of punctuation are superfluous.

Read - quat-.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read निष्क्रयोकृत.

⁵ Bhagvanlal read - - steel-, but the medial vowel of the second aksbara is certainly not au.

⁶ Perhaps ged is intended.

⁷ Bhagvanlal read –श्राप्त, but the second akshara is clearly ru. Read –श्राप्त-.

^{*} The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁹ Read -पृथिवी-.

¹⁰ Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तू.

¹¹ Read वनवासी-.

¹² Read -तितिरीय-.

¹³ Read -काउन्बळाय.

¹⁴ This is probably the intended reading, though the last akshara of the name appears more like di than fi.

¹⁵ Read -सूनवे. The following mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁸ Read -स्सोपरिकर-.

- 40 कार्त्तिक्यां पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः पुर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवर्जी धर्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितो (त: ।) यतोस्या-
 - ग्रहारस्थित्या भुंजतः त्रिषतः कर्षयतो वा न कैश्चिद्धिधाते स्थातव्यमागामिभद्रन्पतिभिरस्मद्वंश्य-रन्येव्वी
 - 42 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तुणाग्रलग्नजलविन्दुचंचलमायरवेक्ष्यास्महायोनमंतव्योनपालयित-
 - 43 इच [1*] यहचाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावतमितराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानमोदेत स पञ्चिभम्मेहा-पातकस्सो [प]पातक-
 - 44 स्तंयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं व भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिव्वंषंसहस्राणि स्वग्गे तिष्ठति भिमदः [1*] आच्छेता चा-
 - नुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।। [२।।*] विध्याटवीष्वतीयास शष्ककोटरवासिन: [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भिमदायं
 - 46 हर[न्ति] ये ।। [३।।*] बहुभिव्वंसुघा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:*] । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [४॥*]स्व[द]त्तां
 - 47 परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्य युधिष्ठिर । महीन्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनपालनं (नम) ॥ [५॥*] यानीह भक्तानि⁸ पूरा न--
 - रेंद्रैर्द्दानानि धर्मार्त्यंयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साघुः पुनराददी[त] ॥ [६॥*] सम्वत्सरश 10-
 - त ४०० ९० कात्तिकशृद्ध १० ५ [1*] लिखितञ्चैतन्महासान्धिविग्यहिकप्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्द-सामन्तश्रीवप[भ]-
 - [िट] [ना¹¹ महाबला] धिकृतहरगणसूनुना [।] न्यूनाक्षरमिषकाक्षरं वा सन्वं प्रमाणं (णम्)। सिद्धम्¹² ॥ सिद्धम¹² [॥*]

51

स्वयमाज्ञा [1*] Seal

श्रीअवनिजनाश्रय: [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success I

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishņu's manifested boar-form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk!

(Line 2) Adorning the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya gotra, which is being praised by the whole world; who were brought up13 by the Seven Mothers (who are) the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained continuous prosperity

¹ Read कृपत:.

^{*} Read -दाच्छिद्यमानं.

³ Read -स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

⁴ Read पष्टिं वर्ष-.

⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses: Anusbjubb.

^{*} Read -京哥.

[†] Read महीस्महिमतां.

⁸ Read दत्तानि.

⁹ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁶ Read संवत्सर-. The writer has inadvertently omitted many words here. Read. संवत्सरशतचतुर्थ्य नवत्यधिके कात्तिकशृद्धपञ्चदश्यां संवत्.

¹¹ Perhaps - महिना was intended.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ Le., made prosperous.

through the protection of Kārttikēya; (and) who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(there was) the Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Satyāśraya, the illustrious Kīrtivarmarāja (I), whose body was sanctified by the avabhritha bath in an Aśvamēdha sacrifice, (and) the pair of whose lotus-like feet shone and looked resplendent with the rays of clusters of jewels set on the sides of the crowns of many kings.

- (II), whose other name was Satyāśraya; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who was most adorable like a great and pre-eminent god; who knew the import and the principles of all śästras; who worshipped the surface of the battle-field with clusters (of flowers powed out) from pots, in the shape of multitudes of fresh, white and spotless pearls from the frontal globes of attacking hostile elephants, which were rent with the strokes of the sharp sword wielded by his hand, the forearm of which was hard like an elephant's trunk; (and) who attained formidable power by defeating the illustrious Harshavardhana, the illustrious lord of Uttarāpatha (North India).
- (L. 11) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Paramabhattāraka Satyāśraya, the illustrious Vikramādityarāja (I), who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; the pair of whose lotus-like feet were rubbed by the edges of the crowns of many feudatory princes; whose firmness was like that of the Mēru, Malaya, Mandara and Vindhya (mountains); whose army, (consisting of) excellent elephants, horses, chariots and footsoldiers, was increasing day by day; who acquired his kingdom by means of his excellent and peerless horse, Chitrakantha, which had the speed of the mind; (and) who conquered the three hereditary kingdoms Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya.
- (L. 14) His younger brother (was) the Paramabhatṭāraka Dharāśraya, the illustrious Jayasimhavarmarāja, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who conquered all allies of his enemies; who was an ornament of the earth which has the flowery girdle of the surrounding four oceans; who, like a lion's cub, rent open the frontal globes of rutting elephants; who took delight only in valour; (and) whose glory is well-known in the circuit of all quarters.
- (L. 17) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Paramabhatṭāraka Jayāśraya, the illustrious Mangalarasarāja, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who was the joy of the minds of all people; the prowess of whose spotless sword was celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring kings who were killed when they opposed him in many dangerous battles², and who, by the might of hisarms, acquired his own territory.
- (L. 20) His younger brother, who is intent on propitiating his lotus-like feet, (is) the Paramabhatṭāraka Avanijanāśraya, the illustrious Pulakēśirāja, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; whose power is increasing day by day; who has, since his very childhood, become the abode of all good qualities; whose breast is occupied by the goddess of royal fortune who was quite free to choose her lord; who has made the whole-world spotless by spreading his white fame; who was favoured by the illustrious king Vallabha who is fond of heroism, with the following four titles, viz., the Pillar of Dakshināpatha (South India), the Ornament of the family of the Chalukkis, the Beloved of the Earth, the Repeller of the unrepellable,

With kram-ägata used here, compare krama-präpta (inherited) in krama-präpta-nripa-śriyah of the Väkätaka seals.

² This expression is copied from a Gurjara grant. See, e.g., lines 26-27 of the Kaira plates (first set) of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga.

when the army of the Tājikas,-which poured forth arrows, javelins1 and iron-headed clubs; which destroyed, with its rapidly brandished and glittering swords, the prosperous Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshtra, Chāvōtaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings; which, desiring to enter Dakshinapatha (South India) with a view to vanquish all Southern kings, came,2 in the very first place, to conquer the vishaya of Navasārikā; which rendered the regions between the quarters dusky with the dust of the ground raised by the hard and noisy hoofs of its galloping horses; the bodies (of warriors) in which appeared dreadful as their armours were reddened by very large streams of blood (gushing) from the intestines which came out of the cavities of their big bellies, as they impetuously rushed forth and were completely pierced by spear-heads; which had not previously been vanquished even by numerous eminent chiefs among hosts of kings, who offered their heads in return for high honour and gifts they had received from their lord; who opposed it, biting mercilessly both their lips with the tips of their teeth; who, though they were great warriors and had their sharp swords reddened by the mass of blood that flowed when the sides of the loins and the trunks of hostile elephants were rent on several extensive battlefields, could not attain success; who cut off the necks of their enemies' heads, as though they were plucking the stalks of lotuses, hitting them with their horse-shoe-shaped sharp arrows which were quickly discharged for the destruction of their adversaries; whose bodies were covered with a coat of bristling hair on account of their martial spirit and excitement,was defeated1 in the forefront of the battle in which headless trunks began a circular dance to the accompaniment of the loud noise of drums beaten continuously in joy caused, as it were, by the thought 'To-day at least we have, by laying down our heads, paid off the debt we owed to our lord in (this) one life!'

(L. 35) (He) addresses the (following) command to all his officers born in his family and others according as they may be concerned,—to the heads of vishayas, headmen of villages, residents, Vāsāvakas, Āyuktas, Viniyuktakas and others:—

"Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, we have given, as a religious gift with a libation of water on the Mahākārṭṭikā, the village Padraka situated in the āhāra and vishaya of Kārmaṇēya,—together with udranga (and) uparikara, together with (the right to) minor and major gifts, not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons according to the maxim of waste land, exclusive of gifts previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas,—to the Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaļa who has studied two Vēdas, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaļi, of the Vatsa gōtra, who is a student of the Taittirīya śākhā (of the Black Yajurvēda) and has emigrated from Vanavāsī.

(L. 40) Wherefore, none should cause an obstruction while he is enjoying, cultivating or causing it to be cultivated in the manner of an agrahāra. Gracious kings of the future, whether born in our family or others, considering that fortune is impermanent and unsteady like a flash of lighting, and that life is as inconstant as a drop of water adhering to the tip of a blade of grass, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. And he, who, with his mind obscured by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, will confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins".

And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

¹ Jhashira is derived from jhash to hurt, and means some weapon like a javelin which could be thrown against the enemy.

² The subject is 'the army of the Tājikas', above, p. 143.

(L. 48) The year—hundred, 400 (and) 90, (the month) Karttika, the bright (fort-night) (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. This (charter) is written by the illustrious Bappabhatti, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika and Sāmanta, who has attained the pañchamahāsabda and is the son of the Mahābalādhikrita Haragaṇa. All (in this charter) (is) authoritative, whether (any) letters are wanting or redundant. Success!

Our own command.

Seal

The illustrious Avanijanāśraya.

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to be an entire paron. In All Control (2) alignous

1 Some words are inadvertently omitted here. See above p. 142, n. 10.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

No. 31; PLATES XXIV-XXV

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

THIS set of three copper-plates was discovered, together with two others¹ in 1936, in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village near Trimbak in the Nasik District. The inscriptions were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

The plates, except the first, are inscribed on both the sides. They measure each 12.5" broad and 8" high. Their ends are slightly raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. On the outer side of the first plate is incised an ornamental lotus-like figure with a diameter of 3.6". On the second sides of the second and third plates there appear inscribed, in the midst of letters, the small figure of a boar running to the right and the large one of a conch2 respectively. The plates are held together by two rings passing through the holes near their upper side. The ends of one of them are not soldered, while those of the other are secured into the bottom of a seal, having the shape of an inverted cone, the round surface of which, measuring 1.5" in diameter, contains in high relief, in the centre of a circle of knobs, the figure of a lion with the right front paw raised, and the tail twisted over his back. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 308 tolas. There are sixty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on each side, except the second sides of the second and third plates which have thirteen and nine lines respectively. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4". The letters on the second side of the third plate which were written subsequently and by another hand, are bolder and more deeply incised than those on the other sides.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. The letters are in most cases embellished with small circles as in the Bannahalli plates³ of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II. These circles appear not only at the top of letters like the boxheads in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, but also at the corners and lower ends; in hā of -mahā-pātakais=, 1.46, for instance, as many as five circles are used to embellish the akshara. The letters in ll.56-64, however, do not show these circles, but have instead knobs at their top as in other early inscriptions from the Nasik District. As regards individual letters we may notice that the rare lingual dh occurs clearly in võdhavyab, 1.48; the lingual d shows in some places a looped curve as in the Kaira plates⁴ (of K. 380) of Dadda II, see -maṇḍal-1.5, -shaṇḍa-, 1.19 and khaṇḍa-, 1.32; b is round in brahmanya-, 1.12, but rectangular

¹ These were the following grant of the same king and the grant (dated K. 460) of the Gurjara king Jayabhata III, (above, No. 22). The present plates have since been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f. and 292 f.

² The figure of the conch appears inverted with reference to the letters, because the inscription on that side is a post-script which was subsequently incised on the plate turned upside down. It may be noted that the figure of a conch is incised on the second side of the Lucknow Museum plate of Kirtipāla (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, plate facing p. 97), the first side of which contains the figure of the boar-incarnation of Vishņu.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, the plates facing pp. 18-9.

⁴ No. 16, above.

with a notch on the top or the left side in other places; see -bala-, 1.9 and -bōdhitō, 1.20; similarly th is round in -yūth-, 1.18, but rectangular in -sthiti-, 1.28; the initial \bar{e} is distinguished from l by lengthening its vertical or by giving it a turn to the right, see $\bar{e}va$, 1.11, and $\bar{e}t\bar{a}m$, 1.49. The medial \bar{u} (long) as added to r appears in as many as three different forms, see $r\bar{u}paka$ in 11.36, 38 and 39. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see $bh\bar{u}bhrit$, 1.21. The sign for the $upadhm\bar{a}n\bar{t}ya$ occurs in line 44 and the numerical symbols for 400, 200, 100, 60, 50 and 1 in lines 54, 38 and 39.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the initial verse in praise of the boar-incarnation of Vishņu and four benedictive and imprecatory verses in II.50-53, the record is in prose throughout. The initial mangala-ślōka and the description of the Chālukya family that follows are taken from the records of the Early Chālukyas. The eulogy of the donor Bhōgaśakti alias Pṛithivīchandra is couched in an ornate kāvya style resembling that of the Gurjara and Sēndraka records. As regards orthography, we may notice that the consonant, which precedes or follows r, has been doubled, see e.g., Vishnōr=vvārāham 1.1-, and -parākkram-ākkrāmt-, 1.14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used in place of the anusvāra when followed by a sibilant or h, see vansasy-, 1.6; śrī-Sinhavarmma-1.9 etc; the visarga is superfluously retained in =ālamkārabhūtah=ssarad-, II.6-7, and wrongly elided when followed by a sibilant in II.49, 58 etc.

After the usual mangala ślōka in praise of the boar incarnation and the description of the Chālukya¹ family, the record mentions the Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vikramāditya. It then proceeds to state that the illustrious Svāmichandra, who was an ornament of the family of Hariśchandra and was treated as his own son by the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya, ruled over the entire Purī-Kōňkaṇa country comprising fourteen thousand villages.² His son was the illustrious Simhavarma-rāja. The latter's son Bhōgaśakti, who had the second name Pṛithivīchandra, made the present grant. His eulogy, to which as many as fourteen lines (11-25) are devoted, is wholly conventional. The only important information we glean about him is that he was always devoted to the worship of Vishṇu and, like Bhīmasēna, had gained his entire dominion by valour.

The royal order is addressed to (the residents of) Göparäshtra, Eastern Trikūta, Āmrarājī, Mairikā, the Eastern and Western Mahāgirihāras and Pallusūdhāmbaka district extending as far as Prētahrada (?). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Bhōgaśakti, of eight villages, viz., Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avangaṇa, Pālitta-pāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mudgāhitaka, Kshēmagiraka and Ānnagrāma, for providing materials for the worship of the god Nārāyaṇa, for the repairs of his temple and for the maintenance of a sattra in the town of Jayapura. The god was named Bhōgēśvara, which suggests that he was installed by Bhōgaśakti and named after himself. The record next assigns, in ll.35-39, certain rights, dues and taxes in favour of the god. The amount of taxes levied in each case is stated in Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas which were plainly the silver coins of the Kalachuri Emperor Kṛishṇarāja. The record next enjoins that five or ten merchants (who were evidently elected as representatives of the town) should celebrate according to the prevailing custom, the annual yātrā festival of the god for a fortnight in the month of Mārgaśirsha. The temple was entrusted to

¹ The dynastic name occurs as Chalukya here as in Nos. 29, 30, above, and 32, below.

In some later inscriptions, the number of villages in North Könkan are stated to be fourteen hundred only, see, e.g., chaturdasa-grāma-sat-öpalakshita-Konkana-in line 56 of the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 274, and Purī-pramukha-chaturdasa-grāma-sa(śa)ta-samanvitām sama-sta-Könkana-bhwam samanusāsati in II. 64-65 of the Khārēpāṭan plates of Anantadēva, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 35.

(the representatives of) the town of merchants and they were enjoined to look after the service and property of the god. The merchants were in return exempted from the payment of octroi duties and the obligation to provide for the boarding (of royal officers). The charter was written by Bharatasvāmin who was a resident of Kallivana.

The inscription is dated in the year 461, expressed both in words and numerical symbols in 1.54. No era is specified, but the mention of the Early Chālukya king Vikaramāditya (I) as the suzerain of Bhōgaśakti's grand-father plainly indicates that it must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 709-10 A.C. if the year 461 was current, and to 710-11 A.C. if it was expired. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

The original royal order seems to have ended with 1.55, at the lower end of the inner side of the third plate. There is, however, a postscript added on the outer side of the same plate, which registers certain endowments of Tējavarmarāja. He was presumably a royal officer in charge of the country round Jayapura¹. He donated a pasture-land in the village Pālittapāṭaka which was situated to the south of Jayapura. It was marked in four directions by boundary slabs with the figures of Durgādēvī and cows sculptured on them². He also deposited a hundred rūpakas with the guild of merchants in the town of Jayapura, the interest of which was to be spent in providing guggula (bdellium) for (the worship of) the god Bhōgēśvara every year.

The mention of Krishnarāja-rūpakas or the silver coins of Krishnarāja in the present record is interesting; for it shows that these coins of the Kalachuri king remained in circulation for more than a hundred and fifty years after Krishnarāja who probably flourished from circa 550 to 575 A.C.

There are several geographical names occurring in the present grant, but few of them can now be definitely identified. Purī which in the present record is coupled with Kōnkan, probably to distinguish the latter from the Southern Kōnkan, has not yet been satisfactorily located. Some identify it with Ghārāpurī, but the identification is opposed on the ground that the island is too small for a capital. Besides, it shows no traces of fortifications. Purī seems to have been situated not far from Sthānaka or Thāṇā, as the Silāhāra king Aparājita retired to it when pressed by the enemy³. It may have been identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State, which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast.⁴ Gōparāshṭra is mentioned in the Nirpan plates of Nāgavardhana⁵ and probably comprised the country round modern Igatpurī, as the village Balēgrāma situated in it has been shown to be identical with Belgaon Tarhāļā, about 12 m. north-east of Igatpurī. The genuineness of the Nirpan plates has rightly been questioned³, but that need not make the proposed identification doubtful. In fact the mention of Gōparāshṭra as a territorial division, on which a tax was levied for the maintenance of

¹ He figures in the other Anjanëri plates (No. 32, below) of this very king as the executor of the charter.

² It may be noted that a pillar found at Sitābaldi near Nagpur (now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur) which contains an inscription recording the gift of a pasture-land for the grazing of cows (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 304 ff., has also the figures of some cows and calves in addition to those of the gods Brahmā and Vishņu sculptured on it. The pillars mentioned in the present inscription were probably of a similar type with the figure of Durgādēvi sculptured on them.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 41.

⁴ P. I. H. C., (Fourth session), pp. 86 f.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 123 f.

º E. H. D., p. 73.

⁷ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 358, n. 1

a temple near Nasik shows that the identification is most probable. The identification of Trikūta the home-province of the Traikūtakas has, for a long time, been a matter of controversy. That it was in Aparanta or North Könkan was of course known from the Raghuvanisa of Kālidāsa1, but its exact location was uncertain. The mention of the Eastern Trikūṭa district in connection with and for the same purpose as Gōparāshṭra makes it plain that it comprised the western portion of the Nasik District. Trikūta was, therefore, probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west. The districts of Amrārājī, Mairikā the Eastern and Western Mahāgirihāras, and Pallusüdhāmbaka cannot be definitely identified. Mahāgirihāra may be identical with Māhirihāra mentioned in lines 56-57 of the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita.2 It must, in that case, have comprised the country round Bhadana (near Bhiwandi in the Thana District). Jayapura, where the temple of Bhogesvara was situated, is probably represented by Jarvar Budrukh, 9 m. south by west of Anjaneri. Of the villages granted by the present charter, Jayagrāma may be Jaikhērā in the Dindori tālukā. Some of the other villages can be located in the vicinity of Jaikhērā. Thus Ambē-Avangana may be Ambēgaon, about 3 m. west by south, Kokilākshaka, Kokar, about 3 m. to the north-east, and Kalahaka, Kalasgaon, 2 m. east of Jaikhērā. Mudgāhitaka is likely to be Maganpārā, 5 m. northwest of Jaikhērā. Kshēmagiraka, Ānnagrāma and Pālittapāṭaka cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. Kallivana, which was the place of residence of the scribe Bharatasvāmin, is undoubtedly Kalvan3 in the Nasik District.

TEXT4

First Plate

- सिद्धम्⁵ [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्यं(वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्र-विश्रान्तभुवनं वपु:⁶ [।।१।।*]
- श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्त्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमात्—
- 3 भिरभिवर्द्धितानां ।⁷ कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्त्राणां च-
- 5 लुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीविक्क्रमादि—
 6 त्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्त्रनिब्बिशेषो हरिश्चन्द्रवङ्गशस्यालंकारभूतः श्रार®—
- 7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलक्चन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-
- 8 दं चतुर्द्शग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं⁹ सकलमपि पुरीको ङ्कणं भुक्तमासीत् [।*] तस्य च राज्ञ[:*] श्रीस्वा-
- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्त्रो महाबलपराक्त्रमः श्रीसिङ्गहवर्म्मं 10राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्गहवर्म्मं 10राजस्य पुत्त्रः
- 10 चतुरुदधिजलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजाः पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-
- 11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिय्योंसौ बाल एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समृत्पन्नज्ञानो

¹ Canto IV, vv. 58-9.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 274.

[&]quot; It is mentioned in No. 12, l. 21, above.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: Anushtubb.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

Read हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्यालंकारभूतश्थार-.

⁹ It would be better to read चतुर्वशसहस्रसंख्यग्रामं.

¹⁰ Read श्रीसिहवरमं-.

- 12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्याच्चंनविधि प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च । युधिष्ठिर इ-
- 13 व नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिग्गुंणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च ।1
- 14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्कमाक्कान्ताशेषस्वराज्यभूमिमण्डली महाब[ल]श्च

Second Plate : First Side

- 15 अर्जुन इव जनाईनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च
- 16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितश्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः
- 17 क्षणं विक्कांतइच । प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्वारयंन्नपि² पर-
- 18 कलत्रनिस्पृहः वनवा³रणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानाद्रीकृतकरः पद्मो-
- 19 त्पलक् मुद्यण्डमण्डितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी
- 20 उदितदिवसकरिकरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियां निवासभवनं ।1
- 21 जलिंधरिव रिक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपर[:] परमगम्भीरो महासत्वश्च 4 11^2
- 22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्त्रप्रपाधम्मं विकयानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-
- 23 स्मरणतत्परश्च 11 कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णोः पुरीको ङ्कणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः भारत-
- 24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रात्थंतत्व⁶निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-
- 25 हत⁷वलपराक्कमोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रभुवनाङ्कक्शो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्वा-
- 26 नेवातमीयपुत्त्रपौत्त्रप्रपौत्त्रादीं(दीन्) स्वभुजवलपराक्त्रमाधिष्ठितां(तान्) गोपराष्ट्रपूर्वं-
- 27 त्त्रिक्टाम्प्रराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारद्वयपल्लुस्दा[म्ब]कविषयां (यान्) प्रेतह्नदा8-
- 28 मर्य्यादां (दान्) सर्वां (र्व्वान्) समाज्ञापयित [1*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसङहार -कारणं

Second Plate : Second Side

- 29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्तवा नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती-
- 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय¹⁰ पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-
- 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पघूपदीपसन्मार्ज्जनो 114 लेपिकित्रयात्थं । 12 नृत्तगीतवाद्यो-
- 32 पेतसंगीतकात्ये ।12 सत्त्रात्ये खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारात्ये च ।12 मातापित्त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-
- 33 वृद्धये अष्टी ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि । तेषान्नामानि जयग्रामः अम्बे-
- 34 अवङ्गणं । 12 पालित्तपाटकः कोकिलाक्षकं 14 कलहकः मुद्गाहितकः क्षेम-
- 35 गिरकः आन्नग्रामञ्च । आदानानि आपणेषु आवाराः करणे कोवेरं ।¹² सार्त्थवहित्त्रेषु
- 36 प्रवेशे निग्गमें च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यात्रोत्सवे दातव्यं 15। गोपराष्ट्राम्चराजीमै-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

² Read -द्वारयन्नपि.

³ वा, which was at first omitted, was incised in a smaller size later on.

⁴ Read महासत्त्व-.

⁵ Read -भतो.

Read तत्त्व-.

⁷ Read मेघाव्यप्रतिहत-.

^{*} Perhaps प्रेतह्रदमस्योदान् is meant.

⁹ Read -tigit-

¹⁰ Probably प्रतिष्ठितभोगेश्वराय is intended.

¹¹ Read -सम्मार्जनो-.

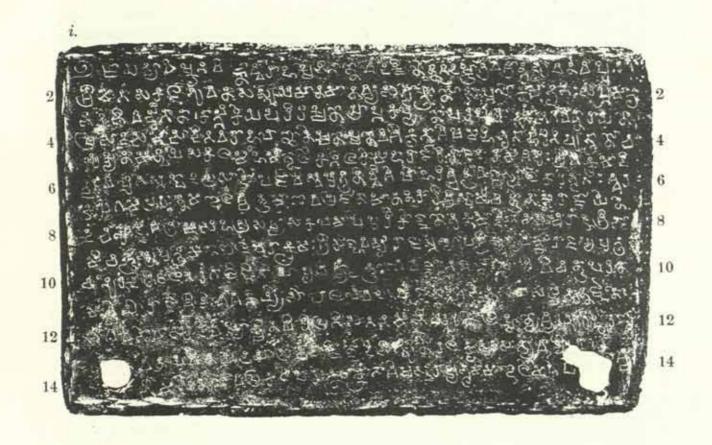
¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

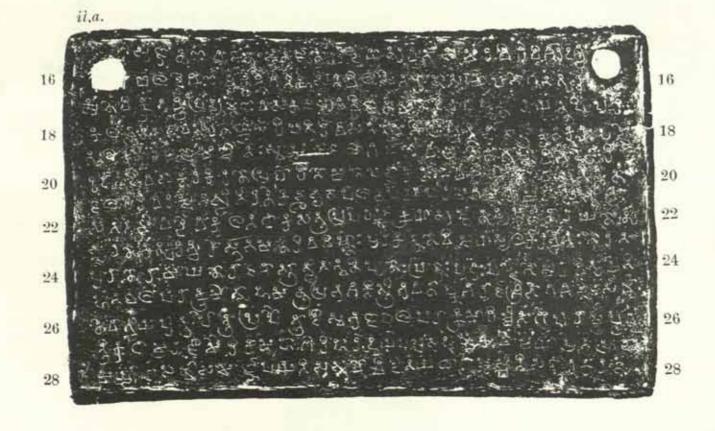
¹³ Here and in some places below, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

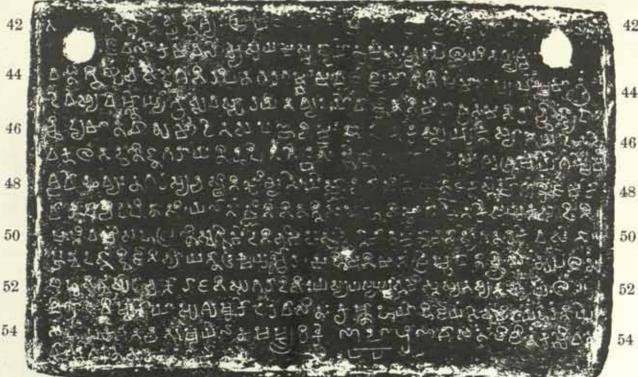
¹⁴ After this word there is a figure of a boar running to the right,

¹⁶ Read दातव्यः so as to agree with रूपकः or दातव्यानि corresponding to आदानानि.

Anjaneri Plates (First Set) of Bhogasakti: (Kalachuri) Year 461







Seal



(From Photographs).

- 37 रिकाविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे मृटकः घृतसातिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे-
- 38 व्विप ग्रामेषु । पूर्व्वेत्त्रिक्टविषये कृष्णराजरूपकशतं १०० 1¹ महागिरिहारे अपरे
- 39 कृष्णराजरूपकशतद्वयं २०० पूच्चें शतं १०० पल्लूढम्ब² विषये [।*]कृष्णराजरूपकाः पञ्चाशत् ५०[।*]
- 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्व्वादानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणाः अचाटभटप्रवेश्याः
- 41 अभ्यंतरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्राक्काण्णंवक्षितिस्थितसमकालीनाः य-

Third Plate : First Side

- 42 तस्तस्मादस्मद्वंश्यैः प्रबलपवन[प्रे]³रितोद[घ]जलत[रं]ग[चं]चलं
- 43 जीवलोकमवलोक्य अयमस्मद्दायोनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च
- 44 विणिग्भि×पंचिभद्देशिभरिप नगरधम्मैमवलंब्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पक्षमात्त्रं
- 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्य्यात्त्रोत्सवस्सारियतव्यः [।*] यो वाज्ञानितिमरावृतमितराच्छिन्द्यादा-
- 46 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिमम्मंहापातकैस्संयुक्त [:*] स्यात् [।*] यदेतदे-
- 47 वकुलं तद्वणिक्रनगराय निरूपितं (तम्) (।*) तैश्च सर्व्वेर्व्भगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम-
- 48 इच वोढव्यः [1*] नगरस्य च स्थितिर्लिख्यते । ये स्थानवासिनो वाणिजकास्तेषां शुल्कं जेमको
- 49 वा कदाचिदिप नास्ति । य एतां स्थिति भिनत्ति स पञ्चिभिम्महापातकै[:*] संयुक्त[:*] स्या-
- 50 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदित भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥4 [२॥*]
- 51 पूर्व्यदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर⁵। महीं मितमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्)।[1३।1*]
- 52 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं-(लम्) ॥ [४॥*]
- 53 विंध्यादवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदायं हरंति ये⁶ ।। [५।।*]
- 54 संबत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकषष्टचिषके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कल्लिवन-
 - 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

Third Plate : Second Side?

Inscription of Tējavarman

- 56 सिद्धम्⁸[1*] स्वस्ति [1°] श्रीतेजवम्मराज्ञा वयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां 10
 - 57 पालित्तपाटको में गोप्रचारो मुक्तः [1*] तस्य च प्र-
 - 58 माणं चतुर्विक्षु दुरगदिवि (वी) सहिता [:*] शैलिमा¹² गावो (व:) स्थापिता [:।*] सीम-
 - 59 स्य (म्न): तदेव प्रमाणं 13 तस्य गोप्रचारस्यात्र्ये [।*] भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि-
 - 1 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
 - ² This name occurs as पल्लुसुडाम्बक in l. 27 above.
 - The mātrās, curves and anusvāras over the letters in square brackets in this line have been damaged by verdigris.
 - 4 Metre of this and the following three verses: Anushtubb.
 - 6 fer, which was at first omitted; was incised later on in a smaller size.
 - 6 What looks like a curved stroke to the right on the top of y is accidental,
 - ⁷ The lines are written on this side of the plate turned upside down.
 - 8 Expressed by a symbol.
 - ⁹ Read -राजेन.
 - 10 Read दक्षिणस्यां.
 - 11 Read पालितपाटके
 - 12 दीलिमा is an incorrect form for दोल्य:. For the use of दोलीप्रतिमा in an inscriptional record, see line 4 of the Deopāṇi Vishṇu image inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 330.
 - 18 HI which was first omitted is incised below.

- 60 ध्क्रयात्थं जयपुरवणिडामगरस्य रूपकशतं वत्तं (त्तम् ।*) तस्य च रूपक-
- 61 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुग्गुलमुल्यं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं
- 62 नगरेण यावदान्द्राक्कंतारकं³ दातव्यं(व्यम् ।) यो वास्या-
- 63 न्यथा कर्ष्यति स पञ्चिभम्महापातकस्संयुक्तो भ⁵-
- 64 विष्यति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishņu's manifested boar-form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk!

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya gōtra which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (i.e., descendants) of Hārītī, who were brought up⁶ by the Seven Mothers⁷ who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(there was) the Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēṣ-vara, the illustrious Vikramāditya-vallabha, the sole fore-head mark of the whole earth. Dependent on the favour of his feet and (treated by him) in no way different from his (own) son, (there was) a king named the illustrious Svāmichandra, an ornament of the family of Hariśchandra, who caused delight to the people like the moon whose orb has become clear on the advent of autumn, (and) by whom this entire Kōnkaṇa (country) with Purī (as the chief city), the villages in which number fourteen thousand, was governed. A son of that king, the illustrious Svāmichandra, (was) the illustrious king Simhavarman of great strength and prowess.

(L. 9) Again, a son of that illustrious king Simhavarman, (viz.) the king, the illustrious Bhogaśakti,-who, having, like the moon, well-known splendour on the earth embraced by the waves of the water of the four oceans, had the second name of Prithivichandra (the Moon on the Earth); who, even as a boy, had knowlege spontaneously produced through the discipline of (his) previous life; who is always engaged in the worship of the divine (god) Vāsudēva, and is devoted to sacred knowledge; who, like Yudhishthira, is adorned by excellences such as political wisdom, humility, compassion, charity and courteousness, and (always) speaks the truth; who, like Bhimasena, has brought under his rule the whole territory of his dominions by (his) displayed valour, and is possessed of great strength; who, like Arjuna, acts in accordance with the knowledge and teaching (imparted) by Janardana,8 and is skilled in fighting; who like Balarama, is eagerly engaged in the enjoyment of the pleasures of dancing, singing, laughing, dallying, and sporting, and is (also) valiant in a moment; who, though, like Pradyumna, is possessed of a charming form attractive to the minds of all young women, has no desire (for the enjoyment of) another's wife; who, like the leader of a herd of wild elephants (which has his trunk always moistened with the continuously flowing rut9), has his hand always wet through making

¹ The engraver at first wrongly incised the superscript letter as b, and later on altered it to it.

^{* 7,} which was omitted at first is written below the line.

[&]quot; Read either यावच्चन्द्रावकंतारकं or आचन्द्रावकंतारकं.

⁴ Read करिस्यति

⁵ There is the figure of a large inverted conch in the middle of lines 60-63.

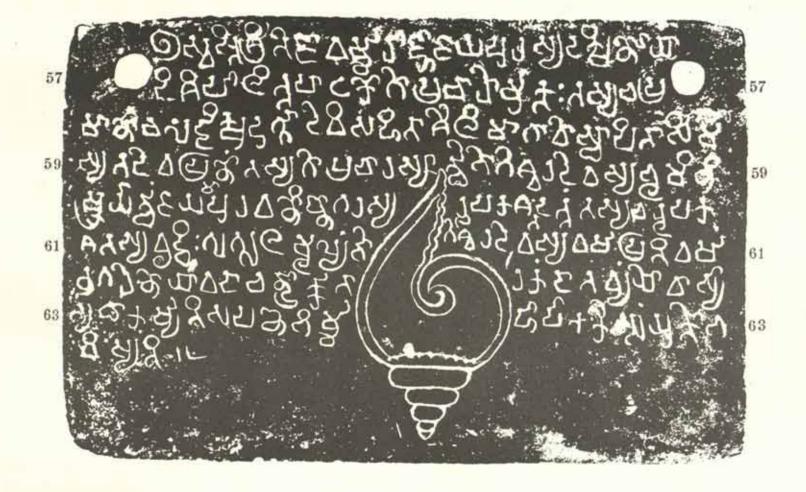
⁶ I.e., made prosperous.

⁷ See above p. 126, n. 8.

⁸ The reference here is to the teaching of the well-known work Bhagaradgitā, in which Krishņa, (an incarnation of Janārdana), expounded his philosophy of selfless action.

⁹ The adjectival expressions in ll.18-21 admit of a double interpretation owing to the use of slesba.

INSCRIPTION OF TEJAVARMAN





gifts continuously; who, like a reservoir of sweet water beautified with clusters of daylotuses, blue-lotuses and night-lotuses, (which quenches the thirst of animals), destroys the greed of living beings; who, like a large assemblage of lotuses, made to bloom by the rays of the rising sun (which becomes an abode of beauty), is the place of resort for Fortune; who, like the ocean (that always keeps itself within bounds, is engaged in giving protection to several mountains, is very deep, and contains large aquatic animals), has maintained established customs, is intent on giving protection to many princes, and is possessed of great serenity and courage; who is always occupied with the construction of religious works, (such as) temples, tanks, charitable feeding houses and water-sheds, and is intent on meditating on Nārāvana; who is an ornament of Konkana with Puri (as the capital), even as the Kaustubha jewel is of Vishnu; who is proficient in (understanding) the import and principles of the Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and (the works on) the science of politics; (who is) wise, clever, learned (and) intelligent; whose strength, prowess and powers derived from personal energy, counsel and royal position, are unimpeded; (and who is) the goad (i.e., the controller) of the three worlds-addresses the (following) command to all his sons, sons' sons and sons' sons' sons and so forth, (as well as) (all people living in) the vishayas of Goparashtra, Eastern Trikūţa, Āmrarājī, Mairikā, both the Mahāgirihāras1 (and), Pallusūḍhāmbaka,2 extending as far as Prētahrada, which have been acquired by the might of his arms and valour:-

(L. 28) "Be it known to you that realizing that there is no pre-eminent god except the divine Vāsudēva, the lord of (both) gods and demons, the supreme god of gods, the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction (of the world), (I have) donated for the increase of the religious merit of (My) mother and father and of Myself, the (following) eight villages and rights to the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, the primeval Being and Supreme Spirit (called) Bhogesvara installed3 in Jayapura, for providing perfume, flowers, incense, light, bathing and anointing (of the god), for symphonic entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music, for (maintaining) a charitable feeding-house, and for repairing (what may be) damaged or broken. The names of them (i.e., the villages) are (as follows):- Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avangaņa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mudgāhitaka, Kshēmagiraka (and) Annagrama. And the rights are (as stated below):— stalls in market places; kovēra4 in a written document; a rūpaka to be paid for each cart5 of the caravan on ingress and egress (at Jayapura) at the time of the yatra festival of the god; a basket6 (of corn?) and an offering of ghee in the principal villages? in the vishayas of Goparashtra, Amrarājī (and) Mairikā; in the same manner in other villages (of the aforementioned districts); in the vishaya of Eastern Trikūţa, a hundred rūpakas of Krishņarāja, (in figures) 100; in the Western Mahagirihara, two hundred rūpakas of Krishnaraja, (in figures) 200; in the Eastern (Mahāgirihāra), one hundred (rūpakas), (in figures) 100; in the vishaya of Pallūdhamba, fifty rūpakas of Krishnarāja, (in figures) 50. As for the eight villages,

¹ These were the Eastern and Western Mahägirihäras as appears from IL 38-39.

² This is to be taken as one name in view of Pallūdhamba, mentioned in 1.39 below, with which it is plainly identical.

³ See above, p. 150, n. 10.

⁴ The meaning of this is not clear to me.

^{*} Vabitra, lit. an instrument of conveying, is clearly used here in the sense of a cart or some similar vehicle.

⁶ M. Williams on the authority of the Kārandanyāha gives muţa or māṭa in the sense of a basket. The Arthūnā inscription of Chāmundarāja (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 302) mentions the tax of a mānaka on each mūṭaka of salt. Cf. mudā in Marathi and mude in Kannada.

⁷ The reference to 'other villages' in the sequel shows that *Jyāsṭhikā-grāma* is used here in the sense of the headquarters of a vishaya etc.

they are all to be exempt from all dues, forced labour and special rights; (they are) not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas, are to be self-contained, (and) are to continue (as donated villages) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.

(L. 41) Wherefore, our descendants, seeing that the living world is fickle like the waves of the ocean-water agitated by strong wind, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. (And) the merchants (of the town Jayapura), five or even ten (in number), should celebrate the yātrā festival of the god Vishņu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. But he, who, with his mind shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, would incur the five great sins. As for this temple, it is entrusted to the town of merchants.² They should all perform the service and take care of the property,³ of the god. The (following) regulation is laid down for the town:—The merchants residing at (this) place will never have to pay the octroi duty, or to provide for the boarding⁴ (of royal officers). He, who will violate this regulation, shall incur the five great sins."

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 54) In the year four hundred increased by sixty-one, (this) charter was written by Bharatasvāmin a resident of Kallivana.

Inscription of Tejavarman

(L. 56) Success! Hail! The illustrious Tējavarmarāja has relinquished a pasture-land in Pālittapāṭaka to the south of Jayapura. And in evidence of it, stone sculptures of cows, together with (the image of) the goddess Durgā, have been put up in (all) the four directions (to mark) its boundary. That is the defining limit of the pasture-land. For purchasing land (in honour) of the god Bhōgēśvara, a hundred rūpakas have been deposited with the merchant town of Jayapura. The interest on the hundred rupees should be paid by (the guild of merchants in) the town as the price of bdellium (for the worship) of the god Bhōgēśvara, year after year, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars will endure. He, who will do otherwise, shall incur the five great sins.

No. 32; PLATE XXVI

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

This is a set of two copper-plates discovered together with two others⁵ in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanëri near Trimbak in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. The inscription was brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

The expression abhyantara-siddhi occurs in several grants, sometimes with a prefix like tri-bhōga or sarva, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 271. It is generally used in the instrumental case denoting the manner in which the grant is made. Abhyantara-siddhyā has been variously translated:—(1) by Dr. Fleet as 'with (full) rights of enjoyment (loc. cit); (2) by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as 'with heart-felt devotion' (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 40), and (3) again by the same scholar as 'for the purpose of internal adjudication' (ibid., Vol XVIII, p. 257). The context shows that the expression is used here in the sense of 'self-contained', i.e., the donated villages will not be dependent on others for the decision of law-suits etc., but they will have full powers of adjudication. The same idea is expressed by sa-daṇḍa-daŝ-āparādhaḥ which sometimes takes its place. The Hānsōt plates of Bharṭrivaḍḍha have sab-ābhyantara-siddhi; Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 203.

² Viz., the town of Jayapura.

³ Yōga means acquisition of new property and kshēma, preservation of what is acquired.

⁴ See p. 156, n. 2, below. 5 Nos. 22 and 31, above.

They are two copper-plates, the first of which measures 11.9" broad and 7.8" high, while the second, though of the same breadth, is slightly less in height. They are held together by two rings, 6" in diameter, passing through two holes at the top of each plate. The ends of the right-hand ring are not joined, but those of the left-hand one are secured into the socket of a seal having the shape of an inverted cone, 3" in length, on the round surface of which, about 1.7" in diameter, appears in high relief the figure of a lion in the midst of a circle of knobs. The lion closely resembles that on the seal of the cognate Anjaneri plates of K. 461. The weight of the plates, the rings and the seal is 178 tolas. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both the sides. Their rims are slightly thickened with a corresponding depression running all round for the protection of the writing. The plates have suffered considerable damage by corrosion. There are a few holes in the third line on the first plate and near the lower edge of the second. Nearly twenty aksharas in 1.27 and about a dozen in 1.28 have been either partially or wholly damaged by the corrosion of the surface. Some of them, especially those in 1.27 can, however, be supplied from the other Anjaneri plates of the same king. Further, lower down on the same side, several aksharas, especially in the middle of ll. 34-38, have been almost obliterated by wear and tear, but they can be read with patience and perseverance from their faint traces on the original plate. There are thirty-eight lines of writing in all, of which twelve appear on each inscribed side, except the first side of the second plate which has fourteen lines.

The characters closely resemble those in the cognate Anjanëri plates, except that the circles appear here only at the top of letters. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory mangala ślōka in praise of the boar incarnation, which is borrowed from the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas, the record is in prose throughout. Down to 1.27 it is identical with the corresponding portion of the other Anjanëri plates, and shows the same palæographical peculiarities. As shown below, the object of the present inscription was not to record any religious gift but to register certain rights and privileges granted to merchants, and to lay down punishment for offences committed in certain towns and villages which were resettled by the king. The usual imprecatory and benedictive verses do not naturally find a place in this record. Their absence does not, therefore indicate that the charter is incomplete. In fact the mention of the executive officer and the use of the end of the last line shows that it was duly completed.

The inscription begins with a verse in praise of the boar incarnation. It then gives the usual description of the Chālukya² family and mentions the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vikramādityavallabha. It proceeds to state that the illustrious Svāmichandra, an ornament of the family of Hariśchandra, who was treated like his own son by Vikramāditya, ruled over the whole Purī-Kōnkaṇa, consisting of fourteen thousand villages. His son was the illustrious Simharāja, and the latter's son, the illustrious Bhōgaśakti who had the other name Pṛithivīchandra. The description of these kings is given exactly as in the other Anjanēri plates. Bhōgaśakti was always devoted to the worship of the god Vāsudēva, and was an ornament of the province Purī-Kōnkaṇa.

From Il. 29-31 of the present grant we learn that the king Bhōgaśakti resettled the town Samagiripattana together with (its suburb) Chandrapurī as well as the villages—Ambayapallikā, Savānēyapallikā, Maurēyapallikā and Kamsāripallikā, which had previously been devastated. The name of the enemy, who had laid them waste, is not men-

¹ That it was customary to omit such verses in charters which registered only exemptions from toll etc., is shown by the Khārēpāṭan plates of the Śilāhāra king, Anantadēva (Śaka 1016), Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 33. ff. See also, loc. etc., p. 38, n. 51.

² See above, p. 147, n. 1.

tioned. The object of the present charter, which was made over to Ela śręśhthin, Karaputa śręśhthin, and others of the afore-mentioned town, was to record the rights, privileges and exemptions granted to the merchants and other residents of the resettled town Samagiri, as well as to lay down fines in the case of certain offences committed by the residents and young merchants evidently of the same town. The merchants were, for instance, exempted from octroi duty in the whole kingdom; the property of those who died sonless was not to escheat to the crown; the residents were not required to provide lodging and boarding for royal officers. As for fines imposed for offences, we are told in ll.34-38 that a violent offence against unmarried girls would be punished with a fine of 108 rūpakas, and that of adultery with 32 rūpakas. For an assault consisting of the boxing of the ears, a fine of sixteen rūpakas, and for that which resulted in an injury to the head, one of four rūpakas was laid down. If a young merchant had illicit intercourse with a labour woman, he was fined 108 rūpakas or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen Mahallakas (respectable men) of the town. The charter was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

The inscription is **not dated**, but the mention of Tējavarmarāja, who is clearly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the other Anjanēri inscription, shows that it must have been incised within a few years on either side of the Kalachuri year 461 (710-11 A. C.).

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Samagiripaṭṭana cannot be traced, but it was probably situated near Chandrapurī, with which it is coupled in the present grant and which is probably represented by Chandrāchī Mēṭ, 12 m. south-west of Anjanēri. Savāṇēyapallikā may be Sāmuṇḍi and Kamsāripallikā Karholi, five and six miles respectively, north by east of Chandrāchī Mēṭ. Maurēyapallikā may be Mōrwāḍī, 3 m. south-west of Nasik, but it is somewhat distant from Chandrāchī Mēṭ if the latter correctly represents Chandrapurī.

¹ The royal claim to the property of a person who dies sonless is mentioned in some charters as transferred to the grantee together with the donated village. See, e.g., the expression kumārī-sāhas-āputrādi dhana.....samanvītah qualifying the name of the donated village in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājitadēva, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 274. The aputtrikā-dhana mentioned in line 12 of the Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva (ibid., Vol. III, p. 266) is obviously a mistake for aputra-dhana. Readers of Sanskrit literature will recall a passage in Kālidāsa's Sākuntala, Act VI, where Dushyanta is informed by his minister that the property of a merchant, who died sonless, is to escheat to the crown.

In ancient times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to provide for the boarding and lodging of touring royal officers and a small tax called vasati-danda, sometimes collected in kind, was levied for the purpose. In some charters the grantee is specifically exempted from it. Compare a-kara-yōllaka-vinēsi-kbaṭṭā-vāsain a-dūdba-dadbi-gabaṇain a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gabaṇain in the Pallava grants (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 6; Vol. VI, p. 87); a-kbaṭvā-vās-andanain in a Kadamba grant (ibid., Vol. VI, p. 14) and a-cbār-āsana-cbarnum-āṅgāraḥ in Vākāṭaka grants (ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 173). The Paiṭhan and Purushōttampurī plates of Rāmachandra mention the vasati-daṇḍa, (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 318; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 218.)

The fine levied for kumāri-sābasa is sometimes mentioned as transferred to the donce; see the expression in the Bhādāna grant cited above in note 1. The fines for the various offences are laid down here specifically to prevent the village authorities from extorting money from the offenders. For similar fines which village officers were empowered to impose, see Kōṭavumachgi inscription of Vikramāditya V, Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 66 ff.

TEXT1

First Plate

- सिद्धम्² [।*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्यं (वम्) [।*] दक्षिणोन्नत[दं]ध्ट्राग्र–
- 2 विश्वान्तभुवनं वपु:3 [॥१॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमान मान-
- 3 व्यसगोत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवद्वित[1]नां कार्त्तिके-
- 4 यपरिररक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादस-
- मासादितवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्त्रा-
- 6 णां चलुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपर-
- 7 मेश्वरश्रीविक्त्रमादित्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिव्विशेषो
- 8 हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्थालंकारभूतः शरदु[प]⁵गमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्र-
- 9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्त्र-
- 10 संख्यं सकलम् (म) पि पुरीकोंकणं भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रस्य
- पुत्रो महाबलपराक्तम[:*] श्रीसिङ्गहवम्मं⁷राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्गहवम्मं⁷रा[ज]⁸स्य
- 12 पुत्त्रश्चतुरुद्धिजलतरंगालिगितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

Second Plate: First Side

- 13 विस्थाततेजा[:] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः [।*] योसौ बाल
- 14 एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्या[चर्च] विनि
- 15 वि प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
- 16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतस्सत्यवादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्कमाक्कान्ताशेषस्वरा-
- 17 ज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाबलश्च अर्जुन इव जनाईनज्ञानोपदेशवर्त्ती समरविधिविशा-
- 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः क्षणं वि-
- 19 क्कांतश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्द्वारयन्नपि परकलत्रनि-
- 20 स्पृहः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानाद्रीकृतकरः पद्मोत्पल-
- 21 कुं (कु) मुदषंडमंडितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी उदितदिव-
- 22 सकरिकरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं जलवि(धि)रिव रक्षित-
- 23 स्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगंभीरो महासत्व (त्त्व)श्च सततमिव देवकुलतटा-
- 24 कसत्त्रप्रपाधम्मं कित्रयानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम-
- 25 णिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोंकणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण-
- 26 राजशास्त्रार्त्यंतत्व (स्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पंडितो [मे]धावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा-

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: Anushtubb.

⁴ The aksharas मान are unnecessarily repeated.

⁶ This akshara was at first closed at the top, but the mistake seems to have been corrected.

⁶ Read चतुर्वशसहस्रसंख्यग्रामं.

⁷ Read श्रीसिहवरमं-.

This aksbara is incised just above the ring-hole, and can be read clearly on the original plate.

⁹ The repha of this aksbara is indistinct,

Second Plate : Second Side

- 27 [क्कमो] 'त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्ति[स्त्रभु]वनाङ्कशो [राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्व्वनिवात्मी*-]
- 28 [य*]पुत्त्रपौत्त्रप्रपौत्रादीं (दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम[हत्तरान् समाज्ञापय*]2-
- 29 [ति*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्व्वमुत्सादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसिह[तं]

३० ³म्बयपिल्लकासवाणेयपिल्लकामौरेयपिल्लकात्त्रयसिहतं कंसा—

31 [रि]पल्लिका च मया समावासितं (तम्) । एलश्रेष्ठिकरपुटश्रेष्ठिप्रमुख-

32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं (त्तम्) [।*] समगिरिवास्तव्यानां विणजां चन्द्राक्कंकालिकं शुल्कमादी-4

33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [1*] अपरं च अपुत्त्रधनं न्नास्ति उमुरभेदः राजपुरुष[ा]-

34 णामावासको जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [1*] कुमारीसाहसे⁶ रूपकाणामष्टोत्तरं

- 35 शतं (तम्) । संग्रहणे वात्रिशतिरूपकाः [।*] कर्णात्रोडणिकोयां धोडश रूपकाः[।*] शिर-
- 36 स्फोटने च[त्वा]रि रूपकाः [।*] भा[रि]कायां विणक्पुत्त्रस्याष्टोत्तरं शतं रूपकाणां
- 37 नङ्गेगृहीतस्य⁹ [।*] यच्चाष्टी षोडश वा नगरमहल्लका वि[चा]य्यं वदंते(ति) तदे-10

38 तदेव प्रमाणं (णम्) । श्रीतेजवम्मं राजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success!

[For a translation of ll.1-28, see above, pp. 152-3.]

(Line 28) The illustrious Bhogasakti......addresses (the following order to) all his sons, sons' sons' sons' sons' sons and so forth, (and to) the heads of vishayas, the Bhogikas and Mahattaras of villages:—

(L. 29) "Be it known to you that I have settled (again) the Samagiripaṭṭana, which had been previously devastated, together with Chandrapurī (and) together with the three hamlets, (viz.) Ambēyapallikā, Savāṇēyapallikā (and) Maurēyapallikā, and also Kamsāripallikā. (This charter is) made over to the whole town, of which Ela śrēshthin and Karapuṭa śrēshthin are the chief (representatives). The merchants residing in Samagiri are not to pay octroi duty in the whole kingdom as long as the moon and the sun will endure. Besides, there is not (to be escheat to the crown of) the property of a person who dies sonless. There is to be no distinction of wharfs. There is (to be) no (tax for the) lodging and boarding of royal officers. For a violent offence against unmarried girls, (the offender will be fined) a hundred and eight rūpakas; for adultery, thirty-two rūpakas; for boxing of the ears, sixteen rūpakas; for injury to the head, four rūpakas. If (the offence is committed) against a labour-woman, a merchant's

These nine aksharas and the first akshara of the next line have been restored conjecturally.

¹ The aksbaras in the square brackets in this and the following two lines have been damaged by rust. The starred ones in this line are supplied from the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates (No. 31) of the same king.

³ One akshara is damaged here. It may have been sq.

⁴ Read –मादेयं. 5 Read नास्ति.

⁴ Some letters in the middle of Il. 34-38 have become very shallow by wear and tear, but they can be read with perseverance on the original plate.

⁷ g which was at first omitted is written below the line.

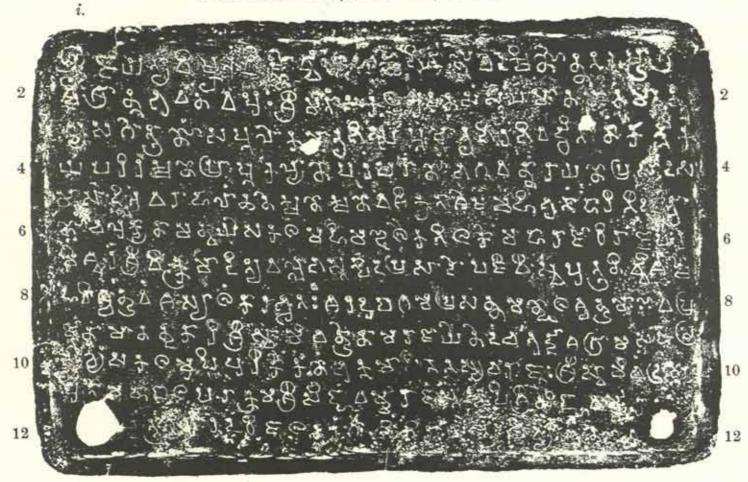
⁸ Read -त्रोडणिकायां.

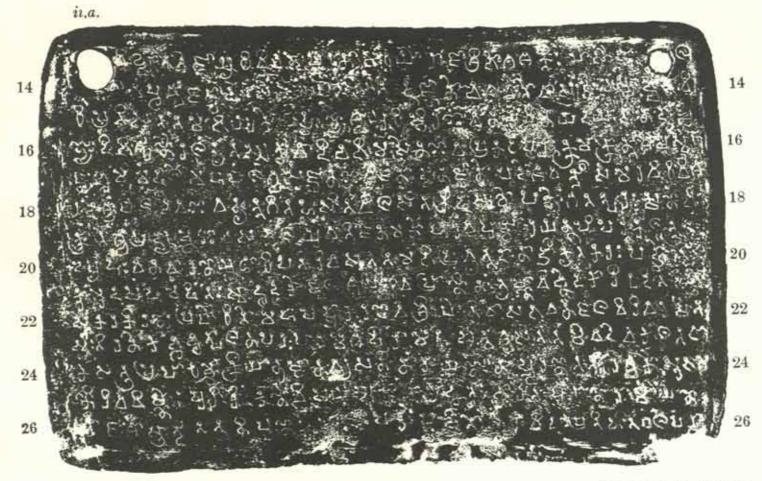
⁹ Perhaps नानगहीतस्य is meant.

¹⁰ These two aksharas are redundant

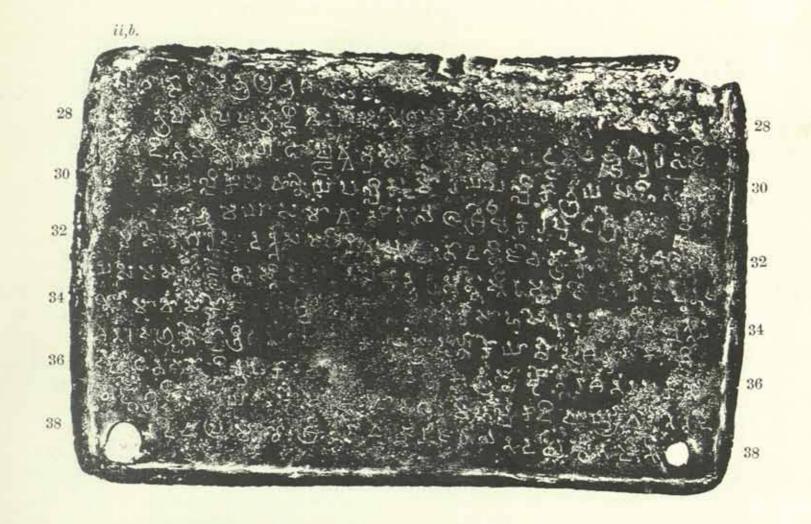
¹¹ The word used in the text is umw-4 which is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. Uma occurs in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a wharf' or 'a landing place'.

Anjaneri Plates (Second Set) of Bhogasakti





B. CH. CHHABRA. Res. No. 3977 E'36-778'52



Seal



(From Photographs).

son caught naked (?) will be fined one hundred and eight rūpakas. And whatever eight or sixteen Mahallakas (respectable men) of the town will declare after deliberation, will be the right standard (of punishment)."

This was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 33; PLATE XXVII

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN : (KALACHURI) YEAR 346

F the two copper-plates which, as shown below, purport to record a grant of Taralasvāmin, one was discovered as far back as 1864 somewhere in the Sankhēdā Tālukā in the Baroda District and has been edited with a lithograph, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 19 f. This plate contained only the concluding portion of the grant, including the benedictive and imprecatory verses, the name of the writer and the date. The other plate, which was recently found in the possession of Patel Mathurabhai of Māṅkaṇī, a village in the Saṅkhēḍā Tālukā has been edited with a facsimile by Mr. A. S. Gadre in the Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol. I, pp. 4 f. This plate contains the earlier portion of the grant, viz., the genealogy of the donor, the name of the donce and the object granted. The text of the latter plate ends exactly where that of the former begins.1 Their characters also completely agree. There is, therefore, no doubt that the two plates make one complete grant. The plate edited by Mr. Dhruva, the exact provenance of which has not been recorded, may therefore have come from Mānkaṇī itself. That this grant is probably spurious was shown by me in an article published in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Vol. II, pp. 389 f. I edit the record here from excellent ink impressions of both the plates, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. A.S. Gadre.

The plates measure 8" in breadth and 3.4" in height. The first weighs 17½ and the second 16½ tolas. The writing on both is in a state of good preservation. The plates contain two holes, .2" in diameter, at the top, for the rings which must have originally held them together, but no ring or seal has been discovered. The record consists of twenty lines, of which ten are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the grants of the Gurjaras and Early Kalachuris. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the initial *i* consists of two curves, one below the other, in *iv=ōddhūta-1.3*, while it has its usual form in *iva*, 1. 7; the length of medial *i* is indicated by a dot in a circle or by a double curve, see *vīchī-*, 1.3; the curve of the subscript *t* is added to the right of its vertical in *bhuktā*, 1.15; the subscript form of *th* shows a notch in *-sthiti-*, 1.11; *v* is almost rectangular in *-vaiśvadēva-*, 1.10 and the subscript *m* is cursive in *nirmmālya*, ll.18-19. Punctuation is marked by a short horizontal stroke in 1.20 and by double vertical strokes in ll. 15-20.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after r as in -kīrttiḥ, 1.4, the substitution of the guttural nasal for anusvāra in -vanšair=, 1.13 and -chatvārinš-ōttarakē, 1.20, and the use of ri for ri in krishataḥ, 1.12.

The record on the first plate ends with pañcha-mahā-yajña-kriy-ōtsarppaṇ-ārttham, while that on the second plate begins with ā-shandr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-samakālīnam.

The plates purport to record the grant, by Taralasvāmin of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) family, of a rice-field situated on the northern boundary of the village Maṅkaṇikā. Taralasvāmin is described as the son of Mahārāja Ņaṇṇa and Dadā and the sister's husband of the illustrious Sūrya. The grant was made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Jyēshṭhasēna, who belonged to the Jātūkarṇa gōtra¹ and the Vājasanēya śākhā. The record was written by the Sāndhivigrahika Āditya who was a Bhōgika. It is dated in the year 346, expressed both in words and in decimal figures. This is supposed to be the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation.²

The palæography of the grant makes it probable that it belongs to about the seventh century A.C. Its date has been referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 594-95 A.C. if the year 346 was current, and to 595-96 A.C. if it was expired. As no further details are given, the date does not admit of calculation.

Taralasvāmin, who made the present grant, bears no royal title, though his father Naṇṇa is called Mahārāja. He may have owed allegiance to the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragaṇa whose Ābhōṇa plates were issued just a year after the date of the present grant.³ That Gujarat was included in the dominion of Saṅkaragaṇa is clear from the Saṅkhēḍā plate of Sāntilla, which mentions him as the reigning king.⁴ Like Sāntilla, Taralasvāmin also seems to have been holding a subordinate position; for like the former, he addresses his order to a king's officers (rāja-pādīyas) as well as to his own. This king may have been Saṅkaragaṇa.

There are certain indications, however, which raise suspicion about the genuineness of this grant. Neither Taralasvāmin nor his father Naṇṇa is known from any records of the Early Kalachuris. Even supposing that they were collaterals and need not, therefore, have been mentioned in those records, it looks strange that unlike Sāntilla, Taralasvāmin does not name his suzerain who, as we have seen, was Saṅkaragaṇa. He and his father Naṇṇa are praised in extravagant terms which would have been more appropriate in the case of an independent king like Saṅkaragaṇa. Besides, we find that in this period Sāntilla also was holding this very part of Gujarat; for the village Taṇḍulapadraka granted by him is identified with Tāndaljā, about 16 miles from Saṅkhēḍā. It is, of course, possible to reconcile the two grants by supposing that Taralasvāmin either preceded or followed Sāntilla in the governorship of Gujarat, but in any case Taralasvāmin's silence about his suzerain remains inexplicable.

The decimal notation also, used in recording the date, causes suspicion about the genuineness of the grant; for not only in the period to which the record refers itself, viz., the end of the sixth century A.C., but for more than 150 years afterwards the prevailing custom in Gujarat as in other parts of India was to record dates in numerical symbols. The inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris, Gurjaras, Sēndrakas and Chālukyas, who held Gujarat from the sixth to the eighth century A.C., are invariably dated in this manner. Even

¹ The mention of this götra is interesting, for it shows that the name Jātākarņī of the mother of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti was derived from it. See also Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 108.

² I. P., p. 85. See also Dr. Sukhtankar's article 'Palaeographic Notes' in R. G. Bhandarkar Commimoration Volume, pp. 319 f.

³ They are dated in K. 347.

⁴ In his grant Santilla not only describes his suzerain Sankaragana, but also the latter's father Krishnarāja.

⁶ See the dates of Nos. 12-30 above.

the Hānsōṭ plates¹ of Bhartṭivaḍḍha which were issued as late as V. 813 (756 A. C.) have their date expressed in numerical symbols. These plates were issued from Bharukachchha. Similarly the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates² of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Karka, who succeeded the Chālukyas in Southern Gujarat, use similar symbols to express their date S. 679 (757 A.C.). Except for the doubtful case of the present grant, the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shērgaḍh Buddhist inscription³ of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 or 791-92 A.C. It would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols in North India about the last quarter of the eighth century A. C.⁴ The present grant which purports to have been made as early as 595 A.C. and still has its date expressed in decimal figures, appears to be suspicious⁵.

There is another circumstance which strengthens the suspicion. The drafter of the present grant seems to have borrowed certain expressions from earlier Sēndraka grants. Compare, for instance, the expression avanata-sāmant-āmala-mukuṭa-maṇi-nighṛishṭa-charaṇa-yugal-āravindaḥ in l. 1 of the present grant with praṇat-āśēsha-sāmanta-śirō-muku[ta*]-nighṛishṭa-pada-paṅkajaḥ in ll. 45 of the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti. Similarly, Kalpatarur-iv=ōpabhujja(jya)mān-ākshīṇa-vibhavaḥ in ll. 5-6 of this grant bears unmistakable resemblance to Kalpaumam=(druma)-iv=ābhivā michhit-āśēsha-jan-ōpabhujyama(mā)na-vibhavō in lines 7-8 of the Sēndraka grant. As these expressions occur in more than one genuine Sēndraka record, we cannot doubt that they originally belonged to them. The Sēndrakas were ruling in Gujarat in the second quarter of the seventh century. The present grant, which seems to have borrowed these expressions from Sēndraka records, could not therefore have been made in 595 A.C.

The evidence detailed above seems to point to the conclusion that the present plates were forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C. when the decimal notation came into vogue. The palæography of the grant as well as the shape of the numerical figures do not militate against this conclusion. These characters were probably current in Gujarat till the close of the eighth century A.C. The aforementioned Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartrivaddha dated V. 813 (756 A.C.) and the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka, dated S. 679 (757-58 A.C.) are incised in similar characters. As for numerical figures, there are only three used in the present grant, viz., 3, 4 and 6. Of these, the symbol for 3 occurs in this very form in the Gōṇḍal plates (Set A),

2 J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pl. facing p. 108.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pl. facing p. 203.

³ See the plate of the date in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351. The dates of some earlier inscriptions recorded in the Gupta era are supposed to be in decimal figures. (See, e.g., G. 347 of Bhandarkar's *I. N. I.* No. 1357, G. 365 of No. 1361 and G. 387 of 1368). But they cannot be verified for want of facsimiles. Besides, later dates from the same locality such as G. 386 of No. 1367, G. 403 of No. 1370, etc., are known to be in numerical symbols, which raises a strong presumption that the earlier dates also were in similar letter-numerals.

⁴ Dr. G. S. Gai has recently drawn attention to two earlier northern records, the dates of which are given in decimal figures, viz., the Sakrai stone inscription (V. 699) and the Dhiniki grant of Jäikadeva (V. 794), Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute, Vol. VI, pp. 306 f. The evidence of both these records is, however, doubtful. The date of the former has also been read as V. 879 and V. 749 (I. N. I., No. 23 and An. Rep. Rajputana Museum for 1935-34, p. 2), while the latter is regarded as a forged document, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 198 and Vol. XIX, pp. 370-71.

⁵ Kaye also says that 'the ninth century A. C. is about the time when these symbols ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions', Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, pp. 44-45.

⁶ Some other ideas such as fame being white like the moon and crossing the ocean are also common, but they are quite conventional and therefore afford no conclusive evidence of borrowing.

dated G. 405 (724-25 A.C.), while that for 4 occurs in a similar shape in the Kāsārē plates of Allasakti (653 A.C.) and in a somewhat modified form in still later records such as the aforementioned Gōṇḍal plates. The symbol for 6 has a peculiar form rarely noticed elsewhere in early records as remarked by Mr. Kaye,¹ but a somewhat similar form of the numeral is seen in the Shērgaḍh inscription of Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 (790-91 A.C.) and the Ghumli plates of Jāika II, dated G. 596 (915 A.C.)². It seems therefore, that the Māṅkaṇī plates of Taralasvāmin was forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C.³ It affords no sure proof that the decimal notation was in vogue for Indian inscriptions as early as the sixth century A.C.

There is only one place-name mentioned in the present plates, viz., Mankanikā4 which Mr. Gadre has already shown to be identical with Mānkani, where one of the plates was found.

TEXT

- सिद्धम्[®] [।*] स्वस्त्यवनतसामन्तामलमुकुटमणिनिधृष्टचरणयुगलारवीइः(विन्दः) घन-तुहिनरजतश-
- व्यक्तिकृत्वकुमुदेन्दुकरिनकरप्रताना वदातयशोधविलतिदगन्तरालः कटच्चुरि[कुल]वेश्मप्रदीपः
- 3 श्रीमहाराजणणण⁸स्तस्य सूनुः प्रभञ्जन⁹ इबोद्भूतवीची[च]िलत¹⁰शब्दत्रस्तमीनकुलाकुल-भ्रान्ति—
- 4 प्रशोभित¹¹सलिलविलंघितोदिधिकीत्तिः शिवचरणकमलाराधनपरः श्रीसूर्य्यभावुकः
- 5 ददात्मजः शत्रुवनितावदनकमलशोभाम्लानिकरः कल्पतहरिवोपभुज्ज(ज्य)मानाक्षीण[वि]भ-
- 6 वः स्वच्छो गामीर्व्यवा¹²नकलितसारः स्थित्यतिकमभीरुरुद्धिरिव विजितारातितमोजाल-
- 7 चन्द्रमा¹³ इव श्रीतरलस्वामी सर्व्वानेव स्वां¹⁴ राजपादीयांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु¹⁵ वः संवि[दितं] यथा
- 8 मया मञ्जूणिकाग्रामे उत्तरसीम्नि चतुर्द्दिशाघाटं वृ[ह*]न्मानेन ब्रीहिपिटक[वा]पं क्षेत्रं सिश-
- 9 वरं सोद्रा(द्र) क्लं भूतवातप्रत्यायारहितं 16 जेष्ठसेन 17 ब्राह्मण जातूकण सगोत्रवाजि (ज) सने-

1 See Table, Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 52.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pl. facing p. 224. This date is expressed in decimal figures and not in numerical symbols.

3 Kaye also regards this inscription as doubtful, Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, pp. 53-54, n. 2.

⁴ The Mahābhārata, (Śalyaparvan, Adhyāya 38, vv. 38 f.) gives the story of the sage Mahkanaka. The Navsāri plates of Karka II also mention the Mahkanikābhukti, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 131 f.

⁵ From an ink impression supplied by Mr. A. S. Gadre.

6 Expressed by a symbol.

र प्रतान is out of place here. It should rather be connected with यहा:. Cf. यहा प्रतान- in the Kaira plates of Dadda, No. 16, l.26.

⁸ Read ज्ञाण: । तस्य.

- It would be better to read विलंधितप्रभञ्जनोद्धूतवीचीचिलतशब्दत्रस्तमीनकुलाकुलञ्चान्तिप्रक्षोभितसिललोदधि-
 - 10 The first akshara of this word is indistinct. Mr. Gadre reads after which does not suit the context.

¹¹ Read प्रसोभित. Compare अभ्भोधीनां . . . चटुलितिमिकुलक्षोभितान्तर्जलानां in the Mudrārāksbasa, III, 24. The two dots which follow सलिल are superfluous.

- 18 Mr. Gadre reads गामीर्य, but I do not see any clear trace of the subscript r in the second akshara of this word. Read गामीर्य.
 - 13 Read इचन्द्रमा इव.
 - 14 Read स्वान.

15 Read बोधयति । अस्तु.

- 16 Mr. Gadre reads भूतवातप्रत्यायरहितं, but the ā stroke of yā in pratyāyā is quite clear. Besides, the expression, as read here, corresponds to सभूतवातप्रत्यायं which often occurs in land-grants, see l. 23 of No. 26, above.
- 17 Read ज्वेष्ट्सेन. In the records of this period the word बाह्मण generally precedes the personal name. Besides, ब्राह्मणज्वेष्टसेनाय should follow, not precede जातूकणंसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे.

यसब्रह्मचारिणे बिलचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवनपञ्चमहायज्ञित्रयोत्सप्पणात्थम्¹

Second Plate

- 11 आचन्द्राकाण्णैविश्वतिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य भूदकातिसर्गेण
- 12 प्रतिपादि[तं] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [1*] अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या किषतः करि-
- 13 पापयतो³ वा न कौ (कै) विचद्वधाषे (से) घे वित्ततव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वड्रवैव्वि सामान्यं भूमि-
- 14 दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालियतव्यश्चेत्युवतं च भगवता व्या-
- मेन ।। बहुभिव्वंसु[घा] भुक्ता राजिभः सा(स)गरादिभिः⁶ [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
- 16 तदा फलं (लम्) 7 ।। [१।।*] प्रिष्टि वर्षंसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मौदती भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता चानुम[न्ता] च तान्ये-
- 17 व नरके वसे[त्*] ।। [२॥*] विष्या (न्थ्या) टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोट रवासिनः [।*] कृष्णसर्प्पा-भिजायन्ते 10
- 18 ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[:] ।। [३।।*] यानीह दत्ता[नि] पु[रा] नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थंयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्मा-
- 19 ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[:] पुनराददीत¹¹ ॥ [४॥*] लिखितं चात्र सान्धिवि— ग्रहिकेना—¹²
- 20 दित्यभोगिकेन । संवत्सरशतत्रयं 18 षटचत्वारिङ्शोत्त $[\tau]$ के 14 ॥ ३४६ 15

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! (There was) the Mahārāja Ņaṇṇa, a light in the house of the Kaṭach-churi family, the lotus-like pair of whose feet was scratched by the jewels on the bright-diadems of feudatories who bowed (before him), (and) whose fame, white like thick snow, silver, a conch, a kumda flower, a kumuda¹⁶ (lotus) and a mass of the moon's rays, brightened the space between the quarters.

(Line 3) His son, the illustrious Taralasvāmin,—whose fame has crossed the ocean, the water of which is agitated by the confused darting of fishes terrified by the roar of surging waves produced by wind; who is intent on adoring the lotus-like feet of Siva; who is the sister's husband of the illustrious Sūrya and the son of Dadā; who has caused the beauty of the lotus-like faces of (his) enemies' wives to fade; who resembles the wish-

 $^{^{1}}$ Mr. Gadre reads $m\bar{a}$, but the \bar{a} stroke is not distinct. Besides, the smaller form of the letter shows that it is a final consonant.

[■] Read भोग्य-.

³ Read कृषतः कर्पयतो.

⁴ Read -स्मद्वंदयेव्या.

⁵ Read पालियतव्यक्ष्मेति । उनतं.

^{*} The dot in the circle denoting the medial i of di and bhi seems to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse; Anushtubb.

⁸ Read afte.

⁹ Read मोदति.

¹⁰ Read कृष्णसप्पे हि जायन्ते.

¹¹ Metre: Indravajrā,

¹² Read -विग्रहिकेणादित्य-.

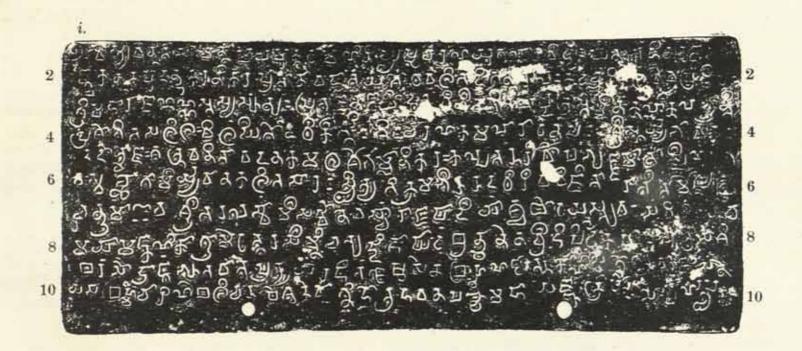
¹³ Read संबत्सरशतत्रये.

¹⁴ Read पटचत्वारिशद्त्तरे.

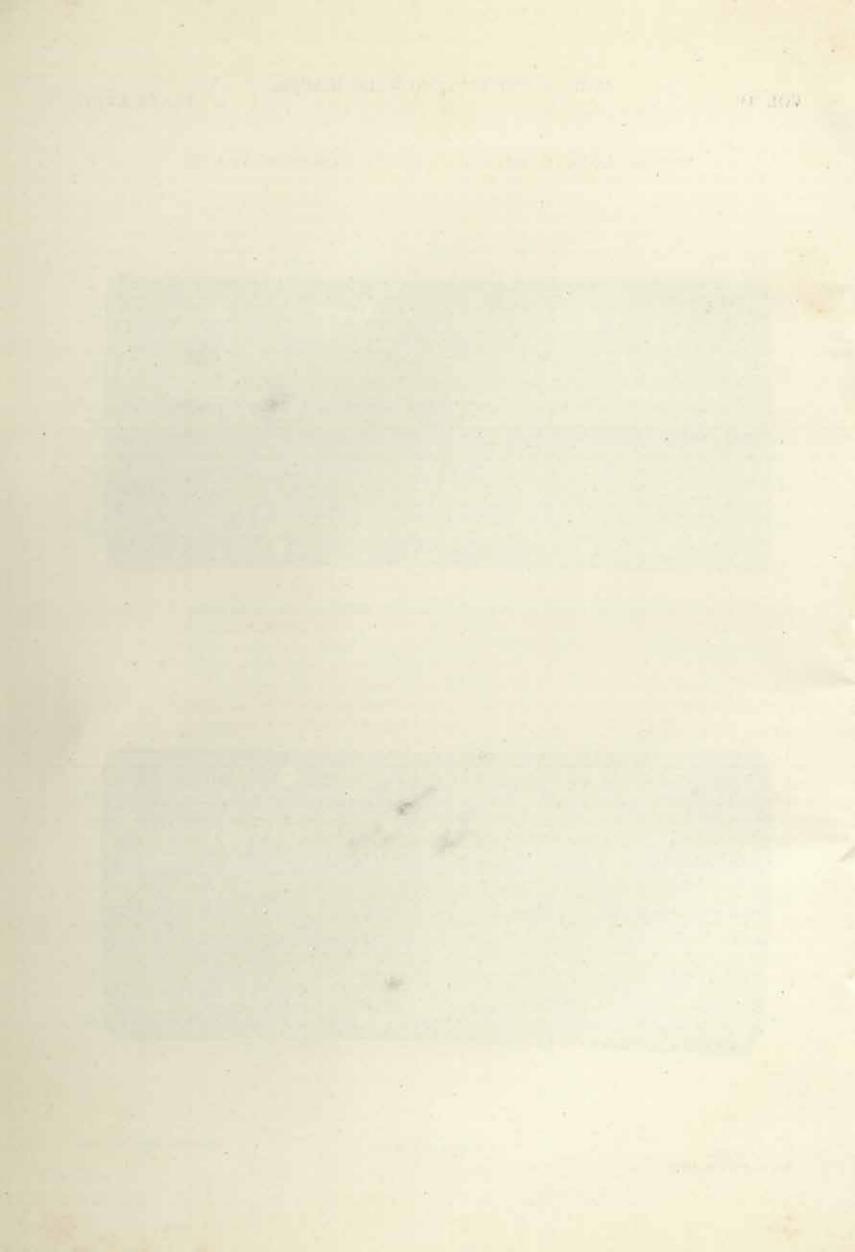
¹⁵ For this date which is written in decimal figures, see above, p. 161.

¹⁸ Kumuda is a white lotus.

Spurious Mankani Plates of Taralasvamin: (Kalachuri) Year 346







fulfilling tree as his undiminishing wealth is enjoyed (by supplicants); who resembles the ocean, being pure (as the ocean is clear), serene (as the ocean is deep), of ungauged strength (as the ocean's wealth is unmeasured), and afraid of transgressing the laws of moral conduct (even as the ocean is afraid of overflowing the shore); and who overcomes his foes even as the moon dispels a mass of darkness,—informs all his officers as well as those of the venerable King as follows:—

(L. 7) "Be it known to you that for the increase of religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, a field requiring for its seed-grains a piṭaka of paddy by the large measure,—which is marked by boundaries in the four directions, (and is situated) on the northern boundary of the village Maṅkaṇikā, together with sibara (farm-house) (and) udraṅga, octroi and excise duties, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Jyēshṭhasēna of the Jātūkatṇa gōtra, (who is) a student of the Vājasanēya śākhā, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (such as) bali, charu, vaiśvadēva and agnihōtra offerings.

(L. 12) Wherefore, none should act in such a way as to obstruct him while he is cultivating it or causing it to be cultivated according to the manner of a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. And future kings, whether born in Our family or others, considering that the reward of a gift of land is shared in (by him who for the time being is the ruler of the land), should consent and preserve this Our gift."

(L. 14) And the holy Vyāsa has said:-

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 19) This charter has been written by the Sāndhivigrahika, the Bhōgika Āditya. In the year three hundred increased by forty-six, (in figures), 346.

No. 34; Plate XXVIII

SPURIOUS KAIRA PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA: (KALACHURI?) YEAR 394

These copper-plates were found together with three other sets¹ of plates about 1827 in the town Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Northern Gujarat, Bombay State. They were published, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series), Vol. I (1865), pp. 247 ff. They were subsequently edited with fresh lithographs and a translation by Dr. Fleet in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, pp. 241 ff. The plates are now deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. They are edited here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Society.

Dr. Fleet has thus described the copper-plates:—'The plates are two in number, about 13 &" long by 8 \(\frac{7}{8}\)" broad. Their edges are slightly raised, so as to form a rim to protect the writing. They are pierced with holes for two rings; but the rings are not now forthcoming, and I cannot trace any mention of them, or of the seal that must have been on one of them.' The plates are in a state of good preservation. The record consists of thirty-four lines, of which twenty-one are inscribed on the first plate and the remaining thirteen on the second. The average size of the letters is . 15".

The characters belong to what Dr. Bühler has called the archaic variety of the southern alphabet², which is found used in the charters of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

¹ Two of these were Nos. 16 and 17 above. The third has not been traced.

² I. P., p. 65.

As regards individual letters, we may notice that the initial u which occurs in uktam, 1.28, is closely similar to t as in Vindhyātavī-, 1.29; the loop of the initial ē is closed on the left, see ēsha, 1.10; the length of medial î is denoted either by a curve curling to the left as in -pīdita-, 1. 7, or by a double circle as in Hārīti-, 11.2-3; the curve of the medial ri is turned in some cases to the left, see, e.g., -pitri-, 1.8, -vriddhayē, 1.11, -sadriś-, 11.26-27, and in others to the right, see -kripana-, 1.8, -patal-āvrita-, 1.27; the stroke for the medial ē encircles the letter on the left, see -anvaye, 1.3; similarly the left-hand matra for the medial o and the lower of the two mātrās representing medial ai also encircle their respective letters, see -dayō-, 1.27 and Vaiśākha-, 1.11; in narēndraib, 1.32, on the other hand, the two lefthand strokes of the medial ai are placed one beyond the other; the medial \tilde{o} is, in some places, shown with a loop, see sva-bāhu-balō-, 1.6, and consequently medial au is bipartite; the appears without a loop except in the last two lines of the record; that a flat horizontal stroke at the top; neither t nor n is looped, except in their subscript forms, see, e.g., -prasanna-, 1.1, -agni-, 1.24, -saniyukta, 1.28 and haranti, 1.30; the subscript th is roundish in sthity-, 1.2 and curled in -udayastho, 1.4; the subscript v is distinguished from y only by its right arm not being raised to the top-line. In some cases m appears similar to sh, which has misled the engraver into incising -nimēvī for -nishēvī in 1.7. The final form of n occurs in 1.26, and that of t in 11.28 and 29. The sign of the upadhmānīya is seen in 1.32 and the numerical symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 4 in 1.34.

The language is Sanskrit. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out,1 the description of the donor's family in the first two lines of the present inscription is identical with that occurring in the beginning of the grants of the Early Katachchuris.2 Again, the description of Vijayarāja in Il. 5-8 almost literally agrees with that of Sankaragana in the Katachchuri grants.3 In copying the latter, the draftsman of the present inscription seems to have inadvertently omitted the expression bhūri-dravina-viŝrānanāvāpta-dharma-kriyah after samyak-prajā-pālan-ādhigata in 1.7. In its absence the latter expression cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. In the next two expressions din-andha-kripana-bhē(śa)ran-āgata-vatsalah and yath-ābhilashita-phala-prado he has, to some extent, altered the original adjectives. Besides, in the formal part of the grant he has drawn upon some inscription, like the Bagumra plates, of the Sendrakas, for the expressions in Il. 25-27 of the present record agree almost literally with those in Il. 27-29 of the Bagumra plates.4 That the writer had a very imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit language is shown by the expression -kuwalaya-tara-yasasah, in which, while comparing Jayasimha's fame with a blue lotus (1), he adds the comparative affix tara to a noun and uses the wrong grammatical form -yasasah for -yasah. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following r doubled in some cases, and ri used for the vowel ri in prithivyam, 1.5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijayarāja, the son of Buddhavarman, who was himself the son of Jayasimha of the Chalukya dynasty. The plates purport to have been issued from the king's victorious camp at Vijayapura and to register the grant of the village Pariyaya which was situated to the east of Sandhiyara in the vishaya of Kāśākula. The land, or rather the revenue of the village, was divided into 55½ pattikās (shares) which were distributed among 63 Brāhmaṇas, each getting from one-half

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 296.

² Compare II. 1-2 of the present inscription with II. 1-3 of the Abhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, above, No. 12.

³ Compare II. 3-7 of the present record with II. 10-13 of the Abhona plates, above, No. 12.

⁴ The draftsman has, to some extent, altered the original expressions and changed their order.

⁶ Pati, pāti, and patti occur in the Hīrahadagalli grant of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman. Bühler derived them from Sanskrit prāpti 'produce' or 'income', see Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 8, n. 17.

to three pattikās. The donees were all residents of Jambūsara and students of the Kāṇva sākhā of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurvēda. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra and other rites. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the year 394 of an unspecified era. Both the tithi and the year are expressed in words as well as numerical symbols. The Dūtaka was the Vāsāpaka Nanna. The charter was written by the Mahāsandhivigrahādhikrita Khuddasvāmin and incised by the Kshatriya Mātrisimha.

Most of the places mentioned in the present grant were identified by Dr. Bühler.1 Pariyava, the granted village, is the modern Pariya, seven miles east of Olpad, the headquarters of the Olpad tālukā of the Surat District. Sandhiyara, which lay to its west, is identical with Sandhiyar, two miles to the west of Pariya. The vishaya of Kāśākula, in which these places were situated, must have comprised the country on the northern bank of the Tapti. The same vishaya is mentioned in the Antrōli-Chhārōli plates, dated Saka 679, of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta prince Karkarāja.2 I identify Kāśākula with the modern Kachchōl, 4 miles to the south-west of Olpād. All these places are situated to the south of the Kim which formed the northern boundary of the Chālukyan dominion in South Gujarat. Jambūsara still retains its ancient name unchanged, and lies about 30 m. to the north of Broach. Vijayapura, from which the plates purport to have been issued cannot be definitely identified. It may be either Vijāpur of the Panch Mahals, or the headquarters of the Vijāpur sub-division in the Baroda District.3 In either case it lies to the north of the Kim and, therefore, outside the Chālukyan territory. We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Vijayarāja made the present grant in the course of a military campaign in the Gurjara kingdom.

The date of the present inscription does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details. The era to which it appertains has long been a matter of controversy. Fleet at first referred the date to the Saka era and took it as equivalent to 472-3 A. C.4 He was inclined to identify Jayasimha who heads the genealogical list in the present grant with Javasimha I of the Early Chālukya Dynasty, and as the Chālukyas in some of their later records represent themselves as having originally come from the north, he came to the conclusion that Vijayaraja and his ancestors were ruling in Gujarat until their power was subverted and their family expelled by the Gurjara kings or by the kings of Valabhi. Later on, Fleet abandoned this theory and proposed to identify⁵ the grandfather of Vijayarāja with Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, who is represented in the Nirpan plates as a younger brother of Pulakesin II, or with Dharāśrava-Jayasimhavarman who appears in the Navsāri7 and Balsār8 plates as a younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Consequently, he referred the date of the present grant to the Chēdi era and took it to correspond to 643 A. C. These identifications also are not free from difficulties. For, as regards the first, Fleet himself has doubted the genuineness of the Nirpan plates,9 from which alone we know of a brother of Pulakeśin II, named Dharāśraya-Jayasiriha. As regards the second, Pandit Bhagvanlal

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 197.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 359, n. 3. ⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 242.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 292.

[&]quot; Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 123.

⁷ No. 27, above.

⁸ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 358.

pointed out¹ that if the date is taken to correspond to 642-3 A. C., Vijayarāja would be ruling about twenty-five years before his grand-uncle, Vikramāditya I, who flourished between 670 and 680 A. C.² The Pandit, therefore, proposed to refer the date to the Gupta era and take it as equivalent to 713 A. C. This presents no chronological difficulties. For, Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, was ruling at Navsāri in Southern Gujarat from 671 A. C. to 693 A. C.³ If Vijayarāja was his grandson, it is not improbable that he should be ruling twenty-one years after Jayasimha's latest known date.

But the grant is probably spurious. As pointed out by Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar,4 it is not in the regular Chālukyan style. There is no invocation of the boar-incarnation in the beginning, and none of the princes mentioned in it receive any titles and birudas as in other genuine Chālukyan grants. In no other record of the Early Chālukyas, again, do we find such a wholesale borrowing from Katachchuri grants. This cannot be attributed to the Gujarat draftsman's ignorance of the forms of Chālukyan records; for the earlier grants of Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, which were drafted in Gujarat, are in the approved Chālukyan style. Pandit Bhagvanlal supposed⁵ that Jayasimha might have conquered part of North Gujarat and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it; but, as shown above, the donated village was situated in the Surat District in South Gujarat. We have, therefore, to suppose that Vijayarāja was ruling over South Gujarat for some time between 693 A. C., the last known date of Sryāśraya-Sīlāditya, and 731 A. C., the date of his brother Mangalarasarāja. In that case this would be the only instance of the use of the Gupta era in South Gujarat; for, so far as our knowledge goes, the Kalachuri era was exclusively used in Gujarat down to the middle of the eight century A. C. It is again noteworthy that the present grant was found with two others of Dadda II at Kairā and that many of the donees mentioned in it figure also in the latter grants.6 It is therefore, not unlikely that it was forged in favour of the descendants of those Brāhmaṇas by someone who was ignorant of the form of Chālukyan records.7 Its date 394 was intended to refer to the same era as the genuine Gurjara grants of K. 380 and K. 385, and thus to correspond to 693 or 694 A. C., when the

1 Ibid., Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

² Since then the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign has been fixed in 654-55 A. C., Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 102.

³ Above, Nos. 27 and 30.

⁴ E. H. D., pp. 77 f.

⁵ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

As many as twelve names are common to the three grants, viz., Ādityaravi, Indraśūra and Iśvara of the Bharadvāja gōtra, Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyana gōtra, Bhaṭṭi and Drōna of the Daundakiya gōtra, Viśākha, Dhara and Nandin of the Māṭhara gōtra, Dharmadhara of the Hārīta gōtra and Gopāditya and Viśākha of the Vatsa gōtra. Again, the following persons mentioned in the Chālukya and Gurjara grants respectively are probably identical: Tāpiśūra and Tāviśūra of the Bharadvāja gōtra, Dāma and Dāmadhara of the Bharadvāja gōtra, Tāviśarman and Tāpiśarman of the Daundakiya gōtra, Sēla and Śaila of the Kaundinya gōtra, Vatraśarman and Vāṭaśarman of the Kaundinya gōtra, Rāma and Rāmila of the Māṭhara gōtra.

⁷ On the back of the plates there is a cancelled inscription, for which, see Dr. Fleet's account in Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 251 ff. It contains the names of many donees figuring in the present record and has the same date as the latter, but its opening words indicate that it purported to be granted like the spurious plates of Dadda II from the Vijaya-vikshēpa (victorious capital?) Nāndīpurī. It may have been realized after it was incised that the Chālukyas could not have ruled from Nāndīpurī in K. 394 as the Gurjaras were in continuous occupation of the surrounding territory from at least K. 380 to K. 486. So the inscription was cancelled and another written on the back of the plates. The writers of the two inscriptions were different persons, for the characters in which they are incised differ in certain respects as shown by Dr. Fleet (ibid., p. 251). For another reason conjectured by Dr. Fleet, see loc. cit., p. 253.

Brāhmaṇa donees common to the three grants may have been living. That this date is impossible has been shown above. The borrowing of some expressions from the formal part of Sēndraka grants indicates that the present record must have been forged some time after the middle of the seventh century A. C.¹

TEXT 2

First Plate

सिद्धम्³ [।*] स्वस्ति[।*] विजयस्कन्धावा[रात्]⁴ [वि]जयपु[रवासकात्] शरदुपगम प्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविष्[ले] विविधप्[र]षर[रन]गण-

निकरावभासिते महासत्वा (त्त्वा) पाश्रयदृ [कँ] घ्ये गांभीर्यवित स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव
 [मान] व्यसगोत्रा [णां] हा-

3 रीतिपुत्राणां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां चलुक्यानाम[न्व]ये व्यपगतसजलजलघरपटलगगन— तलगतिशिशरकर—

4 किरणकुवलयतस्यशसः श्रीजयसिंहराजः[।*] तस्य सुतः प्रवलिरपुर्तिमिरपटलिभ[दृ]रः सततमुद-यस्यो नक्तन्दिव-

ऽ मप्यलिण्डतप्रतापो दी(दि)वाकर इव वल्लभरणविकान्तश्रीबुद्धवर्मगराजः [।*] तस्य सूनुः प्रिथिव्या⁰मप्रतिरथः चतुरुदिधस[लि]ला-

6 स्वादितयशो⁷ धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोजि[त]राजश्रीः⁸ प्रतापातिशयोपन— तसमग्रसामन्तम—

गण्डलः परस्परापीडितधम्मा(मर्मा)र्थकामिनमेवी श्रणितमात्रसुपरितोषगंभीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यवप्रजा— पालनाविगतः विना—

विषयपतिराष्ट्र—

9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹¹ वस्संविदितमस्माभिर्यथा काशाकुलविषयान्तर्गत स-न्धियरपुव्विण¹² परिय-

¹ For another similar spurious grant purporting to bave been made by the Chalukya prince Buddhavarasa, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff. Like the present grant, it has borrowed some expressions from the earlier Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti, in ll. 10-11, and seems to have been forged in the second half of the seventh century A. C., as shown by Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 146.

² From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Here and in many places below, the rules of sandhi have not been followed.

⁵ The draftsman evidently had before him the expression व्ययगतसजलजलघरपटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दु-किरणघवलतरपशीवितानलंघितांभोधि: in some Sendraka record like Bagumra plates of Allaśakti. He has blundered in substituting कवलपतर for घवलतर, Read घवलतरपशा:.

⁶ Read पृथिच्या-.

र Read -यशा.

⁸ Fleet's proposal to read राज्यश्री: is unnecessary.

⁹ Read निषेवी. Fleet read निषो (मी) ची, but the correct reading was pointed out by Kielhorn in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 296, n. 4.

¹⁰ The writer had before him the expression सम्यवप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाध्तवमंत्रिय: in the Katachchuri grants, but he inadvertently omitted the latter part of it. As it stands, it would be better to read it as सम्यवप्रजापालनरत:.

¹¹ Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभिः.

¹² Read -पृथ्वण.

- 10 य एष ग्रामः सोद्रंगः सोपरिकरः सर्व्यं (व्वं) दित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणः भूमिछिद्र¹न्यायेना-चाटभटप्रावेश्यः जंब्स-
- 11 रसामान्यमा (वा) जसनेयकाण्वाध्वय्यं (र्य्यु) सब्रह्मचारीणां मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि वद्यये वैशाखपूर्णमास्यामदकाति —
- 12 सर्गेण प्रतिपादितः [1*] भरद्वाजसगोत्रादित्यरवे: पत्तिके द्वे इन्द्रशूराय पत्तिका ताविशूराय द्वा वं पित्तका [इं]श्वरस्यार्द्वपत्तिका
- 13 दामाय पत्तिका द्रोणायार्षपत्तिका अत्तस्वामिने अर्थपत्तिका माइलायार्धपत्तिका षष्ठिदेवायार्थं— पत्तिका सोमायार्थपत्तिका रामश—
- 14 म्मंणेढंपत्तिका भाय्यायार्घपत्तिका द्रोणधरायार्घपत्तिका [1*] घूम्प्रायणसगोत्रावुकाय दिवर्घ -पत्तिका शरायार्घपत्तिका ॥ दौण्डकीय-
- 15 सगोत्रभट्टे: पत्तिका समुद्राय दिवर्ध पत्तिका द्रोणाय पट्टिका त्रियं ताविश [म्मं]णे पत्तिके द्वे भट्टि[ने]ढंपत्तिका। वत्राय पत्तिका
- 16 द्रोणशम्मंणेर्द्वपत्तिका द्वितीयद्रोणशम्मंणेर्धपत्तिका ॥ काश्यपसगोत्रवप्पस्वामिने तिस्रः पट्टिका दुर्गशम्मंणेर्धपत्तिका दत्ताया-
- 17 यार्धपत्तिका ॥ कौण्डिन (न्य)सगोत्रवादाया दिवर्ध पत्तिका सेलाय पत्तिका द्रोणाय पत्तिका सोमायार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका
- 18 वत्रशम्म (म्मं) णेर्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका ॥ माठरसगो [त्र]विशाखाय पत्तिका घराय पत्ति-का नन्दिने पत्तिका कुमाराय पत्तिका
- रामाय पत्तिका बाश्रस्या (श्राया) धंपत्तिका गणायाधंपत्तिका को हुं वायाधंपत्तिका भायि[भ] हायाधं-पत्तिका नम्मंणेधंपत्तिका रामशम्मंणेधं-
- पत्तिका ॥ हारितसगोत्रधम्मधराय दिवर्धं पत्तिका ॥ वैष्णवसगोत्रभट्टिने पत्तिका ॥ गौतम-सगोत्रधरायार्धपत्तिका अम्मधरा-
- 21 यार्षेपत्तिका सेलायार्षेपत्तिका।। शाण्डिलसगोत्रदामायार्षेपत्तिका लक्ष्मणसगोत्रकाक्कस्य पत्तिका [1*]

 Second Plate
- 22 वत्ससगोत्रगोपादित्याय पत्तिका विशाखायाईपत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका यक्षशर्मा-8
- 23 धंपत्तिका ताविशूराय पत्तिका ककु (कं)स्यार्थपत्तिका ताविशम्म (मर्म) णेधंपत्तिका शम्मंणे धंपत्तिका कुमारायार्धपत्तिका
- 24 मात्रीश्वरायार्धपत्तिका बाटलायार्धपत्तिका [॥*] एतेभ्यः सर्व्वभ्यः बल्चिस्वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि-त्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षि-
- 25 तिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः [1*] यत¹⁰स्मद्वंश्यैर[न्यै]र्वागामिभोगपितिभ-स्सामान्यं¹¹ भूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः नलवेणुकदिल-

¹ Read मामिन्छड-.

^{*} Read संब्रह्मचारिभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.

³ The engraver first incised रवि: and then thought of altering it to रवे: .

⁴ Read द्वयमं-.

^{*} Fleet read पत्तिका, but the second akshara is clearly !!!.

^{*}Read बादाय. The following akshara which Fleet thought quite unintelligible is clearly di. The mark above it is of the subscript m in Dronafarmmane of the line above.

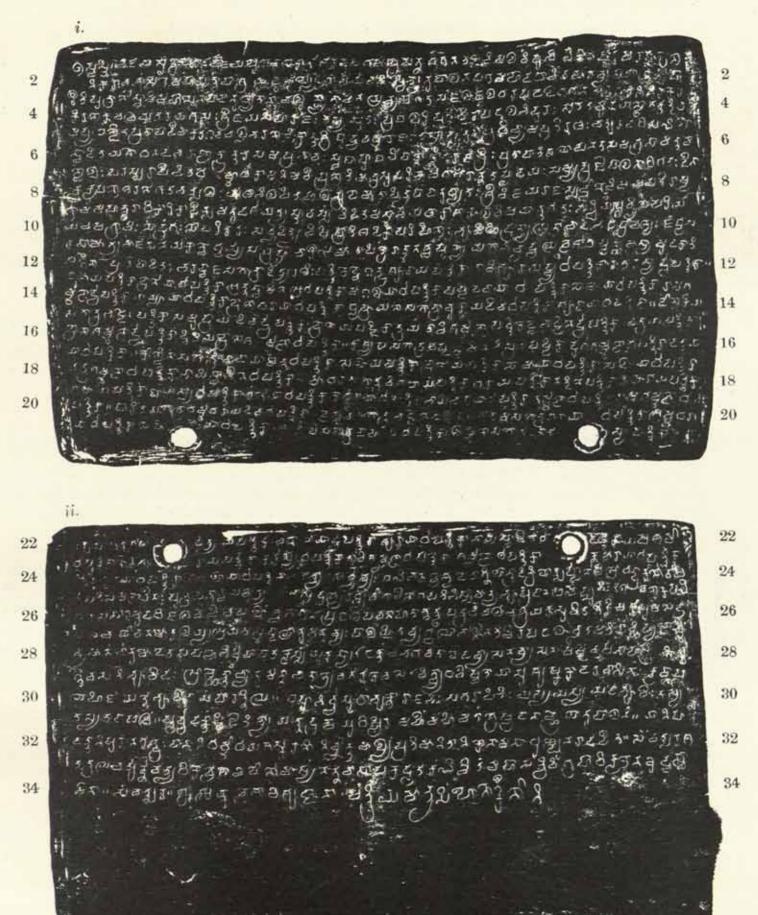
⁷ Read gui-.

^{*} Read यक्तशमणे

⁹ The name of the Brahmana is inadvertently omitted here.

¹⁰ Read यतोस्मद्वंदये-, 11 The anuvāra on न्य is clear. Read सामान्यभूप्रदान-.

Spurious Plates of Vijayaraja: (Kalachuri) Year 394





26 सारं संसारमुद्धिजलवीचीचपलांश्च भोगान् प्रवलपवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचंचलां च श्रियं कुसुमित-शिरीपकुसुमसद्-

7 शापायं च यौवनमाकलय्य अयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च[।*] यो वाज्ञानितमिरपटला-

वतमतिराच्छि¹द्यादाच्छि-

28 द्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चिभम्मंहापातकैस्संयुक्त[:*] स्यात् [।*] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । पष्टि वर्षंसहस्राणि स्व-

29 [मों] वसित भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता च्या(चा)नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्2 [॥१॥*] विन्ध्या-टवीष्वतोयास शष्ककोटरवासिनः [॥] कृष्णाह-

30 यो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुघा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भृमिः तस्य

उर तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥[३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोन्पालनं (नम्) ॥[४॥*] यानीह

32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै: दानानि धम्मीर्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निव्यन्तिमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साध्र≾पुनराददीत³ ॥[४॥*] संवत्सरश−

33 तत्रये चतुर्नवत्यिषके वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां नन्नवासापकदूतकं लिखितं महासन्धिवग्रहाधिकृतेन सुद्द-(हु?)स्वा-

34 मिना ।। संवत्सर ।।⁴ ३०० ९० ४ वैशाख शु १० ५।। क्षत्रियमातृसिंहेनोत्कीर्णानि⁵ [।।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Vijayapura-

In the family of the Chalukyas, the sons (i.e., descendants) of Hārīti, who are of the Mānavya gātra and meditate on the feet of Svāmi Mahāsēna,—which (family),6 like the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of manifold excellences of the men (born in it), as the ocean is by the multitude of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity and is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct, as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds,—(there was) the illustrious Jayasimharāja whose fame was more (splendid) than a blue lotus? under the rays of the moon in the expanse of the sky from which multitudes of waterladen clouds have disappeared.

(Line 4) His son (was) the Vallabha, Raṇavikrānta, the illustrious Buddhavarmarāja, who, like the sun, was ever-rising, had his brilliance undiminished both by night and by day, and destroyed his powerful foes, even as the sun dispels a mass of darkness.

(L. 5) His son, the illustrious Vijayarāja,—who has on the earth no adversary (worthy of him); 8 whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans; whose prowess equals

¹ Read -राच्छिन्दा-.

Metre of this and the following two verses: Anushtubh.

³ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁶ Read -नोत्कीण्णम्.

⁶ The description of the royal family which follows is taken from the records of the Katachchuris, see above, p. 41.

⁷ The writer should have said 'whiter than the rays of the moon Mc.'. Compare above, p. 119, ll.10-11.

⁸ The description is copied from Kaṭachchuri grants, see above, p. 41, ll. 10-15.

that of Dhanada (i. e., Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (i. e., Yama); who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the whole circle of neighbouring kings has submitted, (being subdued) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (in his case) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who is engaged in properly protecting his subjects; who is kind to distressed, blind (and) poor people and those who seek refuge with him; who grants rewards as desired (by supplicants), (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father,—addresses all the heads of vishayas, the Mahattaras of rāshṭras and villages, officials and others (as follows):—

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, We have granted with a libation of water on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, this village (namely) Pariyaya, (lying) to the east of Sandhiyara, (and) situated in the vishaya of Kāśākula,-together with udranga and uparikara, exclusive of all gifts, forced labour and special rights, (which is) not to be entered by chātas and bhatas according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (and) the earth will endureto all (the following Brāhmanas) who are students of the Kāṇva (śākhā) of the Vājasanēya Adhvaryu (Vēda)2 and belong to the community (residing) at Jambūsara, for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihotra and other religious rites. (Their shares are as fellows:-) To Adityaravi of the Bharadvāja gotra two pattikās;3 to Indraśūra, a pattikā; to Tāvišura, two and a half pattikās; to Iśvara, half a pattikā; to Dāma, a pattikā; to Drōṇa, half a pattikā; to Attasvāmin, half a pattikā; to Māila, half a pattikā; to Shashṭhidēva, half a pattikā; to Soma, half a pattikā; to Rāmasarman, half a pattikā; to Bhāyya, half a pattikā; to Dronadhara, half a pattikā; -to Avuka of the Dhumrayana gotra, two and a half pattikās; to Sūra, half a pattikā; -to Bhatti of the Daundakiya gotra, a pattikā; to Samudra, two and a half pattikās; to Drona, three pattikās; to Tāviśarman, two pattikās; to Bhattin, half a pattikā; to Vatra, a pattikā; to Dronasarman, half a pattikā; to the second Dronasarman, half a pattikā; -to Vappasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, three pattikās; to Durgaśarman, half a pattikā; to Datta, half a pattikā; to Vāda of the Kaundinya gōtra, two and a half pattikās; to Sēla, a pattikā; to Drona, a pattikā; to Soma, half a pattikā; to Sēla, half a pattikā; to Vatraśarman, half a pattikā; to Bhāyisvāmin, half a pattikā; -to Viśākha of the Māthara gotra, a pattikā; to Dhara, a pattikā; to Nandin, a pattikā; to Kumāra, a pattikā; to Rāma, a pattikā; to Bāśra, half a pattikā; to Gaṇa, half a pattikā; to Kordduva, half a pattikā; to Bhāyibhaṭṭa, half a pattikā; to Narman, half a pattikā; to Ramaśarman, half a pattikā; to Dharmadhara of the Hārita gotra, two and a half pattikās;-to Bhattin of the Vaishnava gotra, a pattikā; -to Dhara of the Gautama gotra, half a pattikā; to Ammadhara, half a pattikā; to Sēla, half a pattikā; to Dāma of the Sāndila gōtra, half a pattikā; to Kārka of the Lakshmana gotra, a pattikā; to Göpāditya of the Vatsa gotra, a pattikā; to Višākha, half a pattikā; to Sūra, half a pattikā; to Bhāyisvāmin, half a pattikā; to Yakshaśarman, half a pattikā; to Tāviśūra, a pattikā; to Karka, half a pattikā; to Tāviśarman, half a pattikā; to -śarman,4 half a pattikā; to Kumāra, half a pattikā; to Matrīśvara, half a pattikā; to Bāṭala, half a pattikā.

¹ See above, p. 169, n. 10.

I. e., the Yajurvēda.

³ Both the forms pattikā and paţţikā occur in the text.

⁴ See above, p. 170 n. 9.

(L. 25) Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others,—who are desirous of acquiring the common reward of the gift of land, having realized that worldly existence possesses as (little) worth as reeds and bamboos (possess sap), that objects of enjoyment are as impermanent as the waves of the ocean-water, that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the asvattha tree struck by a strong wind, (and) that youth is liable to fade like a flower of a blossoming sirisha tree,—should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins."

(L. 28) And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—
(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(I. 32) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-four on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (this charter), of which the Vāsāpaka¹ Nanna is the Dūtaka, has been written by the Mahāsandhivigrahādhikṛita Khuddasvāmin. The year 300 (and) 90 (and) 4 (the month) Vaiśākha, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. (This charter has been) incised by the Kshatriya Matṛisimha.

¹ Vāsāvaka (or Vāsāpaka) was apparently an officer whose duty was to arrange for the residence of touring royal officers and strangers, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 202.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

No. 35; PLATE XXIX A

SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription, though listed in the first edition of R.B. Hiralal's Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work, published in 1931. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined in situ and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.¹

At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District in the State of Madhya Pradesh, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago² and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of a military mess-house. The inscription is incised on a slab of red sand-stone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of those kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small female figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.³

The record has been very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several aksharas in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The characters are of the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhōti Deori.⁴ The form of the initial i is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top; t has not yet developed a vertical at the top; in its subscript form, the letter is laid on its side, see -bhatṭāraka- in 1.2; j still retains its three horizontal bars, see -Mahārājādhirāja, 1.1; p is open at the top while v, which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see -pravarddhamāna-, 1.2; the lower end of the wedge of r is in some cases very much elongated, see -Paramēśvara-, 1.3. These palaeographic peculiarities indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A.C.⁵ The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Siva. It refers itself to the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva, who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva.⁶ This is the oldest record in which the name of Vāmarājadēva is mentioned

¹ This inscription has since been edited by me in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, pp. 163 f.

² Sauger District Gazetteer, p. 257.

³ For a photograph of this panel, see the plate facing p. 154 in A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies.

⁴ No. 36, below.

⁵ Hiralal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in Madhya Pradesh), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A.C., as he thought that the king Śańkaragaṇa mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kökalladeva [1]. See his Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (second ed.), p. 49.

⁸ Hiralal doubtfully read this name as Vāgbarājadēva, ibid., p. 49. My personal examination of the record in situ has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly Vāmorājadēva.

with full Imperial titles.¹ The object of the inscription is to record some religious work done by a lady named Kṛishṇādēvī for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to Siva. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at it. The male and female figures in the panel are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who is herself represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious Dēuka who was the son of a king, whose name I have doubtfully read as Rāvārya. He was born in the family of Kalāirēya and was the Paramēśvara (Emperor) of Kaśapura.²

The inscription is not dated, but as shown above, it may be assigned on paleographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A.C.

TEXT 3

- मिढिः [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय । [स्वस्ति] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा[ज]पर[मे]श्वरश्री—
 वा[म⁵]राजदेवपा[दान्]—
- 2 [ध्या]त । परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे [श्व]रश्रीशङ्करगणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये क-
- 3 [श]पुरपरमेश्वरकलाइरेयवंशोद्भवज्योतिस (स्स)न्तितरा[वा]र्यराजपुत्रश्रीदेउक[:*] । तस्ये (स्यै) व भा-
- 4 र्या लोणियवंशे प्र[सूता राज्ञी] श्रीकृष्णा[दे]वी या [चै]तौ⁷ मातापितृपुण्ये⁸ क्षितितले कीर्ति प्रस्था-
- 5 ⁹पयतिः 10 । ¹¹तवालो [का]म[ला इति] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Siva! Hail! During the increasingly victorious reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Śańkaragaṇadēva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva—

(There is) the illustrious Dēuka the son of Rāvāryarāja, the mass of light sprung from the family of Kalāirēya, (who is) the Paramēśvara (Emperor) of Kaśapura. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious Kṛishṇādēvī, born in the family of

¹ In subsequent records the name almost invariably occurs as *Vanadēva*. See No. 48, I. 33; No. 50, I. 33 e/c.

² Kašapura may be a mistake for Kāšīpurī (Banaras).

³ From the original stone and inked estampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol. I take the symbol to denote *siddhib* as that is the auspicious word used in the beginning of later records. See, e.g., Nos. 54 and 106.

⁶ The loop on the left of this akshara has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

⁴ This danda is superfluous.

⁷ The context requires a reading like cheaitan-.

⁸ Read -punyārtham.

⁹ This line commences in the centre.

¹⁰ This visarga is superfluous.

¹¹ I am not certain about the reading of these eight aksbaras at the end. Perhaps, the intended reading is तव लोका अमला इति ।

Lōṇiya, who announces this meritorious work (kirtti)1 on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (her) mother and father. May you attain the stainless worlds!

No. 36; PLATE XXIX B

CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

This inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1883-1884. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it.² The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1903-4, p. 54 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar.³ Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation; for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar also has remarked 'what the language of the inscription is cannot be made out.' The inscription is edited here from ink impressions supplied by the Director General of Archæology.⁴

Chhōţi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jōkāhi, in the Murwārā tahsil of the Jabalpur District in the State of Madhya Pradesh. The village is so-called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Maḍhā Deori on account of a number of small temples (maṭhīs) from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Saiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Saiva temple as is indicated by its contents. 'The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top; in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female; and below, there is a standing male figure'.

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1' ½" broad by 1' 2" high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The characters belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Saugor stone inscription. They are very carelessly written. Several groups of aksharas are unnecessarily repeated in 11.4 and 5 as well as in 11.10 and 11. The marks for medial vowels and visarga are omitted in many cases. The form of kh in khanda-, 1.1, likhatam, 1.9 and likhitam, 1.10, is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct ksha, with this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of p in kapāli-, 1.2 and puna, 1.9, which closely resembles that of d is also noteworthy. L has three different shapes in lighatam, 1.8, likhatam, 1.9 and likhitam, 1.10. The form of s, the left limb of which has developed a curve and that of k which has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A.C. On the other hand j, though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical; t has not developed a vertical at the top; d and r show no tail, and the upper part of p is not closed. In these respects the characters

¹ This probably refers to the temple of Siva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up.

² A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, pp. 100 and 159, Plate XXVIII.

³ Second edition, p. 38.

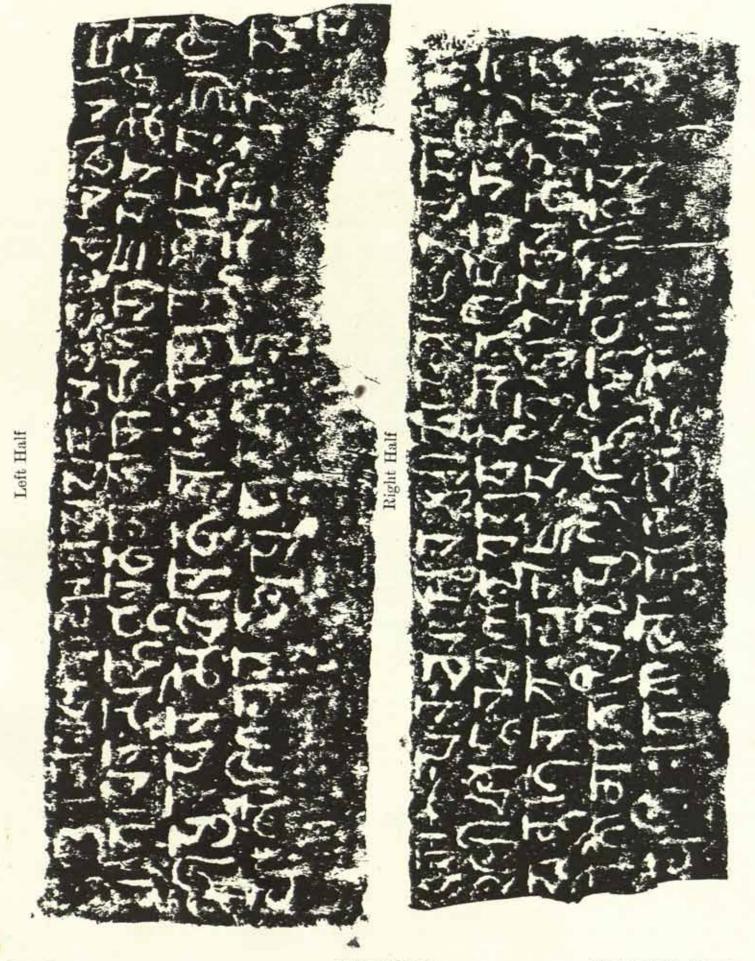
⁴ This inscription was edited by me for the first time in the Ep. Ind., Vol XXVII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ R. D. Banerji identified these with Siva and Pārvatī. See H. T. M., (M. A. S. I., No. 23), p. 77.

⁴ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 100. For a photograph of the pillar, see H. T. M., (M. A. S. I., No. 23), Plate XXVIII (a).

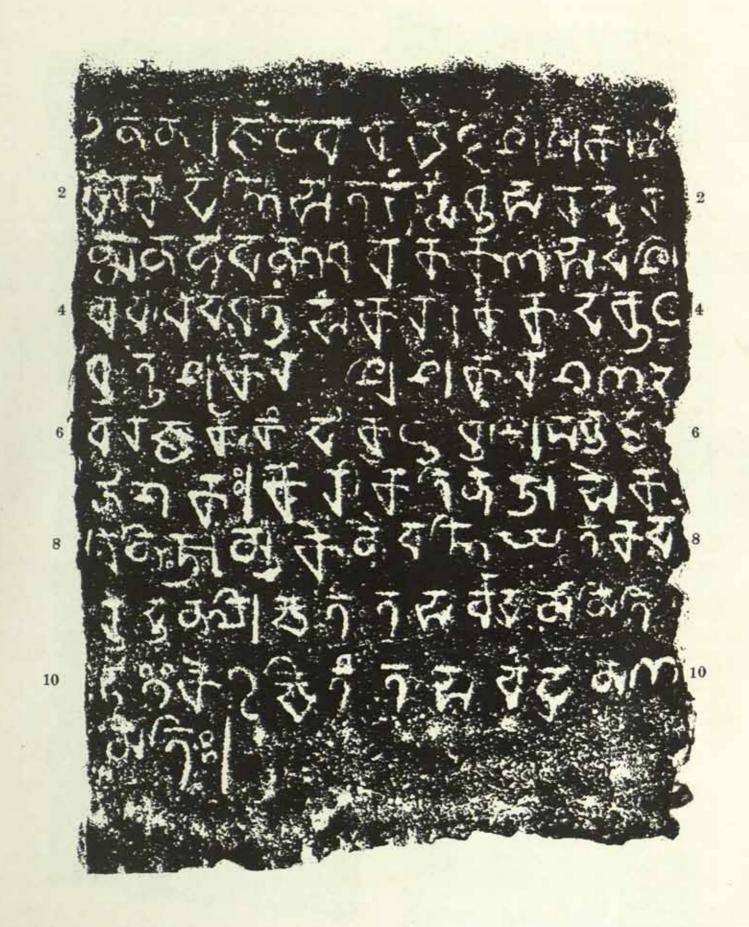
⁷ No. 35, above.

A.—Saugor Stone Inscription of Sankaragana I



B. CH. CHHABRA. Rsg. No. 3977 E 36-778 St.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.



of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kāritalāī stone inscription¹ of Lakshmaṇarāja I, dated K. 593 (841-2 A.C.). It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.C.²

The language is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect. Vishayē, for instance, is written as-vuśē, 1.6, and haikē used in the sense of iha. Except for a verse in praise of Siva, the whole record is in prose. The orthography

does not call for any special notice.

After the opening siddhib namab, the inscription has a verse in praise of Siva, which indicates that the temple, to which the inscribed pillar belonged, must have been dedicated to the worship of Siva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Sankaragana there was the illustrious Chutu Nāgaka in (charge of) the vishaya of Kakandakutu. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (kadaru, Sanskrit kridara) in Karikatin and Asēkatin which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present inscription, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. Kakandakuţu may be identical with Khuţundā about 6 miles to the east of Deori, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. Karīkatin, which in its initial portion resembles Kārītalāi (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurai, 4 miles to the south of Deori Maḍhā. Asēkatin cannot be identified.

TEXT3

- सिद्धिः [।*] नमः । जटाघर[ः*] सं[ड]शशं(शां)क⁵ ।⁶ [शे]-
 - व् [स]र[:*] कप[पा]लि(ल)[माल:*] स(सि)तभस्मधु(धू)सर⁷[: ।*] दुरा-

3 नमनहा⁸ पनगध[र]ककण⁹ सद(दा) शि-

4 वं व(वो) विदध[धा]तु सं(शं)कर[:*] ।10[।१।।*] क¹¹कदक्टु-

5 धृतु शकर¹³ श्रि(श्री)शंकरगणदे-

6 वरज्य (राज्ये) ककंदकुटुवुशे 13 सि (श्री?) चु [टु]-14

1 No. 37, below.

- ² Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are 'perhaps as early as the 7th century.' (See his A. S. R., Vol. XXI, p. 159). R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Sankaragana mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmanaraja (II), whom he placed about the middle of the tenth century A.C. (M. A. S. I., No. 23, p. 13). But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.
 - ⁸ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Director General of Archœology.

4 Expressed by a symbol.

5 The anusvāras on of and of are very faint.

* This danda is superfluous. Read खण्डाजा दुर्शेखर:.

7 What looks like an anusvara on w is due to a fault in the stone.

8 Read द्रात्महा.

⁹ Perhaps पन्नग्यारिकंकण: is intended, but it does not give a good sense. Read पन्नगृहस्तकंकण:

10 Metre: Vanislastha. Some of the epithets of Siva in this stanza occur in the following verse in II. 8 and 9 of the Raipur stone inscription of Brahmadeva (below, No. 107): -जटाय[र] संदर्शशाक-अंसरं सदामहापन्नगवस्र (स्त्र)कंकणं (णम्)[i*]कपालमालासितम[स्म]भूख (ण)णं न पुन्य (ण्य)हि (ही)ना[:*] प्रणमंति शंकरं (रम्) [॥*].

11 There is a curve on there and also in 1. 6 where the same name is repeated. This word is superfluous here.

13 These five aksharas are unnecessarily repeated from l. 4.

18 Read ककदकद्विषये, The name of the vishaya is given as ककदकट in l. 4.

¹⁴ I am not certain about this akshara. It differs from / which occurs in ll. 4 and 6 in that it has a

- 7 नागकः । करीकतिनि असेक-
- 8 तिनि अमकेनैव¹ लिघतं² कद-
- रु³ पुन लि 4। खतं त⁵ सर्वप्रमा⁶मिति [1*]
- 10 हड्के⁷ लिखितं त⁵ सर्वं प्रम(मा)ण-8
- 11 मिति: 1

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration!

(Verse 1) May (that) Sankara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has bracelets of serpents,-always cause your welfare!

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious Sankaragana (I), (there is) the illustrious Chutu Nāgaka in (charge of) the vishaya of Kakandakutu.

(L. 7) He has himself recorded (the gift of) a granary in (the villages of) Karikatin and Asēkatin. Again, whatever is written here is authoritative. Whatever is written here is authoritative.

No. 37; PLATE XXX A

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I: (KALACHURI) YEAR 593

THIS inscription was discovered by R.B. Hiralal in 1928. A short notice of it appeared in the second edition of his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, published in 1931. The record was, for the first time, edited, with a lithograph, by me in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 f. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Kārītalāi is now a small village, twenty-nine miles north by east from Murwārā, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for, an inscription in shell characters9 and another of the Gupta period10 have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kārītalāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the boar incarnation of Vishnu, another inscription of the time of Lakshmanaraja II, was brought over to Nagpur and is at present deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The present inscription is affixed to the temple of Devi Madhia at Karitalai. It is fragmentary. Its preserved portion measures 101 broad and 1' 101 high. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen aksharas. The fourteenth line runs

horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor is it exactly like d, see duranmana-, 1. 3.

¹ अनुकेनेव is used here in the unusual sense of 'by the same'.

The medial w of rw is faint. Read met.

⁴ This danda is superfluous. Read पुनलिखतं.

⁵ Read तत्.

^{*} Read सर्व प्रमाणमिति ।

⁷ This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning ag.

⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Chhabra for the reading of this word.

⁹ I. C. P. B., p. 45.

¹⁰ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.

¹¹ No. 42, below.

along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Samvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left-hand side; but on the right hand-side, sixty to seventy aksharas have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space4' 6" in breadth. Of this, only about a fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost. The average size of the letters is .8".

The characters belong to the Nagari alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of n, one in -Lakshmanaraja-, 1.14 and the other in Druhinah, 1.2 etc. and to those of gh in = Amoghavarsha-, 1.12 and Ghat-anwaya-, 1.14. The form of g is in many places closely similar to that of rā, compare g in jagat and drāg=ēva both in 1.2, Nāgabhaṭē in 1.9 etc., with rā in yair= āsantati in 1.6; th has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see pariluthanti, 1.4. Similarly th is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see, prithuni-, 1.4. The medial " has been generally denoted by a serif, (see pāyāsır=, 1.3; nag-ānukāri 1.13 etc.), but in some cases, by a curve turned to the left as in kshinotu, 1.2. The matras for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see nam o= and -opendra,- 1.1), but in two cases, viz., in -Rudrēbhyab, 1.1 and śri-Lakshmana-rājadēvē, 1.14, the medial ē is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve; while in two others we see fully developed prishtha-mātrās also, (see -vēdhō-, 1.3 and pādan 1.12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nagari alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A.C.1

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date etc., the record is metrically composed throughout. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant preceding and following r has in certain cases been doubled as in chātur-varnnyam, 1.1, and -māttram, 1.2; v has been used for b in vala-, 1.7 and the guttural nasal for anusvāra in kshīn-ānhasō, 1.6.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record, it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Druhina (Brahmā), Upēndra (Vishņu) and Rudra (Siva) come three verses, invoking the blessings of the three deities. Lines 6 and 7 seem to culogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaity, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage, who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhaṭa, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down in the Sruti and the Smṛiti. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king Amōghavarsha bowed to the feet of someone who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. Finally, the marginal line states that the record was composed by Prasannāditya of the Ghaṭa family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the king, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarājadēva.

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first noticed the inscription, read the date as 6932 and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri era, which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A.C. in Baghelkhand, he took it as equivalent to 941 A.C.,

¹ The form of j, d, p, r and v, all of which show considerable development here, leave no doubt that the present record is much later than the preceding inscriptions (No. 35 and 36) of the reign of Sankaragana I.
² I. C. P. B., p. 45.

obviously identifying the Lakshmanaraja mentioned in it with the homonymous king who was the son of Yuvarājadēva I alias Kēyūravarsha. The mention of Amoghavarsha in 1.12 seems to have corroborated this view; because a king of that name, viz., Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Yuvarajadeva-Keyūravarsha, flourished in that period.1 But R.B. Hiralal's reading of the date is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the tithi in the Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhasiva2 and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn. Other instances in which the figure stands for five can also be cited.3 So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this, being referred to the Kalachuri era, corresponds to 841-2 A.C. The mention of Amoghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading; for this Amoghavarsha would be the first Rashtrakūta king of that name who ruled from eirea 814 to 880 A.C. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris were matrimonially connected in the ninth century also; for Amoghavarsha I's son Krishna II was married to Kokalla I's daughter,4 though this marriage may not have taken place before 842 A.C.5 Besides, Amoghavarsha I was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjan plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahālakshmī to ward off a public calamity.6 It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amoghavarsha had gone to the Chedi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nagabhata's defeat in 1.9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nagabhata is evidently Nagabhata II of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty who was completely routed by Amöghavarsha's father Gövinda III.7 Nāgabhata was not living in 841-2 A.C., the date of the present inscription; for, according to the Jain work Prabhāvakacharita,8 he died in V. 890 (833-4 A.C.); nor is Amoghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grand-father. The defeat of Nagabhata II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Govinda III before 800 A.C. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as the destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is probably Gövinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (sanijahrē) is lost at the end of the line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nagabhata is mentioned in 1.9; but as the name of Amoghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amoghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III. Lakshmanarāja, during whose reign the present inscription was put up, was, therefore, the predeces-

2 No. 44, below.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 263 f.

¹ For Amoghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 A.C. (See E. C., Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30).

⁸ See, for instance, the figure of the year and the tithi of the Balera plates of the Chaulukya Mūlaraja, Ep. Ind., Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Khajurahö inscription of Kökkala, C. A. S.I. R., Vol. XXI, pl. XIX, and that of the tithi in the Palanpur plates of Bhīmadēva, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, plate facing p. 172.

⁸ As I have shown elsewhere (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 217), Amöghavarsha I was born about 799 A.C. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in 841-2 A.C. his son Krishna II was already married to Lakshmanaraja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. Perhaps Amöghavarsha had gone to Tripuri to seek the Kalachuri king's help, when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

⁷ Loc. cit., p. 247.

^{*} Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

sor and probably the father of Kōkalla I, who heads the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription1 and the Banaras plates of Karna.2 He may be called Lakshmanaraja I of the main Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri.

The date of the inscription is thus the year 593 of the Kalachuri era. It would correspond to 840-1 A.C. if the year was current, and to 841-2 A.C. if it was expired.3 It does not admit of verification.

TEXT⁴

- सिद्धिः [1*] ओं नमोस्तु हृहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रेभ्यः ।। चातुर्वण्ण्यं [नि]⁶....
- - ३ रुद्धवेधोदृसः(शः) । पायासुम्मंधुसूदना[च्च]⁷....
 - 4 कपर्दात्पृथुनि परिलुठन्ती यस्य मूर्द्ध[स्थ]-8....
- 5 नकमः परमिति स्वान्युत्त्रकान्याठ[ये]-9....
 - 6 क्षीणाङ्गहसो¹⁰ जिन्नरे यैरासन्तित सन्तत-⁷....
- 7 वृत्तिः । व (व) लिवभवविलासत्यागदा 11
 - 8 महाभूमिभृद्वज्ञपाता (तः) संजल्ले ह्या ि 12....
 - 9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागभटे⁷....
- 10 कथग्रावदलको वराहव्याहारः स्म¹³....
- 11 ¹⁴तिस्मृत्याचारप्रवणधिषणः पु[ण्य]-¹⁵....
 - 12 16श्रीमदमोघवर्षन्पतिः पादौ [न]-17....
 - 13 वापर: II तेनाकारि नगानुकारि ग¹⁸....
- 14 सिद्धि:19 [1*] सम्बत्20 ५९३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजिन घटान्वयश्रीप्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरि-यम् [1*]21

- ⁵ Expressed by a symbol.
- Metre: Salini.
- 7 Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.
- Read मूर्डस्थले. Metre: Mālinā.
 Read पाठयेत्. Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.
- 10 Read सीणांहसो.
 - ¹¹ Read दाक्षिण्य-. Metre: Mālinī.
- 12 Perhaps हादिनी was written here. Metre: Sragdbara.
 - 13 Metre: Sikharini.
 - 14 Read श्र तिस्मृत्याचार-.
 - 15 Read पुण्यचरित: Metre: Sikharini.
- 16 Read यस्य before श्रीमद-.
- 17 Read नमस्यत्ययम्. Metre: Särdülavikridita.
- 18 Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.
 - 10 Expressed by a symbol.
 - 20 Read संबत्.
- ा This line is written along the margin. Another line below it, incised recently, reads शीस[व]त 8368.

¹ No. 45, below.

^{*} No. 48, below.

³ In stating the Christian equivalents of this and other later dates of the Kalachuri era, I have adopted the epoch 247-248 A. C. finally determined by Kielhorn. See Festgruss an Roth, pp. 53 f. Differing from him, I have, however, taken the Kalachuri year as commencing with the bright fortnight of the

⁴ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archælogical Survey, Central Circle,

TRANSLATION

- (Line 1) Success! Om! May there be adoration to Druhina, Upëndra and Rudra! The four castes
 - (L. 2) The world consisting only of May Druhina quickly destroy !
- (L. 3) May (they) who obstructed the eyes of the creator . . . protect from Madhusūdana.
- (L. 4) On whose broad forchead, (the Ganga) rolling down from the matted
- (L. 5) would teach (his) little sons, (thinking) that the course (of teaching?) is the best
- (L. 6) (They), whose sins had diminished, were born; by whom always down to their descendants.
- (L. 7) The course of conduct (consisting of ?) strength, wealth, gaity, liberality (and) courtesy
- (L. 8) (He)1 who was a thunderbolt to the great mountains that were powerful kings, destroyed (while) (was) resounding
 - (L. 9) after a long time. When Nagabhata (II) was routed.
 - (L. 10) The roar of the Boar that rends rocks
- (L. 11-12) of holy deeds, whose mind was intent on (observing the rules of) conduct laid down in the Srutis (Vēdas) and Smriti (and) whose feet [this] illustrious Amoghavarsha2 salutes.
- (L. 13) like a second By him (has been) constructed (this temple) resembling a hill
- (L. 14) Success! (In) the year 593, while the king, the illustrious Lakshmanarajadēva (I) is reigning, this (prašasti) was composed by the illustrious Prasannāditya of the Ghata family.

No. 38; PLATE XXX B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on the inside of the western wall of the Fish temple in the fort of Bandhogarh which lies about 65 miles south by west of Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh. The record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of only two lines of bold and deeply incised letters. The first line is 4' 5" and the second 4' 9" long. The average size of the letters is 4.5".

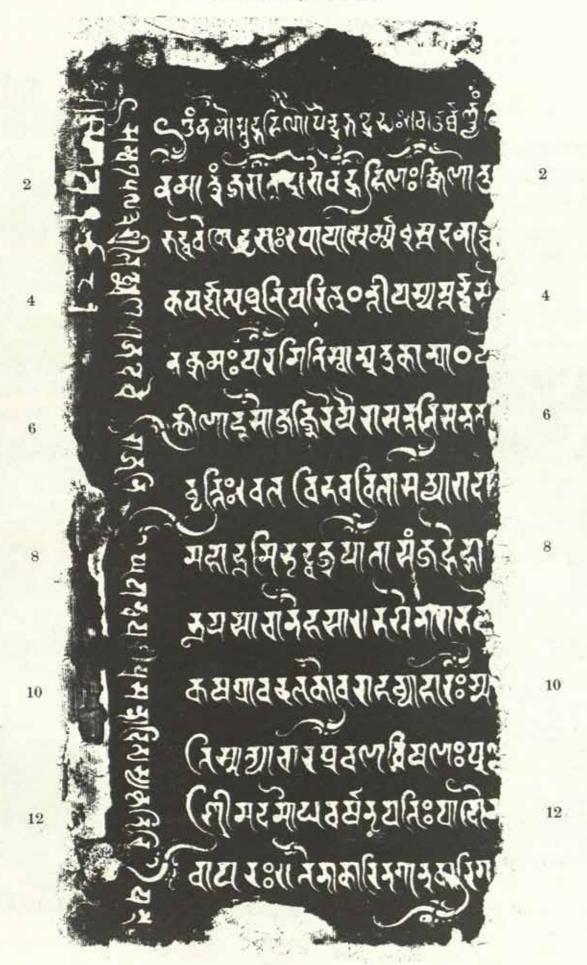
The characters belong to the Nagari alphabet of about the tenth century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note that the lingual d is round-backed in Gaud-, 1.2; the right-hand up-stroke of the subscript y is not brought down, see -amatyasya, 1.1 and the left limb of the palatal f is not separated from the right-hand vertical, see fri-, in. 1.1 The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. It consists of only a single sentence. The orthography does not call for any remark except that the conjunct tsya has been written as chehhya in machehhya-, 1.2.

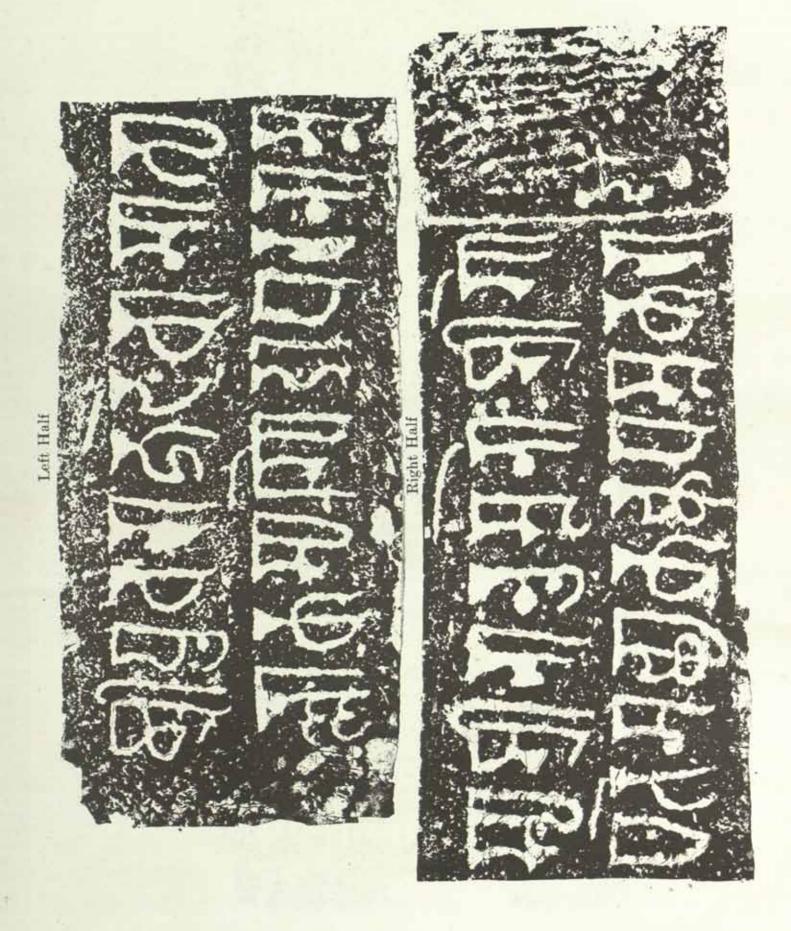
¹ This was probably Gövinda III of the Rāshṭrakuṭa dynasty, see above, p. 180.

² This seems to be Amoghavarsha I, the son and successor of Govinda III.

PLATE XXX.

A —KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I: (KALACHURI) YEAR 593





The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the fish, the tortoise, the boar and others were of (i.e., were caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gollaka, also known as Gauda, the son of the illustrious Bhanu, who was a minister (amatya) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. The palaeography of the record indicates that this Yuvarājadēva is the first king of that name who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.C. The figures referred to are evidently the rock-cut images of the fish, tortoise, boar and other incarnations of Vishnu, which Göllāka had caused to be carved. Some of them can still be seen near the present inscription.

TEXT1

- ा श्रीयुवराजदेवामात्यस्य श्रीभानुसुनोः श्रीगो-
 - 2 ल्लाकस्य गौडापरनाम्न एते मच्छच (त्स्य)कच्छपस्करा[चं°]: [1*]

TRANSLATION

These (figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and others are of (i.e., are caused to be carved by) the illustrious Göllāka, (who is known) by the other name of Gauda, the son of the illustrious Bhanu (and) a minister (amatya) of the illustrious Yuvarajadēva (I).

No. 39; PLATE XXXI A

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

This inscription, like the preceding one, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is at Bandhogarh, about 65 miles south by west of Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. It is incised on a pillar with a broken figure of Garuda to the west of a colossal rock-cut figure of Adivaraha, placing the left foot on a Naga figure. The record consists of only two lines, the first of which measures 11' 10" and the second 2' 11" long. Several aksharas in the middle of the first line and a few in the second have now become illegible, but some of them can be restored with the help of the preceding epigraph. The average size of the letters is 5".

The characters belong to the Nagari alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. They closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the record is wholly in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Adivaraha and Parasurama (?) were of (i.e., were caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gollaka, the son of the illustrious Bhanu, who was a minister (amatya) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. This Yuvarājadēva was evidently Yuvarājadēva I-Kēyūravarsha. The figure of Ādivarāha referred to here is plainly the colossal rockcut image of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, near which the inscription is incised. Some of the other figures also can still be seen carved out of rocks in the same place.

1 From an inked estampage.

² What appears like a broken curve over the ligature dya is probably due to a fault in the rock. Read -सकराद्याः.

TEXT1 of the Franchist TEXT1 of the Line o

- ा ओं श्रीयुवरा[जदेवामात्यस्य].................थ[श्रीभा]नुसूनोः श्रीगोल्लाकस्यैते मत्स्य-
- थ पादिवराहप[रशुरामा:³?] [।*]

TRANSLATION

Om! These (figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the primeval Boar (and) Parasurāma (?) are of (i.e., are caused to be carved by) the illustrious Göllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu who was a minister (amātya) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No. 40; PLATE XXXI B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

This inscription, like the preceding two records, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from a good estampage kindly sent by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock facing south-west near the rock-cut image of a Tortoise at Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. The record consists of eight lines, of which the first seven were probably 2' 11" long while the last one measures only 9½". The epigraph has suffered very much by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Nearly half the portion on the right-hand side of lines 3-7 has been completely lost. Besides, several aksharas here and there have become illegible. The average size of the letters is 2.3".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. The language is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. Attention may be drawn to the expression sāhitya-vidyā-lala[nā-bhujanga] which is adopted in some later records for the description of Yuvarājadēva II. In the last line utkārītani has been wrongly used for utkārņani. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The inscription is one of the illustrious Göllāka, the son of Bhānu, who is known from other records to have been a minister of Yuvarājadēva I. The object of it was evidently to dedicate⁵ the image of the Tortoise near which it is incised, but the portion of the record where this was stated has now become illegible. In lines 4-6 the inscription seems to have contained the description of a battle, for the extant words in line 5 speak of a great river of which the waves were enemies.

The record was written by Gunanivasa, and incised by Bhaka.

¹ From an inked estampage.

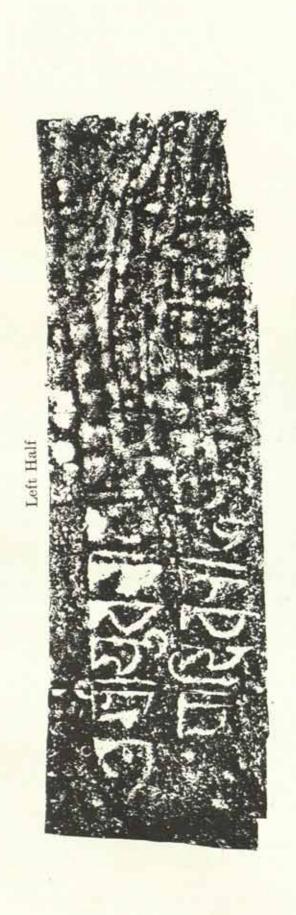
² About 11 aksharas are completely lost here. The last seven of them may have been श्रीगोडापरनाम्नः. See line 2 of the preceding inscription, page 183, above.

³ The reading of these aksharas is not quite certain.

⁴ Below, No. 50, L 10 and No. 51, L 7.

^{*} Line 4 contains the word niveditain which means 'dedicated',

A .- BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

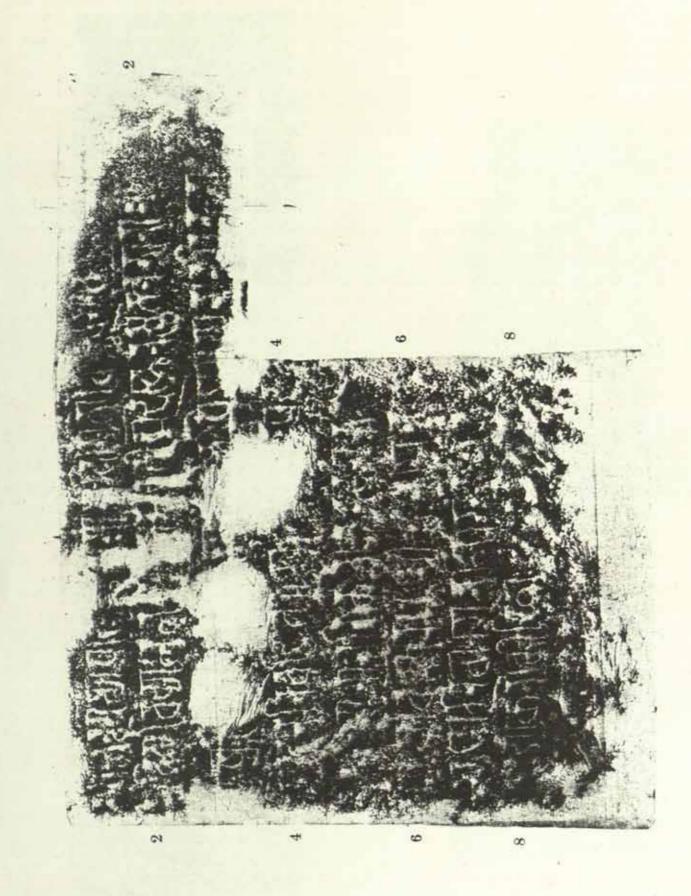




B. CH. CHHABBA. Reg. No. 3977 E'36 - 776' 51.

SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



TEXT1

- [ओं। गजे]न्द्रगत्या परि- u मां² [म]हीमतो वै[ष्णव]गो[ल्ल](केन।*]
- [सा*]हित्यविद्यालल[नाभुजङ्गा दि*]तीयदेहेन सतेन भानोः ॥ [१॥*]
- [बि]ब्जो: ५५० - ५, ५५५५ विजो ०५। ५५५५ - ५,
- 일 일 일 न निवेदि[तं(तम्)]⁵॥ (२॥*) क्ले[श*] 일 일 0 प्रदं, 일 일 일 일 0-
- υ 일 । 일 일 [ग्रस्त]मरिकल्लो[लं] नदं [शङ्को] บ υ 일 ॥ [३॥*]. . . .
- [लक्ष्मी] विच्छे[द].
- भाकेनोत्कीरितं6।

TRANSLATION

OM!

(Verses 1-2) By Göllāka, the son of Bhānu, (who is) a devotee of Vishnu, (and a minister) of the king, (who has delighted) the earth by his gait (resembling that) of a lordly elephant, who has a matchless person and [who is the lover of] the lady, namely, literature, has been dedicated

(V. 3) I fancy that the great river, of which the waves are the enemies (Lines 6-7) (This record has been) written by Gunanivasa (and) incised by Bhaka.

No. 41

GOPALPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was, like the preceding three records, discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock at the back of the Seshaśayi image to the southwest of Gopālpur, a village, one mile to the north of Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It consists of three lines of bold and deeply incised letters, but owing to the constant trickling down of water on them, many aksharas especially in lines 2 and 3 have now become illegible. The lines are 4' 8" long. The average size of the letters is 6".

The characters are of the Nagari alphabet closely, resembling those of the three preceding epigraphs. The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription was apparently similar to that of the last three epigraphs, viz., to record that an image (of Haladhara?7) was caused to be carved by the illustrious Göllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

¹ From an inked estampage.

Restore परितोषिणेमां.

The expression साहित्यविद्यालननाभूजङ्ग- occurs in connection with Yuvarājadēva II in verse 10 of the Goharwa plates (No. 50, below) and in verse 13 of the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below).

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.
⁵ Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushtubb*.

⁸ Read भाकेनोत्कीर्णम्.

⁷ Only the first two akebaras of this name have left faint traces. I do not know if there is any rock-cut image of Haladhara or Balarama near by. It may be noted that in some panels of the ten incarnations of Vishņu, Balarāma takes the place of Krishņa. R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaval Sculpture, p. 103.

TEXT1

- ा [ओं श्री युव]राजदेवामा[त्यस्य]श्रीभानु-
- 2 [सुनो:*] श्रीगोल्ला[कस्य]: एवं एक प्रतिकार विकास विकास

TRANSLATION

Ōm ! [This figure of Haladhara⁵(?) is] of (i.e., is caused to be carved by) the illustrious Göllāka, [named] , the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who is a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No. 42; PLATE XXXII

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular sunken panel surrounded by a plain border of a large slab of sand-stone. It was discovered at Kārītalāi (lat. 24° 3' North, long. 80° 46' East), a village in the Murwārā tahsil of the Jabalpur District in Madhya Pradesh. The stone, which was first removed to the Jabalpur Museum, is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. General Cunningham first published a short account of the contents of the inscription in his Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX, p. 81. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The inscription is much mutilated. It has lost a considerable portion at the top. Again, a large piece, measuring 1' broad by 1' 8" high, has been broken off at the lower proper right corner, and a small one, 5" broad by 3" high, has been lost at the upper proper left corner. Besides, some letters have been lost in two cracks, of which the longer one cuts the inscription transversely. The cracks seem to have widened in the process of removing the heavy stone from Jabalpur to Nagpur and some letters, which were clear in the rubbing supplied to Dr. Kielhorn, have since disappeared. The preserved portion of the inscription covers a space 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high, and consists of thirty-four lines, of which the first thirty-one are inscribed on the sunken panel of the slab, and the last three on the stone border below. The average size of the letters is 1", except in 1.32, which is engraved on the inside edge of the border, and in which the letters are smaller, being only .6" in height.

The characters are of the Nagari alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. They are well-formed and deeply engraved. In some cases the aksharas which were inadvertently omitted at first, were incised subsequently below the line, see ya of yad-ontabpurē, 1.14 and ka of -kalaša-, 1.20; while in others the wrong aksharas and strokes have been

¹ From an inked estampage.

Three or four aksharas are gone here.

a About three aksharas are illegible here. One would expect a word like श्रीजीहापर- at the end of the second and in the beginning of the third line, but the akshara preceding nā in line 3 appears more like ya than ra. Perhaps श्रीजीहाँदिनीय- is meant.

⁴ Perhaps हल्हार: was intended.

⁵ Haladhara 'the plough-holder' is a well-known name of Balarama.

⁴ As pointed out by Kielhorn, this account is very incorrect.

⁷ See, e.g., the aksbaras -tn=īty=ē- in 1, 13.

cancelled, either by incising a vertical stroke at the top or by chiselling off the wrong portion; see achikarat=and avivyadhat=, both in 1.5, =adhahkrit-ānya- in 1.18 etc. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare initial ri in rijur-, 1.18 and to dh, the upper part of the left limb of which, for the first time in the records edited here, appears well-developed, though it is not yet joined to the right-hand vertical see dharmma, 1. 3. The letter f appears in two slightly different forms, see, for instance, knsalo and hasty-asva-, both in 1.8; so also n in =gun-anato and -pranamyab, both in 1.3; r, as the first member of a conjunct, generally appears as a repha above the line, but in -chārur= yad=1.11, it is horizontal in form and prefixed to ya on the left below the line. The prishtha-mātrās are fully developed, but in some cases, as for instance in -mahā-pātrāya, 1.2, -jātavēdas-, 1.4, ēkā, 1.8, the vertical stroke on the right, representing medial ā, is only half drawn. In a few cases, both the strokes of the medial o appear horn-shaped above the line, see prāp=omnatini, 1.6 and yad=yoshitāni, ll. 11-12. A final consonant is indicated by its short form as well as by the addition of a small curve below it, see, e.g., kathanichit, 1.5. The form of th, which has a slightly developed vertical stroke on the right, shows that the present inscription is later than inscription No. 37, which comes from Kārītalāi itself.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written in the later $k\bar{a}vya$ style, abounding in figures and hyperbolical descriptions. Except for the words yas=cha in 1.5 and kim vahunā in 1.26, the record is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following r is doubled rightly in $=anabhyartthit\bar{o}$, 1. 2 etc., but wrongly in sudarssanab, 1.21, and the sign for v is used to denote b throughout, see $vahutar\bar{a}m-$, 1.2, $v\bar{o}ddh\bar{a}$, 1.7 and so forth. The sign of the $jihv\bar{a}muliya$ occurs in 1.9 and that of the $upadhm\bar{a}niya$ in 1.30.

The inscription mentions three Kalachuri princes, Yuvarājadēva, Lakshmaņarāja and Sanka[ragana]. Their names occur only incidentally in the extant portion. The earlier portion which probably contained a glorification of the first two, has been lost. Of the forty-two verses which have either wholly or partially been preserved, the first describes the great liberality of some person whose name is lost, but who was probably Lakshmanarāja. The next five verses eulogize Bhākamiśra, the minister of Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently the first prince of that name in the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Tripuri... Bhākamiśra was born in the family (gotra) of the sage Bharadvāja, performed many sacrifices, erected temples and dug wells in numerous places. His son Somēśvara is eulogized in the next twelve verses. He was proficient in various arts, sciences and systems of philosophy and performed many sacrifices. Even the king Lakshmanaraja is said to have once shouldered his palanquin to prevent it from falling down. Then comes, in eleven verses, the description of a very high temple of Vishnu, erected by Somesvara at Kārītalāi. The image installed therein was probably of the boar incarnation, which is referred to in vv. 27 and 35, and was called Somasvamin after the founder of the temple. The next thirteen verses enumerate the various donations made to the deity. In the town (pura) near the temple, eight Brahmanas were caused to settle. To them the king, evidently Lakshmanaraja (II), donated the village Dîrghaśākhika (v. 30). He also gave another village, the name of which is lost, to the god on the occasion of a solar eclipse. His queen Rāhadā gave, with his consent, the village Chakrahradī and the illustrious Sanka[ragana] who is probably identical with Lakshmanaraja's son and successor and who was then the crown-prince, gave the god another village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (v. 33).

¹ This is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

He is called parama-vaishnava, a devoted worshipper of Vishņu. Two other villages, Chhallipāṭaka in the āhāra of Dhavala and Antarapāṭa, were donated to the god at a solar eclipse (v. 34). The next verse mentions donations of a small field and another yielding twelve khandis (of corn) to the Boar. A potentate who was named Vallē[śvara] gave the village Vaṭagartikā in the Mālā group of twelve in his own territory, while another, who had come to the place, donated a field requiring a khārī of seed-corn. Besides these, several taxes and tolls are mentioned in the last five verses, the income from which was assigned to the deity.

The inscription is not dated, but it was probably put up towards the end of Lakshmanarāja's reign (circa 940-965 A.C.).

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, Dr. Kielhorn suggested the identification of Dîrghaśākhika with Dighī, about six miles south-east of Kārītalāi, and Rai Bahadur Hiralal that of Chakrahradī with Chakadahī, seven miles south of Kārītalāi. I could not, however, trace the latter village either in the list of villages in the Murwārā tahsil or on the Degree Map. I identify Dhavala, the headquarters of an āhāra, with Dhawaia, 4 miles south of Dighī. The pura, where eight Brāhmaṇas were made to settle, is still known by the name Bamhōri (Brāhmaṇapurī) and lies about two miles east of Kārītalāi. Chhallipāṭaka is probably Chilhāri, about 11 miles east of Dhavala, in the adjoining territory of Vindhya Pradesh. Vaṭagartikā may be identical with the modern Barhaṭi, 10 m. west by south of Kārītalāi, and Antarapāṭa with Amaturrā, 7 miles east of Kārītalāi. The Mālā group of twelve cannot be located.

TEXT 2

- येस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कृच्छाह्दौ । प्रत्यक्षीकृतदान एव तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यिते ग्रामान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणजातये व(व)हुत[रां]स्तुष्टान्तरा[न्मा] v -4 [॥१॥*]
- वंशाद्भरद्वाजमुनेरन्ताद्गृणानतो⁵ धम्मं इवापरो[भू]त् । श्रीभाकमिश्रः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः शश्वत्क्त-तार्त्थीकृतमार्गणीघः ॥[२॥*] कृण्टितिषणो घिष- - -⁷
- 4 सीम्यो वु(बु)धो न वु(बु)धः । अकविः कविरिप यस्मादितग्रहोप्येवमग्रहिस्वत्रं (त्रम्) 5 ॥[३॥ 8] यदनविधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्तततरखरतापोत्तप्तगात्री धरित्री । दिगिभभुज[ग]—

¹ Kielhorn remarked:—"The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word kbārīvāpa, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean a field sown with a kbārī of corn, or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kārītalāi." The latter supposition is unlikely; for the verse clearly means that some person, whose name is lost, donated to the god a field in his own territory when he came bere (iba), i. e., to Kārītalāi. Khārīvāpa, therefore, cannot be identical with Kārītalāi.

^{*} From the original stone and ink impressions.

² Only the lower portions of nearly half the number of the aksharas in this line are preserved. The reading of the fourteen aksharas given above is almost certain.

^{*} The missing aksharas were probably मुद्दा. Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁵ It would be better to read वंशे भरद्वाजमनेरनने गुणोश्रतो— as suggested by Kielhorn.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

⁷ Read धिवणोआीम्यः.

⁸ Metre: Udgiti.

- राजानन्तकूम्मैं: समूहे किलतदवथुपीडानष्टधैयैं: कथंचित्¹॥[४॥*] यश्च ॥ अचीकर²त्कुत्र न देववेश्मान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरांसि । अविव्यध³त्कुत्र न कूपवा[पी]—
- 6 ररूरपन्नाम्प्रवणानि कुत्र⁴॥[५॥*] अवाप्य यं श्रीयुवराजदेवो घराघरं प्राच्यमिवांशुमाली । प्रापोन्नति व्यस्तसमस्तदोषां मन्त्रिप्रधानं कुलगोत्रचारुं(रुम्)⁵॥[६॥*] न संदिग्धे वे-
 - 7 दे द्रवदविष वो (बो)द्वा पदिविषेरतक्यंस्तर्केष्वप्यनवममितस्तन्त्रगतिषु । य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरण-निपुणः काव्यसरणिः स तस्यासीत्सूनः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति ।।[७।।*] पुस्ते-
 - श नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमद्दचरित्रे ौर्यत्रिके किमिप यः कुशलो व (ब) भूव । हस्त्यदवपालनपरीक्षणकर्मम् । शास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो धरि धीमतां चंशा[८॥*] एका कला मूर्घन शशा-
 - 9 क्रुमौलेरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः । श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः कलाः कलाः कलाः क्रीतंयितं कृती कः ।।[९॥*] मेरः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकिनचयः पुष्यत्तुषारोत्करैरुद्भूतो[द्धुरजा]—
 - उच एव हिमवानरौद्रो गिरिः स्फाटिकः । अधिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेद्धैकवो (बो) घाविधः सौम्यो-साबुपमीयते कथिमव क्माभृत्त्रयेणामुना¹¹॥[१०॥*] अपा[स्तकुं]कुमं ये-
 - 11 न नवनीतमनीयत । वपु:प्रणयितां यज्ञे विशिभिद्दःकरं ३३ हि कि (किम्) १४॥ [११॥*] अपास्तकाञ्चिर्धृत[मुंज]रज्जुर्गलह्गू (कू)लो वृतवूर १४वासाः । अलोकिकत्वे[न विशे]षचारुर्यद्यो—
 - 12 वितां पर्व्वणि वेष एषः 16॥[१२॥*] अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्दुग्धि होमोपयुक्तामध्वय्यों गां स्नुचमपि समं क्षालयाशु स्रुवेण । तप्तैर्व्वाभिर्भवतु [सिव*]धे गार्हपत्यस्य प—
 - 13 [त्नीत्ये] 17वं प्रोचुग्गृहशुकगणा यज्वनो यस्य सन्धौ 1811[१३।1*]- अन्तर्व्वशिक वासमन्दिरमही गन्धोदकैः क्षाल्यतां वारस्त्रीजन देहि भास्वरिश[खाग्रत्न] 17प्रदीपान्व (न्व)हृन् ।। (1) त्वं सै–
 - 14 ¹ºरिनिझ नि[घे]हि गन्धमिखलं राज्ञि त्वमप्यादृता वेषे स्या इति शारिकोदितमभूत्सायं यदन्त:— पुरे²º॥[१४॥*] विश्वेपि विश्वजित्कोटिमगमन्सप्ततन्तव[:। सन्वं*]स्वं ददतस्तस्य श्रीम— च्चेदीन्द्रम—
 - 15 न्त्रिण: 21। [१५। 1*] [शस्तं] यद्यज्ञभूमौ रणशिरसि सदा शंसितं होतृसूत्रैगीतं षड्जादिभेदैरति— मधुरगिरोद्गातृभिग्गथिकैश्च । अध्वर्य्युः [क*][म्मं]वर्य्यः प्रचरति च करी दानसंसि—

¹ Metre: Mālinī.

² The engraver at first incised अवीकरकरक्त्र, but subsequently cancelled the first ka and ra.

³ The engraver first incised अविविध्य-, but subsequently struck out the stroke for the medial i of विद.

⁴ Metre: Upëndravajrä.

⁵ Metre: Upajāti.

⁶ This word is quite clear. Read काड्यसरणी.

⁷ Metre: Sikharini.

⁸ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

Originally men: was engraved. Subsequently one vertical stroke was added inside ya to make it men:

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹² Read वपुत्रणिवतां.

¹³ Read - TUNE.

¹⁴ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹⁶ The reading here is quite certain. Kielhorn doubtfully read प[?]तवृ[?] रवासाः.

¹⁴ Metre: Ubaiāti

¹⁷ These aksharas, which were unimpaired in Kielhorn's time, have since been damaged.

¹⁸ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

¹⁹ This akshara is quite certain.

ह0 स, which was at first omitted, is written below the line. Metre: Sārdālavikrīḍita.

²¹ Metre: Anushfubb.

- 16 क्तहस्तस्तस्य [श्री]भट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणने के वयं तुच्छवाचः ॥[१६॥*] वातन्धमाधिरोहे अश्यति दोलाभृति श्रमात्किञ्चत् । श्रीम[ल्ल]क्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदाद्यस्य दोलायां (याम्) ॥ [१७॥*]
- 17 प्रासादोयमका[रि] तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रृहः श्रीमच्चेदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुखः । यस्योच्चैः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः प्रेङ्खन्वियद्गामिनां संज्ञां व्या-
- 18 घुटने करोत्यविरतं रुढाध्वनोतिध्रुवं (वम्) । [१८॥*] ऋजुरति व (व) हिरन्तरादधानः कृटि— लतरत्वमधःकृतान्यकीत्तः । पि[शुन*] इव समुद्धतो विभाति प्रकटविलिङ्कितसर्व्यंलोक एषः । [॥१९॥*]
- 19 छक्ष्मीन्द्रधानोपि पु[रो] ददानो विमुक्तिमादर्शितविश्वरूपः। [क]क्षामगाहिष्यत दानवा— रेरेषोप्यया — ००⁷[वा]मनत्वं (त्वम्) है॥[२०॥*] अलमलमुख्वंशप्रान्तसंसक्तशुक्लांशुक— धटितश—
- 20 रीरेणोच्छितेन ध्वजे[न*] । कनकक श्लशरोचिई ण्डलग्नप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्यं— (त्यम्) 10 ।। [२१।।*] [उ] मतानां परिध्वञ्जो गुणाय महते यतः । अपि दुईर्शनो भानुभैवत्य-
- 21 त्र सुदर्शनः । [२२॥*] ध्वजपटिवकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरित्केवश्यमस्योत्तमा— [ङ्गे] । तरिणरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द—12
 - 22 [दा]ति¹⁸॥[२३॥*] अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्घृष्टिसीदद्रथाङ्गः प्रातः प्रातिह्नेशो घ[ट]यति युगलं चक्रयोर्व्वीतसंस्यं(स्यम्) । शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था—
 - 23 $v=-v^{14}$ [द]ण्डः । सायं सायं जनानां कलयित नितरामक्षवर्गं समग्रं (ग्रम्) 16 ।।[२४।।*] नय[ति] रथममुञ्चेद्दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्यु 17 रित हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि । त-
- 24 ए ए ए ए ए - [मे*]स्यातेष्यभिज्ञो ध्रुवमनभिविलंध्यं प्राप्य सीदत्यम[न्दं] (न्दम्) ¹⁸॥[२५॥*] अलङ्घशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव । पातङ्किरङ्घृ(ङ्गिष्ठ)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-
- 25 ॰ ॰ ॰ ॰ ॰ ।।।२६*] - ॰ ॰ वराहचरणकोदादुदञ्चित्कणं पृष्ठं मे तव तत्क्षणो[द्ध]तिव (वि)स-प्राया शिरःसन्तितः । मा गाद्भङ्गमितोपसप्पं निदधे तत्तावदेततद्ध्रुवं कूम्मंस्यापि व-
 - 26 v v + v v v v = 0 सवन्20||[२७॥*] कि व(व)हुना ॥ सर्व्वप्रासा[दरा]जोयं नियतं प्रतिभाति नः । यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नश्छत्रायते विघुः21||[२८॥*] स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

¹ Metre: Sragdharā.

^{*} Kielhorn read बात स्वमाधिरोहे, but he admitted, that he did not understand its exact meaning.

⁸ Metre: Aryā.

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to change this into विषद्गामिन:, but this is unnecessary.

⁶ Metre: Sārdūlavikridita.

⁶ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

⁷ Read -प्ययास्यद्यदि.

⁸ Metre: Upajātī.

^{*} The 事 of 事例明, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹⁰ Metre: Mālinī.

¹¹ Read सुदर्शन: Metre: Anushtubh.

¹³ Kielhorn's suggestions to read -रनन्भतां and बातवृद्धि are unnecessary. See the translation below.

¹⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁴ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied as -प्नेनात्र,

¹⁵ This has not been altered to अताना as Kielhorn thought.

¹⁴ Metre: Sragdbarā.

¹⁷ This akshara is certainly not Eq. It resembles Eq more than any other.

¹⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁹ Read - fag. Metre: Anushtubh.

³⁰ Metre: Sardülavikridita.

²¹ Metre: Anusbjubb.

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II.

2 कि बुं क्षिपराशिताम्बनस्यावार्यसङ्घरि । प्रमेक्षास्तरस्य पर्य देखिः इतिरम्य हिमाग्रामानायालका स्थित कर्न्यका है 🚉 🔑
विशाद्भराक्षस्त्रे रक्षमाक्ष्माक्ष्मीय में इवाय रेश्व शिदीबार निवः क्षित्र य ए सार्थकः मही रूपमा लियान कि विशादि है
🕯 स्मिन्नाहुवीमहुवर्धम्रकविःकविरिपयमाद्रियदेन्द्रैयमगद्रश्चितमगद्भविमानवर्द्धविमानवर्द्धविमानवर्द्धविमानवर्षावरमान्। वर्षावर्षावर्षावर्षावर्षावर्षावर्षावर्षा
चाह्य बहुक स्मिन्य में देव लिन्द वह यी द ब में विरिद्धाय था। मबीक रक रहते विराग ग्रासी यव हुत वह में विप्त के मान विष्त विषत विष्त विषत विषत विषत विषत विषत विषत विषत विष
 त्रत्यक्राम्बलातिकृत्याम्बाद्यदेशीयुक्ताक्रदेवीयगाय रेपाग्रामिकार्यमालीःपापिक्रिक्वनमञ्ज्ञामानिक्ववानेकल्यान्त्राद्यान्वरिवृत्वे ।
बिद्दररियोद्यापरिविदर्तर्ते वेर्तेषु हु बद्दममित्रवृक्षणित्यसम्बद्धाविरोदेखा १०६६ पुण्यस्य हु स्थानिक अनुस्थित विद्वासिक स्थानिक स्थान
ब्रियासमिति प्रास्ति वर्गा वित्रती खें ति के वियक्ष के के लिए के देश प्राप्त के स्वर्ग के तो चेत्र के के प्राप्त के के के कि के कि कि के कि
दिस्मिति रिशेः तालाः प्रभारत्थ प्रसिद्ध संभिधार राष्ट्रित छात ताला की तेथि उत्तरीका मिनुः मिन् किन सम्भाव प्रमासि रेसी स्थाप स्याप स्थाप स्याप स्थाप स्याप स्थाप स
10 हा ४ विद्वासी वी वी विश्व हिंद कि अपिया मार्मिय के मिल के बोर के वी या विश्व में मार्मिय के शिव का भूर विवास के मार्मिय के मार्मि
न् ब ब बीत मतीय न १ व पृथ्य पिया के विविद्देश है दि विशेष मया यक विश्व न है है। कूर्य ल इ श्वर विशास पासी कि तल
12 विना पूर्व लिरे षण बंशा में प्रीर्मी रिद्र विधि हर् चित्रे मी पयुक्त मधे छीं गांधन मिन में हैं न या थु में बेला रे पिकी हिर्दे वन के पान देव में वा वि
विद्रां दश्कराणायक्वीयसाम्दिशाभूष्रं शिक्षवासमिक्षरमदीगिक्षरिकः काला भावा रचीक्षरिकम् राशर देवं । वाश्वरू मार्वे
14 विश्वेति दिनकमार्वताक्षितमद्याद्र राविषेशाक्षिर गार्वेतिदिन महस्रायंद्र कः हिराजिश्विक हिराम मझ ५ ४ ० ४ वटर न अमुनी महिरोक्ष म 14
िलाशाक्षेत्रमान्त्रके रलेशिरसियरार्शियते होते मेरी मीतंबद्वरियोरे रिनसुर्शा रोजनुहिस मार्थिके शास एकं विवस्त स्वरंगिय से से सि
16 प्रदेश वर्षी मे प्रशास मार्ग ने तेर्य देश तार भावान के मार्थि में देश है है से मिकिए हैं भी है कुल गढ़ पर युन्य से लाया है।
धायरियमकः रेन्द्रितिस्टेरम् राद्रद्वःशैमहिद्दिन्देश्वमिक्षिकिनाहृ रिजागम् यः। युद्धोतिः र जादनः द्वर्षाद्वयः मिकामे देशा 18 इटनेक्सेट्टिसे रहाश्रीतिष्वं ग्रामकुरिद्दिनक्रारयानः क्रिक्तिसम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्ति विश्वसम्हिताहिन विश्वसम्
्यीर्यारायितः रदानोविष्ठितिमार्यितिविश्वयानवानगरियातयानगरियात्रयास्याययः व्यापनिवास्यात्रयः वस्याय्यात्रयान्या
20 ी लिक्टिनिवर्षेट्र कि के के तुल्यों विर्क्ष ले प्रयोग्य मर्थि दिवर्ष ने के दुर्ग में विश्व के में में में में में में में में में मे
िसर्हेर्ने शास्त्र टिर्किट बङ्गियर्षे भौगित्रसम्बद्धित्व समित्र विभागान मार्गित मेल रुक्त स्वाममुना विमानिक र विश्व मार्गित विश्व है
22 महिन्द्र महिन्द्र महिन्द्र महिन्द्र महिन्द्र स्थान है स्थान है स्थान
्यः म्हिनामा देळगामा कलयीतितरा मुकावर्गे समग्रा १ या मिन हे युक्ति के देश का मार्थित वस्ति के उत्तास का का का
24 स्वित्वादेवस्थितिवार्षाण्यास्य विश्वास्थाति । इत्यासिकार्याः स्वतिकार्याः स्वतिकार्यः । विश्वास्थाति । विश्व
भार रेपल हो राहर भार्यले गृष्ट्री में प्रवास के स्वास का स्वास का सम्बद्धित के स्वास के स्वास के स्वास का स्वास
26 ब्रोदेन बङ्गानिवस्तागर वेषाया विस्तर्यन युविस्तिन स्थायस्योकतुर व्यापल प्रश्तायनिविधः गिस्रेयारा कलामन स्था 26
विकास के जिल्ला में विकास के किया है। विकास के किया किया किया किया के किया किया के किया किया के किया किया किया
28 ए अये । अवैविधर्मे नास्मिद्राप्टिस्य क्रम्मिदारी में शामिकनामान में द्वी गामिन सार्था में अस्ति का मेरिक 28
द्वारीसायदेस मेशार्यानुम्यादेशारुषीययानसारदः। याम १कदरीमस्मिमस्रितीशिशलान्। शिश्वर
विविद्यानी हो पदिना वस्ता महारावन वस्ता महारावन विकास के विविद्या करते हैं कि विविद्या के विविद्या के विविद्या
24/12/2014 14/14/14/14/2014/2014/2014/2014/2014/201
32 विसर् शीला न सिर्वेश्य सीतावास सम्भागात्री सम्भागात्री स्वरंभ सामा स्वीति स्वरंभ सामा सामा स्वीति स्वरंभ सामा सामा सामा सामा सामा सामा सामा साम
中,这种种种的,但是一种的种种的,但是一种种的,但是一种种的种种,但是一种种的,但是一种的,但是一种的,但是一种的一种,但是一种的一种,但是一种的一种,但是一种
34 र गिलकप्राम्य वर्षुयक्त गर्नरस्ति। पर्लुवक्ष गरम्भार भाषा यहि । स्थला स्वाह वर्ष मन्य पर्वास वर्ष । अस्
24



- 27 ०००००--०--[र]मुष्य¹ व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डाघारमूघ्नों [दृढ]तरजगतीनिश्चलीभावशङ्कोः । कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुररिपुशरणं यावदेतच्चकास्तीत्येतच्चाशंसनं
 - 28 ० ० ० ० ० ० ० - [क्र]रूपं (पम्)ै।।[२९।।*] न्यवीविश[त्पुरे] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसू-निव । दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्राममदान्नृपःश।[३०।।*] श्रीमल्ठक्ष्मणराजो ग्रामं देवा-
 - 29[۱]......[प्रा]दादस्मै ग्रहे भानोः । [३९॥*] नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया तस्य राहडा । ग्रामं चक्रह्नदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत् । [३२॥*] श्रीशङ्क-
 - 30समै। देवाय दानशौण्डो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णव \times परमः0।।[३३।।*] धवलहरासंव(व) \dot{a}^7 प्रायच्छच्छिल्लिपाटकं ग्रामं(मम्)। भानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहणे देवा—
 - 31 ⁸[॥३४॥*]प्रप्रप्र--प्,प्रप्र[ल]क्षेत्रकं ददौ । तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्रं द्वादशखण्डि-कं(कम्) ⁹॥[३५॥*] मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगत्तिकां(काम्) । स्वकीय ¹⁰शासने श्री-मान्वल्ले-
- 32 थ्र ७-० थ् [॥३६॥*] थ्रथ्थ ० -थ्,थ्रथ्थ ० जासने¹¹। श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवाप-मिहागतः ॥[३७॥*] पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः शुक्लामेकादशीं ददौ । द्वादशीमपि यात्रायाः षो-
 - 33 प्रथम प्रशा[३८॥*] प्रथम - प्रप्रप्रम कां तथा। नित्यमेकां घटीं गोण्यां वोडशी दितयं तथा ॥[३९॥*) कपायपञ्चके देशिद्दीनमध्ये न्यवेदयत्। साद्धंद्वाविशमंशं च वाह्यं पाद-
 - 34 ०-०९॥[४०॥*] ५५५०--५,५५५५ ०५। [वागू]लिकप्रधातश्च पर्णापञ्चाशतं ददौ।[४१॥*] पर्णापञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा। खलभिक्षाश्चतल्लश्च मण्डलं सकलं ददौ॥ [४२॥*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) [Bali]¹² unwillingly gave land measuring three footsteps to Vāmana, the great recipient (of the gift); this (Lakshmanarāja) on the other hand, whose charity is witnessed by the people, has always (and) with gratification given numerous villages to (members of) the Brāhmaṇa caste, (though) not entreated (by them).

(V. 2) In the glorious lineage of the sage Bharadvāja was born, like a second Dharma, the illustrious Bhākamiśra who, modest by his virtues, was venerable to kings, (and) always rendered multitudes of supplicants happy.

(V. 3) On account of him¹³, oh, what a wonder! Brihaspati became confounded, the moon ugly, Budha unwise, Usanas ignorant, and the oppressive planet (Saturn?) incapable of overtaking (the people).

(V. 4) With its body oppressed by the very excessive and intense heat of the fires of his endless sacrifices, the earth was borne with great difficulty by the quarter-

¹ Kielhorn read [大中司], but the reading given above is quite certain.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Metre: Anuthtubb.

⁴ Metre: Aryā.

⁵ Metre: Anushtubh.

Metre: Udgiti.

⁷ Perhaps भवनाहार is meant, but it would not suit the metre.

[&]quot; Metre: Aryā.

⁹ Metre of vv. 34-42: Anushfubb.

¹⁰ Kielhorn read स्वकीये, but there is no sign of any matra on य.

¹¹ This word is quite clear on the original stone. Kielhorn, however, read [4त:].

¹² The few legible words in l.1 do not admit of a coherent meaning. They seem to refer to Lakshmanarāja's army encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparni.

¹³ In the original, verses 3-6 contain relative clauses, having for their correlative sri Bhākamiśrab in verse z.

elephants, Sesha, the lord of serpents and the Tortoise, who lost their patience on account of the pain they (had to) bear.

And he-

- (V. 5) Where did he not cause temples to be constructed, tanks to be excavated, wells with steps and those without them to be dug, and gardens of mango trees to be planted?
- (V. 6) Having obtained him, eminent by noble descent, as his Prime Minister, the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I) attained prosperity free from all deficiency, just as the sun being united with the eastern mountain—which, being a principal mountain, appears beautiful,—attains high altitude, completely dispelling the night.
- (V. 7) His son was that Someśwara, well-known here, who felt no doubt in (interpreting) the Vēdas; who was a complete master of grammar; who was (an) inconceivable (adept) even in logic; who had a superior intellect in the interpretation of Tantra (works); who was the foremost in Vēdānta, (and) clever in remembering poetic compositions.
- (V. 8) His intellect did not discard painting;² he was incomparable in conduct and quite skilful in triple symphony; he was matchless in the sciences of the care and examination of elephants and horses and in (the testing of) the three (kinds) of jewels (and) was at the head of the intelligent.
- (V. 9) There is only one kalā (i.e., digit of the moon) on the head of Siva; the kalās of the moon are well-known to be fifteen (in number); (but) who is able to enumerate the pleasing kalās (arts) of the illustrious Bhatta, the Dīkshita Sōmēśvara?
- (V. 10) (The mountain) Mēru is one mass of hoarded gold; the Himālaya has become extremely frigid by its increasing heaps of snow; the mountain of crystal (i.e., Kailāsa) appears dreadful.³ How can he (i.e., Sōmēśvara) who has bestowed on supplicants his entire store of gold, who has reached the limit of highest knowledge (and) who is gentle (by nature), be compared to this triad of mountains?
- (V. 11) In the sacrifice, he smeared his body with butter, discarding saffron;⁴ for, what is difficult to be accomplished by the self-controlled?
- (V. 12) Of his wives this was the dress on (the days of) Parvan, specially charming, being uncommon,—in which the girdle was set aside (and) a rope of muñja⁵ was worn (instead), the silken garment dropped down (from their bodies), (and) the linen cloth was chosen (in its place)⁶.
- (V. 13) The multitudes of the house-parrots of him, the sacrificer, said thus at (each) twilight:—'O Agnidh?! kindle the fires according to prescribed rules. O Adhvaryu!

¹ There is a play on the words unnati, dēsha (or dēshā) and kula-gētra, in consequence of which the expressions in which they occur can be understood in connection with both Yuvarājadēva I and the sun.

² Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives putta in the sense of painting. It can also be taken in the sense of a book or a record. Compare puttapāla which occurs in several Gupta records in the sense of a record-keeper, see, e.g., Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 81.

³ There are puns on the words jādya and raudra, which besides the meanings given above convey those of 'dullness' and 'belonging to Rudra' respectively.

⁴ In the initiatory rite (dīkshaṇīy-ēshṭi) of the Agnishṭōma sacrifice, the sacrificer is required to anoint himself with butter. See Baudhāyana Śrauta Śūtra (ed. by Caland), p. 157.

In an ishti, the wife of the sacrificer ties round her waist a threefold girdle of kula, called yoktra.

The meaning of vāra is uncertain, but the context shows that some coarse garment (as contrasted with dukāla, a silken raiment) is meant. On the occasion of agnyādbāna, the sacrificer and his wife are required to dress themselves in garments of linen (ksbauma) which may be meant here.

⁷ The priest who kindles fire in a sacrifice,

milk the cow (which is) useful for the sacrifice, and wash quickly the sruch together with the sruva.1 Let the wife (of the sacrificer) attend the Garhapatya fire with hot water'.

(V. 14) In his harem, this was said by the sārikā (every) evening:—'O Superintendent of the harem! let the floor of the residential mansion be washed with scented water. Courtezans! give (me) numerous jewelled lights with bright flames. O maid-servant! keep ready all (the) scents. O Queen! You also mind (your) dress!'

(V. 15) All the sacrifices of the illustrious minister of the lord of Chēdi, who gave

away (in charity) all his wealth, reached the standard of the Visvajit sacrifice.2

(V. 16) How insignificant are we of worthless speech in enumerating the merits of that illustrious Bhatta Sōmēśvara,—at the place of whose sacrifices and in the fore-front of whose battles, hymns and eulogies are recited by the Hōṭri priests and bards (respectively); (sāmans and panegyrics) are sung in shadja and other notes and in an extremely sweet voice by the Udgāṭri priests³ and musicians (respectively); (and) there moves about (respectively) the Adhvaryu priest, foremost in sacrificial work, whose hand is wet with (the water powed in making) gifts, and the elephant whose trunk is wet with rutting juice!

(V. 17) To his palanquin the illustrious Lakshmanaraja (II) put his shoulder, when the bearer of it ascending to anairy place4 was stumbling a little on account of the

fatigue of carrying it.

(V. 18) This temple of the god (Vishņu) the enemy of demons, which has covered the faces of (all) quarters, has been constructed by that virtuous and foremost minister of the illustrious lord of Chēdi,—(the temple) whose banner-cloth, which is incessantly fluttering, being struck by wind, is most assuredly making a sign to such as go through the sky to turn back (from the temple) which has blocked their path.

(V. 19) This high temple which appears very straight outside, but is very curved inside, which has surpassed (in height) the temples of others, (and) which has manifestly risen above the whole world, appears like an insolent calumniator who shows himself very straight-forward outwardly, (but) is crooked at heart, who has disparaged others'

fame, and openly insulted all people.5

(V. 20) This temple also, which, though possessing splendour, confers liberation, showing all forms (by its sculptures) in front would have borne resemblance to (Vishnu) the enemy of gods (who, though he deprived Bali of his fortune, conferred liberation, showing him his all-embracing form), if (only, like the latter), it had been small (in size)6.

(V. 21) On account of the upraised flag (of this temple) made of a white (piece of) cloth attached to the (upper) end of an extremely high staff, the heavenly river, with its stream flowing along the staff which looks splendid with the golden jar (on the spire of

the temple), appears always to assume the very form of a banner.

(V. 22) Association with the exalted leads to great excellence; for even the dazzling sun can be easily looked at from here.

(V. 23) On the top of this temple which can be reached (by the sun) after a pair of watches (i.e., six hours), where there is a (cool) breeze produced by the flapping of the

¹ Sruch means a sacrificial ladle in general, while sruva is a sacrificial ladle of khadira (Acacia Catecha), measuring a cubit (aratni) in length.

² Because he gave away all his wealth in each sacrifice.

² The priests who sing the hymns of the Sāmavēda.

⁴ Vātandhama, an airy place, is mentioned in the Kāšikā on Pāṇini, III, 2, 30.

^a There are puns on several words here, on account of which they can be construed with the temple and the calumniator.

⁴ Vishņu was vāmana (dwarfish).

⁷ For it is connected with the high temple.

large hem of the banner-cloth (and) where the heavenly river meets, the sun invariably gives a currying to his horses (such as they had) not enjoyed before (at that time of the day).

(V. 24) Morning after morning the sun, the wheels of whose (chariot) break down, colliding against the high spire of this temple during his incessant roaming (through the sky), repairs both of them innumerable times. I fancy that every evening the banner-staff (of this temple) completely counts to the people all the axles¹ (that had broken) owing to (the sum's chariot) jolting in the cavity of the sky (caused) by the peak (of this temple).

(V. 25) If he (i.e., the sun's charioteer) were to take the chariot by the south or the north of this (temple), there would be the (untimely) shortening and lengthening of the days; 2.... (So) expert as he is in crossing even the Mēru mountain, he is not a little confounded when he reaches this (temple) which is firm (and) impossible to

be crossed.

(V. 26) The son of the sun (i.e., Saturn) suffered (here) the pain caused by the injury to his legs³ as if because of his inordinate fondness for crossing the impassable row of

the spires (of this temple).

(V. 27) 'My4 back is becoming scarred, being trampled under the feet of the Boar! Let not the row of your hoods, which is (soft) almost like lotus-stalks just drawn (out of water), break (under my weight)! Turn aside. Let me place this (my body) on (the back of) the Tortoise!

What is the use of saying more?

(V. 28) This certainly appears to us to be the best of all temples, since the moon

(when) joined to the top of its flag staff, appears like an umbrella.

(V. 29) May this of this (temple), the top of which supports the egg of Brahman, and which is the peg that renders the earth immovable, last as long as the world! (And) may the world endure as long as this temple of (Vishnu), the enemy of Mura, will shine Such is (our) wish!

(V. 30) The king made eight Brāhmaṇas, resembling (as many) Vasus, settle in

this city (and) gave them a village named Dîrghaśākhika.

(V. 31) The illustrious Lakshmanaraja (II) gave the village to this god on (the occasion of) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 32) His great Queen Rāhadā, with her devotion and the king's consent, gave

this (god) the village Chakrahradi.

(V. 33) The illustrious Sanka[ragana] (III) the devout worshipper of Vishnu,

skilled in charity, gave on (the occasion of) an eclipse of the moon.

(V. 34) (He) gave the village Chhallipāṭaka, which is situated in the āhāra⁵

of Dhavala and Antarapata on (the occasion of) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 35) (He) gave the (divine) Boar the field and also another yielding (a crop of) twelve khandis.

(V. 36) The illustrious Vallē[śvara] gave as a grant,6 the village Vaṭagartikā (situated) in the Mālā (group) of twelve (villages) in his own territory.

¹ The stars are probably intended to be referred to as 'axles'. The staff as it points to different stars during the night is said to count them to the people.

² For these are caused by the dakshināyana and the uttarāyana of the sun.

¹ Hence he is called Sanaischara (one who walks slowly).

⁴ This is evidently said by the Earth to the serpent Sēsha. The temple was dedicated to the Boar-incarnation of Vishnu. Hence the Earth says that her back bears the scars of the wounds caused by His hoofs.

⁶ See above, p. 191, n. 7.

a Sasana is used here in the sense of 'a village granted by a charter'. Compare Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 76.

(V. 37) (He) . . . who had come here, gave a field, sown with a khārī¹ of

grain, in his own territory, to the god, the holy Somasvamin.

(V. 38) The Superintendent² of the city and the town gave (to the god) (the income?) on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight and also on the twelfth day during the fair (of the god)

(V. 39) (He) . . . always gave a jar (of corn3) for every goni,4 and also a couple

of shodasis (i.e., karsha).

- (V. 40) The Desis offered one and a half times the one-twentysecond portion of the five spirituous liquors and a quarter of the goods carried (into the town?) among (these) donations.
 - (V. 41) And the Chief of the Vāgūlikas gave (a bundle of) fifty leaves.8
- (V. 42) The Payatis gave another (bundle of) fifty leaves. And the whole Mandala gave the alms at four threshing floors.9

No. 43; PLATE XXXIII

BARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA

This inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā tahsil of the Jabalpur District, in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 101 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar¹⁰ and was edited by me in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 278 ff. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters has disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consits of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three aksharas. The average

¹ A khārī is a measure equal to sixteen drōnas.

² Sthāna seems to be used here in the sense of the sthān-ādhikrita or sthāna-pati. Cf. No. 88, 1. 15.

^a Ghafi as a measure is mentioned in the värttika on Pāṇini, III. 2.30. If it is the same as kumbha, it would be equal to twenty dronas,

⁴ A goni is a measure equal to four khārīs (Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 537).

⁵ Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives shōdafikā, meaning 'sixteen māsbas', that is, equal to one karsba. Or, on the analogy of vimisōpaka it may have been so called, because it was equivalent to one sixteenth of a dramma.

^{*} Dissi, which occurs as Dissi in the Pehevä inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 187), means probably the foreman of a guild, or the guild itself. See the Harsha stone inscription (ibid., Vol. II, p. 124) and the Nädlaï stone inscription, (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 43).

⁷ The lexicons give vāguli in the sense of a kind of plant, perhaps the betel-plant. Vāgūlika used here may in that case denote 'a seller of betel-leaves'.

^{*}The Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva also mentions the tax of fifty leaves on every chöllikā (of leaves), brought from outside the town, see Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 267.

⁹ See below, p. 198, n. 1.

¹⁰ First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1932), p. 43-

size of the letters is 1.5." The characters belong to the Nagari alphabet. As regards individual letters, we may note that kh consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; th shows a vertical stroke on the right; r exhibits two forms,—one with a loop as in kridaram, 1.3 and the other without it in -Savara-, 1.1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A.C., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A.C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of sandhi (as in atō arthē for atō='rthē in 1.4) and of gender (as in sapath=ēdam for sapathō='yam in the same line.) The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that b is throughout denoted by the sign for v, see

-Savara- and -Valādhikrita, both in 1.1, and -vrahma-stamba- in 1.2.

The record opens with on namah and refers to a Commander of the army (Balā-dhikrita) of Sabara. His name, which is partly mutilated, appears to be Siva. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Sankaranārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

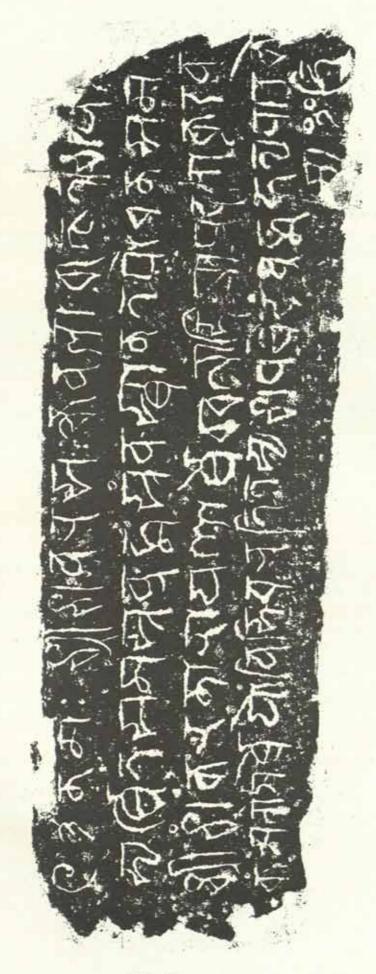
The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it can, on palaeographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.C. The illustrious Sabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Sabara, named Simha, mentioned in the fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsa, to which Dr. F.E. Hall has called attention in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya gotra, who was a minister of the king Krishna, after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Sabara named Simha, placed the king of the Rālā mandala and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Vidiśā near Bhilsā, where he composed a stōtra in praise of the god.1 From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Sabara chief Simha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chedian generalissimo. The Sabara of the present inscription too was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king; for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon, to which General Cunningham2 has drawn attention, refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Sabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Krishna, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsa, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces. It mentions one Narasimha of the Sulki (or Chalukya) family, who at the command of Krishnaraja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood.3 As Kēsari, the son of Narasimha was, according to the inscription, appointed Tantrādhipa (Minister of Home Affairs) by Vākpati-Muñja (circa 972-995 A.C.), Krishnarāja can be placed about 950 A.C. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (982 A.C.) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde discovered on a pillar

¹ See 'Chēd-isam samarē vijitya Sabaram sambritya simhāhvayam \ Rālā-mandala-Rādapādy-avanipā (pam) bhūmyām pratishthāpya cha \ Dēvam drashtum = ib-āgatā rachitavām(n) stātram pavitram param \ srīmat-Krishna-mripaika-mantri-pada-bhāk-Kaundinya-Vāchaspatih \ cited by F. E. Hall in J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

^{*} C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, pp. 101 and 165.

³ A. R. A. D. G. S., (1930-31), p. 10.

BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA





of a dilapidated medieval temple at Gyāraspur.¹ This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as Kṛishṇāśvara. The god was evidently so named after a king named Kṛishṇa who consequently must have flourished before 982 A. C. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the aforementioned date for Kṛishṇa. This Kṛishṇa is probably identical with Kṛishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions² at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 954 A.C. to 1002 A.C. Kṛishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period 960-85 A.C. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga dated V. 1011 we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.³ It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Kṛishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Sabara of the present inscription with the Sabara chief slain by Kṛishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Sabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. The Kalachuri suzerain, to whom he owed allegiance, was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The name of the god Ṣaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious. It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Ṣaṅkara, who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kārītalāi stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called parama-vaishṇava or a devout worshipper of Vishṇu in that record.

TEXT 6

- ा सिद्धिः [।*] ओं नमः श्रीशव (व) रसत्कव (व) लाधीकृत⁸ [शिव] . . .
- 2 भ्यांबत⁹समस्तव्र (व)हास्तंव (व)स्थानतपोधनसम
- 3 श्रीशंकरनारायणार्थे खला(ल)भिषा(क्षा) प्रदत्ता कृदरं¹⁰...
 - 4 कं अतो अर्थे¹¹ यो वि(व्य)भिचरति तस्य शपथेदं¹² व(व)हाह-त्य(त्या)पातके¹³
 - 5 स्य इति¹⁴ [॥*]

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde,

These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham see his A. S. I. R., Vol. X, pp. 94 and 95, plate XXXII. They were edited by Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. 1, p. 129.

⁴ For an analogous case, see the name Indranārāyaņa of the image in the temple erected by the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Indra III at Bodana in the Hyderabad State, H. A. S., No. I, p. 2.

⁵ Above, No 42, line 29.

⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read - धिकृत-.

² Read अभ्यवित-.

¹⁰ Perhaps some word like cha is lost after कुद्ररं.

¹¹ Read अतीर्थे, used in the sense of अस्मिन्नथे.

¹² Read शपथोयं.

¹³ Read -पातकेन संयक्तो भविष्यति ।

¹⁴ Read —स्पेति.

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration! [Siva], the Balādhikṛita of the illustrious Sabara has given the cess at the threshing floor¹ and a granary for the holy Sańkaranārāyaṇa to the ascetic residing in the temple (which is the only one) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas² venerated by

(Line 4) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (our) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa

No. 44; PLATE XXXIV

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Beglar³, one of the Assistants of Sir A. Cunningham at Chandrehi or Chandrehe¹ (long. 81° 32′ E. and lat. 24° 18′ N.), a small village about a mile from the right bank of the Sōṇa close to its confluence with the Banās, in the District of Rewa, in Vindhya Pradesh. The record was first noticed by Dr. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 85, and again in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 354, n. 1. A transcript of its text, together with a translation, was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 23), pp. 110 ff. The same scholar subsequently edited it, with a lithograph and a translation, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on two slabs of stone 'which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is, on the whole, in a very good state of preservation.' The record consists of twenty-seven lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first stone (marked A, below) and thirteen on the second (marked B). The average size of the letters is 1". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet and show some development over those of the Kārītalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.6 Kh and g, for instance, show an acute-angled triangle in their left limb; dh, on the other hand, shows no development in its left limb, but closely resembles v, except that it has no line at the top; two forms of k are used, one generally in ligatures, see -kvaṇad-, 1.5, kshaṇam, 1.13, and the other elsewhere; th has a vertical on the right; ph exhibits two forms; for the first, which is developed from the old type, see phani-, 1.1, -phan-īšvara-, 1.4 and -dvirēpha-, 1.20, and for the second, which survives in the later Nāgarī, see sphārī-,

¹ Khala-bhikshā, lit. 'alms at a threshing floor', was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee, the record does not make clear. The Kārītalāi stone inscription (above, No. 42) refers in line 34 to the donation of four khalabhikshās.

² Brahma-stambba occurs in verse 14 of the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yasahkarna, Nos. 56 and 57 below, but there too the correct expression evidently is brahma-stamba meaning 'a settlement of Brahmanas'.

³ C. A. S. I. R., Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 ff.

⁴ The place is called Chandre in the Degree Map No. 63 H.

^h Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 148.

⁶ No. 42, above,

1.2 and -phaṇam, 1.4; the left limb of δ is joined to the vertical on the right, see Sivāya 1.1; the right-hand stroke for the medial \bar{a} and \bar{o} occasionally appears crescent-shaped, see vidyuch-chhankām, 1.20; the medial \bar{e} and one of the components of ai, \bar{o} and au are in some cases formed by lengthening the top stroke to the left to end in a small curve, while in others they are shown by a fully developed prishtha-mātrā, see, e.g., -bhāvē, 1.16, and vairam, 1.21.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the customary obeisance to Siva in the beginning and certain names and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are twenty verses in all. The record is, on the whole, carefully composed and incised, such mistakes as dadan= for dadad=, 1.13 and charamn=jagati in 1.16 being rare. As regards orthography, we note that the sign for v is used to denote b throughout, see, e.g.,-vrahmānḍa-, 1.4; n is used for amwāsra in hansa-, 1.2, and -dhvansa-, 1.18, and the dental s for the palatal s in sasvad=, 1.12.

After the introductory on namah Sivaya, the record has three verses which describe Siva and his tandava dance and invoke his blessings. Then comes the spiritual genealogy of the Saiva ascetic Prabodhaśiva who put up the record. In the spiritual succession of the Mattamayura (clan) there was Purandara, the preceptor of kings. His disciple was Sikhāśiva, who is later on referred to as the lord of Madhumati. His disciple was Prabhāvaśiva, who was invited to accept some land by Yuvarājadēva. He was followed by Praśantaśiva, who built a hermitage at the foot of the Bhramara hill at the confluence of the Sona. His disciple was Prabodhasiva who is said to have practised penance even in his boyhood and constructed roads through mountains and across rivers and streams. He constructed the monastery, where the inscription was put up, close by the temple erected by his preceptor Prasantasiva, excavated a tank by the side of the hill and dug a well near the monastery. He also repaired and further excavated the well, dug by his preceptor, which had become dilapidated and full of wood in course of time. The prasasti was composed by the poet Dhāmsaṭa, the son of Jeika and Amarika and grandson of the Dikshita Mehuka. It was written by Dāmodara, the son of Lakshmidhara and younger brother of Vāsudēva, and incised by Nīlakantha by the command of the Sūtradhāra Sūrāka.

The date of the inscription¹ is given in the last line as Samvat 724, Phālguna śudi 5. Both the year and the *tithi* are expressed in numerical figures only. The palœography of the inscription clearly indicates that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 724, to Monday, the 10th February, 973 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription refers to a temple built by Praśāntaśiva which was close to the monastery erected by Prabōdhaśiva. The former is, therefore, as Mr. R.D. Banerji has shown,² the temple of Siva, which is still standing within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery at Chandrēhē. The *āśrama* at the foot of the Bhramara hill, which is now in ruins is still called Bhramarsēn.

¹ The date was first read by Beglar as Samvat 324, Phālguna-sudi 6. He, however, changed the year to Samvat 1324, see C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 8. Kielhorn gave the correct reading of the date for the first time and referred it to the Kalachuri era in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 85 and Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 354. Banerji, however, gave the tithi as 6 in his transcript of the text published in the Haibayas of Tripuri etc., Appendix C, p. 119, but it appears as 5 in his article on the inscription published posthumously in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 149. For a similar figure denoting 5, see above, p. 181.

² P. R. A. S., W. C., (1921), p. 53; H. T. M., pp. 32 ff.

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A

अों नमः शिवाय ॥ फणिश्वासश्यामें स्वनदमरनद्यम्भसि च यज्जटाजूटाम्भोदे नयनशिखिविद्यु द्विलसित । तथा चुडाचन्द्रद्युति-

2 निकरघारेव ककुमं कपालानां माला तुलयित स शव्वों विजयते²॥ [१॥*] हन्स³६येनी हिसत—

महसां संहतिरशङ्करस्य स्फारीभूता वदनमभितो

3 नाग[च]म्मीवृतस्य । कि[ञ्चि]त्कण्ठच्छिविकलुषिता मेघनियंन्मृगा[च्चच्छा]यां स्वच्छां सपिद दघती सम्पदं वो ददातु । [२॥*] चारीसंचरणप्रवीणचरणव्या—

4 पारणाघूण्णितक्षोणीकुण्डनमत्फणीश्वरफणं विद्राणदिग्वारणं (णम्) । दोह्ण्ड अमणादकाण्डचलित-

व (ब)ह्याण्डखण्डं मुदे भूयाद्वो निवि (बि)ड-

क्वणड्डमरुकं चण्डीपतेस्ताण्डवम्⁵।। [३।।*] श्रीमन्मत्तमयूरसन्तितिरयं गंगेव लोकत्त्रयं पूया—
 [द्य]त्र पुरन्दरः कृततपा जज्ञे गुरुभूँभुजाम् । शिष्यस्त—

6 स्य शिखाशिवः शिखिसमो वि(वि)भ्रत्तपस्तेजसा दीपत्वं विनिपाति[ता]न्धतमसो निर्व्वाणमार्गो

[स्थि]तः ॥ [४॥*] ततो मधुमतीपतेः कृतमहातप-

7 स्सञ्चयः प्रभावशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशैवचूडामणिः । अनेकनृपवन्दि[त]ः स युवराजदेवेन [य]स्त-पोधनपतिः कृतश्चरणपूतगोलग्निकः⁶॥ [५॥*]

प्रशान्तशिवचन्द्रमास्तदन् तस्य शिष्योभवत्तमःप्रमथनोद्यमप्रकटितस्वरूपः शुनिः । व(व)भार गुणिष् श्रियं कुमुदकल्पशैवेषु यः सम्जव (ज्ज्व)ल-

9 यशःप्रभाषवितासिलाशामुखः ॥ [॥६*] स शोणनदसङ्गमे भ्रमरशैलमूलेतुलं प्रियालवनसंकुले फलमणालकन्दाशनः । चका-

10 र विदितं जनैर्मृतिसखः प्रशान्ताश्रमं स्वपादपदपंक्तिभिः पवितभूतलो यः कृती ॥ [७॥*] देवो-द्यानगतेन्द्रसंसदि मुदा गन्धव्वविद्याधरै-

गानिक्यात्र पुरानिक्यात्र पुरानिक्यात्र वाद्यादरं निन्दिना । लीलालोलितमौलिना करगलद्वल्गेन यस्योच्चकॅर्भास्वत्सारियना तथा

12 प्रतितपः स(श)श्वद्यशो गीयते⁷॥ [८॥*] प्रवो(बो)धशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशिष्यवर्गाग्रणीः स तस्य मदनद्विषः परशुरामनामा यथा। यशःखचित-

13 दिङ्गमुखो गुणिजनाय वित्तं दद[नृ] श्लीकृतवसुन्धरो विजितशत्त्रुवर्ग्गश्च यः । [९॥*] उद-ग्रविस्तिर्प्गणप्रगणितैकपाणिः क्षणं कुमार

14 इव सब्बंदा परिहृताङ्ग[ना]संगमः। समुन्नतमहीभृति प्रकटि[ता]त्मशक्तिक[मो] मनोभव-रिपुप्रियो विहितदेवकार्यश्च यः॥ [१०॥*]

B

15 विचार्यं निस्तिलागमान्विधिसमाधिवु (बु) द्वेश्वरः प्रियालफलमूलकामलकशाकशालूकभुक्। नदोक्षितधरातले ग्रजनान्-

¹ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

^{*} Metre: Sikbarini.

³ Read इंस-.

⁴ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

^a Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdālavikrīdita.

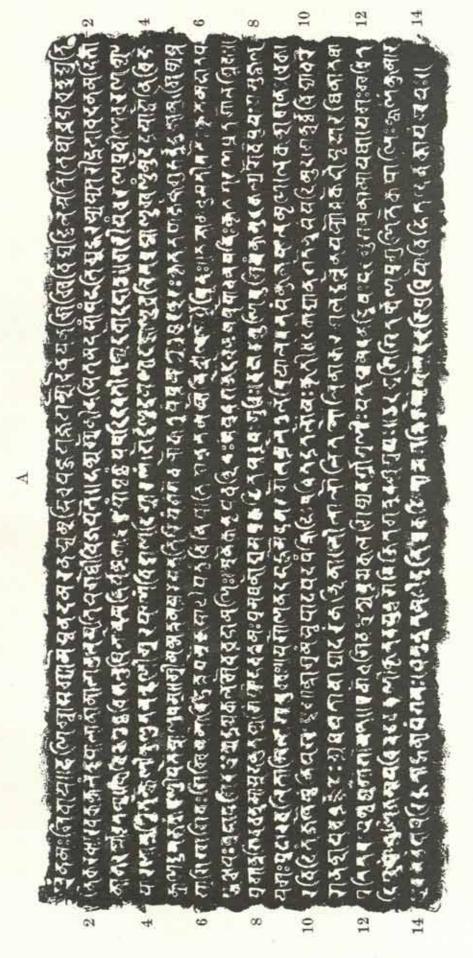
⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: Prithvi.

⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁸ Read ददद -.

Metre of this and the two following verses: Prithvi.

Chandrene Stone Inscription of Prabodhasiva: (Kalachuri) Year 724



B

16 कारी तपश्चरंञ्जगित¹ विस्मयं व्यक्ति वा(वा)लभावेषि यः ॥[११॥*] महीभून्मूर्द्धाग्रप्र्-णतरपादः समृदयी दघन्मित्त्रत्वं यस्तिमिरभिदु-

17 रं कार्यमकरोत् । तथा सन्ध्यारम्भे निखिलजनवन्द्यः किमपरं प्रतापेन व्याप्नोत्त्रभूवनमपि प्राप्त-

महिमा² ॥ [१२॥*] गुरुग्रावग्रामोत्सन-

18 नदलनध्वन्स³विधिना महीध्रेध्वानं यो व्यधित जलघी राघव इव । सरित्स्रोत:स्वेवं विपिनगह-नेष्वदभ्तकरं जगत्याश्चयं हि प्रथय-19 ति महत्कम्मं महताम् ॥[१३॥*] जडतरमरुच्छोणस्याम्भःकणैरयमाश्रमो मृगपतिमहाध्वानै

रात्त्रौ प्रतिध्वनिताम्ब (म्ब)रः । शिखरिशिख-

रप्रान्तप्रे ख्रुद्द्विरेफपयोधरो जनयति जने विद्युच्छङ्कां महीवधिरोचिषा । [१४॥*] [चु]म्व (म्ब)न्ति वानरगणा मुगशत्त्रपोतान्सिंहीस्तनं पिव (व)ति चा-

21 त्त्र शिशुमृंगस्य । वैरं निजं परिहरन्ति विरोधिनोन्ये सर्व्वस्य शाम्यति मनो हि तपोवनेषु 5॥ [१५॥*] गुरुकृतसुरागारादारादम् म-

22 ठमुन्नतं स्वकमिव यशः शुभाभाभं विशालमचीकरत् । अनुगिरमथो सिन्धुप्रस्यं तडागमचीखन-

त्प्रचरसिललं क्षं चात्त्र 23 प्रवो(बो) घशिव: शमी⁸।। [१६।।*] श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवकारितगत्त्र कृपं कालेन शीर्णापतिताखि-लदाहपूरम् । भक्त्या ग्रोग्६शिलारचना-

24 विचित्त्रं सोचीकरत्तदन् दूरमचीखनच्च ।। [१७।।*]व (व) भूव भूवि दीक्षितो विहितकी तैनो

मेहकः स सज्जनगणाग्रणीरजनयत्स्तं

25 जेइकं (कम्) । ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे समभवत्कविद्धां सटः प्रशस्तिमकरोदसौ विकटवण्णंव (व)न्धा-मिमाम्⁸॥ [१८॥*] पशुपतिजटाज्टभान्ता हिमा-

26 द्विशिलातलस्वलितसलिला चञ्चद्वीचिः पवित्त्रितभूतला। व्रजित सरितां नाथं यावद्भगीरथ-वरमंना सुरसरिदियं तावत्कीतिः स्थिरास्तु भृवि स्थिता⁹॥ [१९॥*] ल-

क्ष्मीघरसुतः स्थातो वासुदेवानुजः सुघीः । इमां दामोदरोलेखीत्प्रशस्तिं प्रवराक्षरां (राम्) 10 ॥ [२०॥*] सूत्रधारसूराकाज्ञयोत्कीर्णा नीलकण्ठेन॥ सम्वत् 11७२४ फाल्गुन शु दि ५ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) Glorious is that Sarva (Siva), -in whose coiled matted hair, which is like a cloud, being dark with the hissing of serpents (on his body), and which resounds with the water of the heavenly river (Ganga) (as a cloud resounds with thunder), there flashes the fire of (his third) eye like lightning (flashing in a cloud); and whose wreath of human skulls resembles a garland of champaka flowers,12 even as the shower of the accumulated lustre of the moon on his head!

¹ Read -इचरञ्जगतिः

Metre of this and the following verse: Sikharini.

B Read -Sitt-.

⁴ Metre: Harini.

Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Metre: Harini.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

Metre: Prithvi.

⁹ Metre: Harini.

¹⁰ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹¹ Read संवत.

¹² Banerji first translated kakubham tulayati by 'brightens the different quarters' and afterwards

- (V. 2) May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Sankara clad in an elephant-skin,—which, white like the goose, is spread round his face and which, being slightly darkened by the effulgence of his (blue) neck, at once assumes the clear splendour of the moon emerging from a cloud,—grant you prosperity!
- (V. 3) May the Tāṇḍava dance of (Siva), the husband of Chaṇḍi, give you delight! (the dance) which makes the hoods of the lord of serpents bend under (the weight of) the bowl-like earth which revolves on account of the movements of his feet, skilled in the chārī step; which puts to flight the elephants of the quarters; which causes a sudden movement of a part of the universe by the revolutions of his staff-like arms¹ and which is accompanied by the deep sound of the damaru!
- (V. 4) May this continuous succession of (the Saiva ascetics of) the Mattamayūra (clan) purify the three worlds, like the Gangā!—in which was born Purandara, who performed austerities, and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (was) Sikhāśiva, (who was) like fire and who, (refulgent) with the lustre of his austerities, stood like a lamp on the path of final beatitude, having dispelled the pitchy darkness (cf ignorance).
- (V. 5) From him (i.e., Sikhāśiva), who was the lord of Madhumatī, was (spiritually) descended Prabhāvaśiva, who accumulated great austerities, was the crest-jewel of all Saivas, and was revered by many kings. He, who was the foremost among ascetics, was made by Yuvarājadēva (I) to sanctify, by his feet, the wanton woman that was the earth.²
- (V. 6) After him there was his disciple, the moon-like Praśāntaśiva, who was pure³ (even as the moon is bright); whose real nature was manifested in his attempt to destroy ignorance (as the moon's form is seen dispelling darkness); who brightened the faces of all quarters by his bright fame (as the moon does with her lustre) and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Saivas (as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night-lotuses).
- (V. 7) He, the virtuous one, the companion of sages, who lived on fruits, lotusstalks and roots, (and) who sanctified the surface of the earth by the rows of his foot-prints, built an incomparable and quiet hermitage, well-known to the people, at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered with the forest of priyāla* (trees) (and situated) at the confluence of the river Šōṇa.
- (V. 8) His⁵ fame is continuously sung with delight and in a high tone in every (month of) Mägha⁶ by the Gandharvas and Vidyādharas, in the assembly of Indra held in the celestial garden,—by Nandin who, to please Siva, pays less attention to instrumental

by 'elevates the quarters.' But both these renderings are unsatisfactory; for the verb tulayati never conveys the sense of 'brightening' and the garland of skulls can scarcely be described as 'elevating the quarters'! For our rendering of kakubb by 'a garland of champaka flowers' see Kakup striyām pravēņī-dikō-bhāsu champaka-sraji cited in Mahēśvara's com. on Amarakōja, II, 45.

¹ For the idea compare the Mahimnah stötra, v. 16.

^{*} Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives lagnikā (which is a wrong form of nagnikā) in the sense of 'a wanton woman'. The poet has here evidently the story of Ahalyā in mind. As Rāma purified Ahalyā by the dust of his feet, so did Prabhāvasiva sanctify the land that was presented to him by Yuvarājadēva (I).

³ There is a play on several words here, in consequence of which they can be construed with both the sage and the moon.

⁴ Buchanania Latifolia.

⁵ In the original this is a relative clause having for its correlative sub in v. 7.

⁴ The month of Māgha, in which the Sivarātri occurs, is held sacred by the Saivas.

music¹,—(and) by the charioteer of the sun, who gracefully waving his head from side to side in joy, allows the reins (of his horses) to slip from his hands.

(V. 9) There was the foremost of his disciples named Prabodhasiva, as Parasurāma was of (Siva) the enemy of Madana, —who, conquering all his enemies, adorned the faces of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed the earth under obligation.

(V. 10) He² was like Kumāra (i.e., Kārttikēya), whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (as Kumāra's hand is in feeding his mighty peacock); who (like Kumāra) always avoided the company of women; who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (as Kumāra exhibited that of his dart on the Krauncha mountain), who was devoted to (Siva) the enemy of the mind-born (as Kumāra also was dear to him); and who performed (all) his duties towards the gods (as Kumāra accomplished the work of the gods, viz., the destruction of the demon Tāraka).³

(V. 11) He, having thought over all the scriptures, realized God by the performance of religious austerities and meditation, and living on the fruits of priyāla, āmalaka, greens and śālūka, caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the bank (lit., the surface of the land) washed by the river (Sōṇa), imitating

his spiritual preceptor.

(V. 12) He, having attained power, has acted like the rising sun,—whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (jewelled) crests of kings (who bowed to him, even as the sun's rays are when they fall on the peaks of mountains); who has done the work of destroying ignorance (as the sun dispels darkness); who is revered by all people at the time of making peace (as the sun is at the beginning of twilights); (and)—what more (need be said?)—who, having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power (as the sun does by its heat).

(V. 13) He, by the process of excavating, breaking and ramming⁶ heaps of large stones, has constructed a wonderful way through mountains (and) across rivers and streams, and also through forests and thickets, as Rāghava (did) across the ocean. A

great deed of the mighty proclaims wonder in the world!

(V. 14) At night this hermitage,—(which is wafted) with breezes, extremely cool with the sprays of the water of the Sōṇa, which makes the sky reverberate with loud roars of lions, and which has bee-like clouds hovering round mountain peaks,—causes people to suspect lightning on account of the phosphorescence of great medicinal plants (growing near it).

(V. 15) In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, (and) the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness. Other hostile animals forget their (natural) antipathy (to one another); for the minds of all become tranquil in penance-groves.

(V. 16) Near the temple built by his preceptor, the tranquil Prabodhasiva caused to be erected this lofty and spacious monastery, which is, as it were, his own fame resembling white clouds. Thereafter he caused to be excavated a sea-like lake, by the side

¹ I. e., in order to enable Siva to hear his devotee's fame sung in heaven.

In the original vv. 10-13 are relative clauses, having for their correlative Prabodhasiva in v. 9.

⁸ There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage and the other with Kärttikeya.

⁴ Emblic Myrobalan.

a Sālāka is 'the esculent root of different kinds of lotus'. (M. W.)

⁶ The process of making roads described here shows that macadamizing was well known in those days, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 152, n. 1.

⁷ Prakhya at the end of a compound means 'resembling.' Banerji, however, takes sindhu to be the name of the lake.

of the mountain, and (also) a well having copious water.

(V. 17) On account of devotion to his preceptor he caused to be rebuilt with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated (very) deep the well, which had been dug by the illustrious Prasantasiva at this place, (but) which had become dilapidated and full of wood fallen into it, in course of time.

(V. 18) There was a Dikshita named Mēhuka, whose fame was known on the earth. He, who was foremost among good men, begot a son named Jēika. To him was born, from the womb of Amarika1, the poet Dhamsata. He composed this prasasti

couched in beautiful arrangement of letters.

(V. 19) May this eulogy endure unchanged on this earth as long as the divine river (Gangā), meandering through the coiled matted hair of Pasupati (i.e., Siva), with its waters shattering on the surface of the rocks on the Himālayas, flows to (the sea), the lord of rivers, along the path (shown) by Bhagiratha, sanctifying the earth with its bounding waves.

(V. 19) The wise and renowned Dāmodara, the son of Lakshmidhara and

the younger brother of Vāsudēva, wrote this prašasti in excellent letters!

(This prasasti) has been inscribed by Nīlakantha by the order of the Sūtradhāra Sūrāka. The year 724, (the month) Phālguna, the bright (fortnight), the (lunar) day 5.

No. 45; PLATE XXXV

BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA II

THE stone, which bears this inscription, is said to have been found at Bilhari (lat. 23° 48' North, long. 80° 19' East), 9 miles west by south of Murwara, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone which was at first removed to Jabalpur2 has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. It seems to have broken in transit, as it shows now a large crack which cuts it vertically right across. Fortunately, it has not resulted in the loss of more than one or two letters.

The inscription was first published with an abstract of its contents by Dr. F.E. Hall in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXX, pp. 317-334. Its contents were next discussed by Sir A. Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX, pp. 80 and 102-5. It was subsequently edited, with an excellent translation and a lithograph, by Prof. F. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 251-270. It is edited here from

the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The record, which consists of thirty-three lines, is inscribed on the counter-sunk surface of a large panel of grey sandstone. The inscribed space measures 6' 3" broad by 3' high and is surrounded by a plain border 3.5" broad. The first thirty lines of the inscription are very well preserved, except for a few letters at the end of each line; the latter can, however, be read without much difficulty from the traces left on the stone. On the other hand several letters at the end of the last three lines have been almost completely effaced by the wearing away of the inscribed surface. The average size of the letters is .5" in the first three lines and .75" in the rest.

The characters, which are beautifully written and deeply engraved, belong to the Nagari alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Chandrehe inscription.3 The

² Above, No. 44.

I The position of Amarik-ödarë after tatah in the second half of the verse clearly shows that Amarika was the mother of Dhāmsaṭa and not of Jēika as Banerji has taken.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. XXX, p. 322.

only points that call for notice here are that the left limb of kh is drawn below the apex of its triangle in some cases, see, e.g., sukha-višēshād=, 1.30; tha of matha has ornamental additions below the circle in ll.22 and 32; the loop of n is open at the top, see =atalina-, 1.4; and ph has everywhere the later form, see -phana-phalaka-, 1.7.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary on namah Sivaya in the beginning, api cha and kiff-cha in ll. 1 and 19 respectively, and some short sentences in II.32 and 33, the record is in verse throughout. It falls into three parts. Verses 1-45 were composed by Srīnivāsa, the son of Sthirānanda, verses 46-78 by Sajjana, the son of Thira and the rest by the Kāyastha Sīruka. The record, especially the portion composed by Srinivasa, is written in an artistic kāvya style. The composition of Sajjana is inferior; it does not contain any flights of imagination and suffers also from the use of wrong forms like akrita for akāri in verse 54 and ambiguous compounds like ahita-janita-bhitir = in verse 59. As regards orthography, we may note that the sign for v is used to denote b almost throughout, and the dental for the palatal sibilant in -saurya-, 1.14 and -Saiv-agama-, 1.20; the consonant following or preceding r has been doubled in many cases, see e.g., -Sarvva-parvvata-, 1.5, ttri-bhuvana-, 1.6 etc.; the visarga before s is generally changed to the sibilant and in one case dropped in accordance with the vārttika on Pāṇini, VIII., 3., 36, see bandhō styān-ākṛiti-, 1.17; the anusvāra before f and s has been wrongly changed to the dental nasal in many places, see e.g., -vansa, 1.21, and -vidhvansa, 1.4; final m has wrongly remained unchanged in such cases as -damvaram=vah, 1.3, yam=vīkshya, 1.14; so also n in bhagavān=jyötsnām=, 1.16, vairāg yēna, 1.21 and guņān=sakshyati, 1.26, while it has been wrongly changed to n in dhēnur=nnanu, 1.15. Other instances of wrong sandhi are the elision of the visarga in -Nagabala Khaila-, 1.18, and the addition of ch in marud-ganānām chchhāy-, 1.16. Ri is used for the vowel ri in -dripta, 1.12 and =saty-ādrita-, 1.14. Finally, one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncopation in several places, see -lasadyu-, 1.1, -ujvalim-, 1.3, āsī=dvishad-, 1.4, kōpa-valyāb, 1.8, datvā, 1.24, satva, 1.26, etc.

As stated above, the inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which was composed by Srīnivāsa, opens with four verses invoking the blessings of Siva and the moon. The poet then proceeds to state the genealogy of Kēyūravarsha, whose queen Nōhalā erected the temple, at which the inscription was originally put up. From the moon sprang the family of the Haihayas. In this family was born the king Arjuna (i.e., Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna) who defeated the lord of Lankā and was favoured by the god Dattātrēya with the promise of a son. Among his descendants was Kōkalladēva (I) who, having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north. This statement evidently means that by his help Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. A statement to the same effect is made in the Banaras plates² of Karṇa also.

Kōkalla (I) was followed by his son Mugdhatunga who conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala. This statement also is corroborated by a Prakrit gāthā about Prasiddhadhavala (who is identical with Mugdhatunga) which occurs in the Banaras plates.³

¹ Kielhorn thought that the inscription was composed by only two poets,—verses 1-45, which originally formed an independent prasasti, by Śrīnivāsa and the remaining verses by Sajjana. Further, he took the Kāyastha Sīruka to be the scribe of the first prasasti, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 251 and p. 270, n. 50. It would, however, appear that Sīruka was the author of verses 79-85. Had he been the scribe of the first prasasti, his name would have been either mentioned immediately after v. 45 or omitted altogether.

^{*} See verse 7 of No. 48, below.

³ Ibid., verse 12.

The inscription then proceeds to describe in verses 24-29 Mugdhatunga's son Yuvarājadēva (I) alias Kēyūravarsha. He is said to have fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauda, to have sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karnāta, to have applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa, to have enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra and to have been fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kalinga. Curious as it might appear, a similar description of Yuvarājadēva occurs in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā of Rājaśēkhara, who, in the later part of his career, flourished at his court. From the fourth act of this play1 we learn that its hero Kēyūravarsha had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avantī, Jālandhara and Kērala. These statements are evidently intended to convey that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Karņāṭaka, Gujarat, Kashmir and other parts of India and married the princesses of those States. The present inscription further states that he caused endless trouble to his enemies from the Himālaya in the north to the bridge in the south, and from the eastern to the western sea. The description of Yuvarājadēva to which the poet has devoted as many as six verses is otherwise conventional and contains no histroical information.

The next eight verses (30-37) introduce a digression and describe the pedigree of Yuvarajādēva's wife Nōhalā. From a handful (chuluka) of water taken by the sage Bhāradvāja (i.e., Drōṇa) to curse Drupada there was born a warrior, the family descended from whom came to be known as Chaulukya. This legend about the origin of the Chaulukyas, it may be noted in passing, differs from that given by Bilhaṇa in his Vikaramānkadēvacharita, Canto I, verses 46-55. According to the latter, the progenitor of the clan was born from the handful of water taken by the god Brahmā for his morning libation when he was requested by Indra to create someone for the punishment of the haters of religion. Again, a third legend occurs in a later inscription, according to which the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the water-pot (chulkā) when Hārītipaāchaśikha was pouring out a libation to the gods.² Our inscription next proceeds to state that in the family of the Chaulukyas was born Avanivarman. His father was Sadhanva and grandfather Simhavarman. Avanivarman had a daughter named Nōhalā.

This Nohalā was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadēva. She constructed a lofty temple of Siva. We are further told that she gave the villages Nipānīya and Ambipāṭaka to the Saiva ascetic Iśvaraśiva as a reward for his scholarship. This Iśvaraśiva was a disciple of Sabdaśiva who was himself a disciple of Pavanaśiva, also called Mādhumatēya (the lord of Madhumatī). Further, Nohalā donated the villages Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Vīḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōshṭhapālī to the god

The second part of the present record, which commences with verse 46, opens with a description of Lakshmaṇarajā (II), the son of Yuvarājadēva I and Nōhalā. Verses 46-58 again introduce a digression and give the spiritual genealogy of the Saiva pontiff, Hṛidayaśiva, who was invited by Lakshmaṇarāja to his country and was placed in charge of the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha. We are told that at the venerable place called Kadambaguhā there lived a sage named Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha who initiated the king of Avanti in the Saiva faith. His disciple was Dharmaśambhu, and the disciple of the latter Śabdaśiva. Sabdaśiva was followed by Mādhumatēya, and the latter by Chūḍāśiva who, again, was the spiritual preceptor of Hṛidayaśiva. Lakshmaṇarāja respectfully invited Hṛidayaśiva to his country and

¹ See the Viddhafālabhañjikā, (ed. by B. R. Arte), p. 114.

^{*} See Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom., Gaz. Vol. I, part ii, p. 339.

made over to him the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha, which is called Nauhalēśvara in the next verse. Hridayaśiva placed it in the charge of his disciple Aghōraśiva. As Hridayaśiva was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja, his spiritual preceptor Chūḍāśiva lived in the same period as Lakshmaṇarāja's father Yuvarājadēva I. He is, therefore, probably identical with the Sikhāśiva of the Chandrēhē inscription¹ and the Chūḍāśiva of the Gurgi inscription,² whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva was invited by Yuvarājadēva I to accept a monastery at Gurgi.

Lakshmaṇarāja, then, proceeded to conquer the regions in the west and reached the shores of the western ocean where he worshipped Siva at the well-known temple of Sōmanātha in Kathiāwād, and presented the deity with the effigy of the serpent Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the king of Ōdra (Orissa) after defeating the lord of Kōsala. This statement indicates that the kingdoms of Dakshina Kōsala and Ōdra were at this time probably ruled by the scions of the same family.3

Lakshmanrāja was succeeded by his son Sankaragana (III), about whom the present record furnishes no historical information. He was followed by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II, whose adventure in killing a huge tiger is graphically described in verse 68. As many as five verses are devoted to this king's description, but they contain mere conventional praise. Verses 71-76 contain a hymn which Yuvarājadēva II is said to have composed in praise of Siva.

The third part of the inscription opens with an enumeration of the taxes in cash or kind, which manufacturers and traders had to pay at the market-place in the town (Bilhāri) for the benefit of the monastery and the support of its occupants. Next comes a verse in praise of Aghōraśiva, the head of the Nauhalēśvara monastery. He is said to have put this praiasti together. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out 'What is now its first portion from verse 1 to 45 originally was or formed part of an independent praiasti and this original praiasti was renewed and enlarged by the addition of verses 46-86 of the present inscription two or three generations after the composition of the first part'4.

The record next mentions the towns Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura and some others, whose names are lost, in connection with the celebration of a fair in honour of the deity. Finally, there occurs a curious reference to the Sanskrit poet Rājaśēkhara. The present eulogy is said to have deserved praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśekhara. Kielhorn who translated the expression vismita-kavi-Rājaśēkhara-stutyā as 'which would deserve praise (even) from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara-stutyā as 'which would deserve praise (even) from the wonder-struck with wonder at this composition if he had been living. The expression can be taken either as instrumental singular meaning '(May this composition live to the end of the world) as it has evoked praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśékhara', or as nominative singular conveying the sense, '(this composition) which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara'. In either case we need not suppose that Rājaśēkhara was dead at the time. From his Karpūramañjarī we learn that he was at first called Bālakavi probably on account of his precocious poetic talent. He was patronised by the Gurjara-Pratihāra princes Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpala and afterwards by Kēyūravarsha-

¹ See above, No. 44, line 6.

² See below, No. 46, line 8.

³ We know that the two countries were ruled by the princes of the Kēsari dynasty later on in the 10th and 11th centuries A. C.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 252.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 270.

Yuvarājadēva I, whom he has made the hero of his Sanskrit play *Viddhašālabhañjikā*. If we suppose that he was a young man of sixteen when he went to the court of Kanauj towards the end of Mahēndrapāla's reign (in circa 905 A.C.), his age at the beginning of the reign of Yuvarājadēva II (circa 975 A.C.) when the present inscription seems to have been put up, would be about eighty-five years, which is not altogether improbable. Such a long life is also warranted by the poet's prolific literary activity.

It is not difficult to conjecture why this eulogy of Kalachuri princes pleased Rājaśékhara. The characteristics of his own poems as noted by ancient critics² are his fondness for the metre Sārdūlavikrīdīta and the poetic quality samādhi which means an alternate combination of heavy and light syllables.³ A third mannerism noticed in his works is his reference to the several parts of India on some pretext or other. All these qualities can be illustrated from the present inscription. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise to read that it evoked or deserved praise from Rājašēkhara, who must have seen in it a clever imitation of his own style.

The last verse states that the eulogy was written by Nai, the son of Dhira who was a writer of legal documents, and incised by Nonna, the son of the artisan Sangama.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present inscription, Madhumati, from which the name of the sage Mādhumatēya was evidently derived, is probably identical with Mahua which is now a small hamlet one mile south of Terahi in Madhya Bharat. It contains the ruins of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Siva. From the characters of the inscription incised on the front lintel of the porch of one of them, it appears that the shrine dates back to the seventh century A. C.4 The river which flows by Mahuā is mentioned as Madhuvēņī in an inscription found at Tērahi.5 It seems that Mahuā was an important seat of Saivism in mediæval times. Kadambaguhā, which is mentioned in the present inscription as the original seat of the Saiva sect, figures also in an inscription at Ranod. In his article on the latter Dr. Kielhorn identified it with Kadwäha about six miles south of Terahi.6 It may, however, be noted that Kadambaguhā is mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription as the place of residence of the spiritual ancestor of the sage Purandara who was brought from Upëndrapura by Avantivarman who ruled in Central India. Kadambaguhā and Upēndrapura are not, therefore, likely to have been situated in the latter's territory. Kadambaguhā may be identical with Kadambapadraka situated in the mandala of Upëndrapura which is mentioned in a grant of the Paramāra king Naravarmadēva.7 It will, therefore, have to be searched for in Mālwā. Of the villages granted by Nōhalā, Nipānīya is probably Nipāniā in the Sihōrā tahsil, 10 miles south-west of Bilhāri.8 Ambipātaka may be Amkuhi, 8 miles north by east, and Dhangatapātaka Dungarhai, 7 miles south of Bilhāri. Pondī which still retains its old name lies 4 miles to the northwest.9 Nagabala and Khaila-

AND REAL PROPERTY.

¹ Like Rājašēkhara, Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of three successive kings, viz., Vijayasēna, Ballālasēna and Lakshmaņasēna, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 306.

^{*}See 'Šārdūlakrīditair=ēva prakhyātō Rājašekharaḥ | šikhar=īva param vakraiḥ s-ōllēkhair=uchcha-šēkharaḥ ||' in the Suvrittatilaka of Kshēmēndra; and 'Samādhi-guṇa-tālinyaḥ prasanna-paripaktrimāḥ | Yāyāvarakavēr=vāchō munīnām=iva vrittayaḥ || in the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla.

² See the definition of Samādhi in the Kāvyālankārasūtra of Vāmana, III, 1, 12.

⁴ M. B. Garde, Archaology in Gwalior, pp. 100 ff.

a Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 202.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 353.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

^{*} I. C. P. B., p. 24.

[°] C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 104.

pāṭaka are probably represented by modern Naigawān, 2 miles to the south, and Kailwārā¹, 7 miles to the north-east of Bilhāri. Sajjāhali may be Sajharā in the Murwārā tahsil, and Gōshṭhapālī Gaṭākhērā, 10 miles almost due east of Bilhāri. Tripurī, which was the capital of the Kalachuris, is now represented by the small village of Tēwar, 6 miles from Jabalpur. Soubhāgyapura is probably Sohāgpur, the chief town of the Sohāgpur tahsil in the Vindhya Pradesh. Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura I am unable to identify.

TEXT²

- सिद्धिः³[।*] ओं नमः शिवाय ।।पायाद्वः स समस्तमंगलिनिधः शभ्भोज्जंटाजूटको य[स्मँ]ल्लेलल-सद्युक्षण्डलगलन्मन्दािकनीवारिभिः । गाढग्रन्थिनिपीडितोरगपितिष्प्रस्फारफुल्लत्फणाभीमव्यावृत-वक्त्रमाक्तघृतैः श्वेतातपत्त्राियतं (तम्) ।। [१।।*] अपि च ।।अव्याद्वश्चनद्रचूडस्य लोचनािच्चष्मतः शिखा [।*] मित्रमेष स्मरस्येति दग्धं विधुमिवोद्गताः ।।[२।।*] यं खेलाय षडाननः शिशुतया कृत्वाग्रहं मार्गति ग्रंथो यश्च
- दुरोदरै: पुरिभदो देव्या समं दीव्यतः ॥(।)केलीकोपकथासु येन तन्ते हेतिक्रियां पार्व्यती पायादः स जटावनैककुसुमं शार्व्वः सुधादीधितिः ॥ [३॥*] दिक्षु प्रेंखाभियोगप्रविलतवलनाविभ्रमाकाण्ड-चण्डैदौँदण्डानां प्रकामप्रथिमभिरिनलैदूरमुत्सारितासु । कि च प्रस्फारचारीनमदवनिवशाद्वयो-म्नि याते महत्तामव्यादव्याहतेच्छं त्रिपुरिवजियनस्ताण्डवाडम्बर—
- उस्तः । [४।।*]वन्शेत्र¹० सोमसंभूतौ वाचं निक्षिपता मया [।*]हन्त हस्तैष्पत्रान्ता मोहेन वियतो मितिः ।।¹¹ [५।।*] वाचामुज्व (ज्ज्व) लिमापि नास्ति यदि मे तत्कीत्त्यंमानोन्नतेरस्मादेव महीयसः शशभृतो वंशात्स संपत्स्यते[।*] यद्वा पश्य निसर्गंकालिमभुवोष्याशेभदानच्छटाः क्षीरोदन्वति किन्न सङ्गतिभृतस्तच्छायताम्वि(म्ब)भ्राति।।¹² [६।।*] नेत्त्रादत्त्रेर्द्धरित्त्रीधवलनसुहृदां धाम धाम्नामृदंचल्लोकालोकं यदा—
- 4 प प्रभवमतिलनध्वान्तिविध्वन्सहेतुः । सोयं सोमाभिधानितिस्तिलकयित कला-मौलिमस्यैव शम्भो- विक्तिल रस्मादेव प्रवृत्तः किमपरमयमप्यन्वयो हैहयानां (नाम्)॥ (७॥ अस्मिश्च वन्द्यतमता क्षिण्ण मिते वु (बु) धाद्यैराद्यैर्नृपैर्नृपितरज्जेन इत्युदारः । आसीद्वि (दृद्वि) धद्विपिनकर्त्तनकीर्त्तनीयकीर्ति— च्छटाच्छुरितदीर्धिदगन्तरालः (७०वा) यद्वक्षस्तटताडनातितरलश्चटयत्पविप्रोच्छलज्वा (ज्ज्वा) लामालिक—
- रालितेन करिणा देवाधिप: क्वाप्यगात । लीलोल्लालितशव्यं 16पव्यंतपतेस्तस्यापि लङ्कापतेयं-

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 254.

^{*} From the original stone in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and ink impressions.

^a Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read -त्रसङ्ग्रमण्डल-.

⁵ The visarga which was at first incised after _4fd has been struck out.

⁻⁶ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

Metre: Anushtubh.

^{- &}quot; Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

P Read –हम्बर् व: ।। As Kielhorn has pointed out, आहम्बर् is generally used in the masculine. Metre: Sragdbarā.

¹⁰ Read वंशेत्र.

¹¹ Metre: Anusbjubb.

¹³ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁸ Read -विध्वंसहेतु:.

¹⁴ Metre: Sragdbarā.

¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁶ Originally आन्त्रं, changed to शन्त्रं.

¹⁴

द्वै रव्यवसायिनो यदभवत्र्यातिप्रमाणं हि तत् ॥ [९॥*] दत्तात्त्रेय इति प्रकामकमलालीला-यितानाम्पदं यो देवः स सुतप्रतिश्रुतवचःप्रीत्या यमन्वप्रहीत् । के वा तद्गुणवर्ण्णने वयमहो कि फल्गुभिर्जल्पतैम्मेन्ये सापि च वाग्वपुभगवती तत्त्र स्फुटं मुह्यति ॥[१०॥*] अथ ततस्त-तसत्प्रधन्नतन्नतिप्रवेततः कृति ना-

6 भवन् । तरुणतारकराजपराजयव्यसिनि कीर्तिभुवः पतयो भुवः ॥³[११॥*]तेष्वेवन्सम्भ वत्सु क्रममनु मनुजाश्चर्यंतामादधानो धन्यानामेकसीमा समुप[न]तमहीमण्डलाखण्डलाभः। जातः कोकल्लदेवो दलदिहतलतादाहदावायमानो मानोत्तन्सस्य यस्य त्त्रिभुवनवलयव्यापनो-भूत्प्रतापः ॥ [१२॥ *] भूवनविजयहेतोम्म् क्तमर्यादयादस्सदनलिङ्गतलोलै यद्वेदलैस्सम्बलिद्धः । अतिलनतरभारभ्रश्यद्वर्वी-

7 विषीदत्फणफलककलापो भोगिभर्ता व (व) भूव ॥ १ [१३॥ *] स्यामाशिङ्किमिराकुलैब्बिजघटे चक्राह्मयानान्द्रयैरम्भोदागमिवभ्रमेण विदधे लास्योत्सवः के किभिः। भग्नालोकमकाण्ड एव च दृशामान्ध्येन लेभे पदं यत्सेनारजसि कमादवनितस्तारापये लुप्यति ॥ [१४॥ *] वेलावनप्रणयिसै न्यभरे च यत्त्र मज्जिद्धराकुलकुलाद्विनिभैरिभेन्द्रैः। संभ्रान्तमन्दरगिरेस्समयस्य तस्य कालाद्व (द्व)

-हो: स्मरणमाप निधिज्जेलानां (नाम्) ।110 [१५।1*] यत-

लस्येन्द्रनीलप्रणालः । शाखा शौर्यंद्रुमस्य प्रसरणसर्णिश्शाश्वती साहसानामासीद्यस्यासिरेव प्रधनपरिकरारम्भिणः प्रीतपात्त्रं (त्त्रम्)।।¹६[१९।।*] वल्गद्वेतालवर्गः त्त्रुटितनिज्ञिरो-धारिधावत्कव(व)न्धण्डात्कृथ्वंड्डाकिडिम्बं(म्बं) मुखवि(वि)लविलसत्सम्मुखोल्कामुखोल्कं (ल्कम्) । मान्स¹ग्रासाभिलाषस्वनदिश्वविश्वविश्वरात्रेदारावरौद्रं रौद्रं यो धाम वि(वि)भ्रत्प्रतिसमर-मिति द्वेषचत्रकञ्चकार ।।¹६[२०।।*] उपविपिनभुवो निधेर्ज्जलानामधिवसता कटकेन यस्य या[तु]: । अव-

10 चयविचलद्वधूकराग्रद्विगुणितविद्रुमपल्लवा व(ब)भूवुः ॥ १९॥ १ इह विह्तिविलासा वीचयो

¹ Metre of this and the following verse: Sardulavikrīdīta.

² It is not quite necessary to change ज्युसनि into ज्युसन as proposed by Kielhorn.

³ Metre: Drutavilambita.

⁴ Read तेहवेव सम्भ-.

⁵ Read मानोत्तंसस्य.

⁶ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁷ Read यदबलैस्संवलिद्ध:.

⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

PIt would be better to read ल्ह्यति as suggested by Kielhorn. Metre: Sārdālavikrīdita.

¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹² Metre: Sālinī.

¹³ Read भूवं विलेभे.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*. 15 Read कोपवल्ल्याः.

¹⁶ Metre: Sragdbarā.

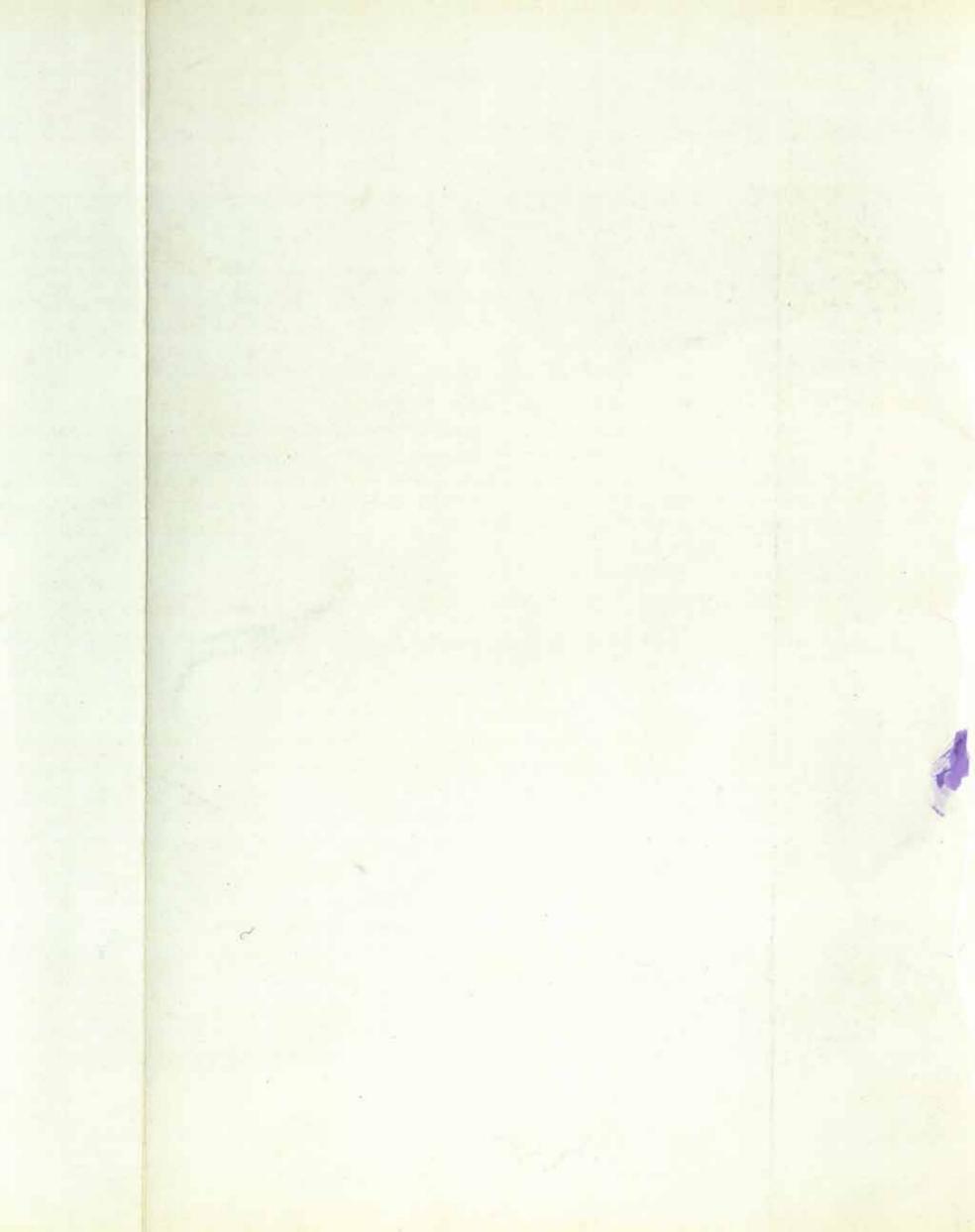
¹⁷ Read - मांस-.

¹⁸ Metre: Sragdbarā.

¹⁹ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA II

B. CH. CHHABRA. Res. No. 3977 E'36 -778'51. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



वारिराशेरिह स वस(ह)ित वायुः केरलीकेलिकारः । इह हरित भुजङ्ग स्मौरभं भूष्रहाणामिति मलयसमीपे यद्विचाराः प्रचेषः ॥ [२२॥ विजित्य पूर्व्वाम्यु (म्यु)िधकूलपालीः पालीस्समादाय च कोसलेन्द्रात् । निरन्तरोद्वासितवैरिधामा धामाधिकः खङ्गपितयं आसीत्॥ [२३॥ गौडीगाढमनोमनोरथकरः कण्णाटकान्ताकुचकीडाशैलतटीविहारहरिणो लाटीललाटाङ्कदः । काश्मी—

रीविहितस्मरव्यतिकरस्तस्मात्किल्ङ्गाङ्गनासद्गानव्यसनी स नीतिनयनः केयूरवर्षोभवत् ॥ [२४॥*] आशापालपराजयाय जनितत्त्रैलोक्यशङ्कापदं सैन्यैर्यस्य युगान्तकेलिकलनैईत्तप्रयाणैरिष । न प्रोद्भितिमय (वा)प पांशुपटलं भूयो गृहीतिद्विषद्व (द्व)न्दीवृन्दवहिद्वलोचनपयःपूरप्लुतायां भृवि ॥ [२५॥*] यस्संयित प्रकटपाटितकुम्भिकुम्भमुक्ताफलप्रचयवाहमुवाह देवः । भूयो निपीतवृद्वपीडनवेगवान्तिविद्वेषिकीर्त्तिकणकीण्णैमिवासिदण्डं (ण्डम्) ॥ [२६॥*] आ कैलासाद-

12 नलसलसत्पार्व्यतीकेलिव (व)न्धोरा च प्राचिश्यखरिवरतो भास्ववुद्धासभूमेः । आरात्सेतोस्तदनु पयसामा प्रतीचोपि पत्युर्यत्सेनानामहितनिहितानन्ततापः प्रतापः ॥ [२७॥ *] प्रेंखित्कप्रखु [र] ?— प्रधातिवगलत्कीलाललोलोललसद्देतालीकरयन्त्रपीडनवशभ्रश्यत्कपालास्थिभः । यस्तस्तार सविस्तरं रणभुवः कोपोत्कटाभिद्रं (द्र)वद्द्रि (द्दृ)प्तद्वेषिशिरोभिरम्व (म्व)रचरीनेत्त्रत्त्रभागाच्चितः ॥ श्विराणे देवो स्द्रावतारस्त्रभुवनभवनोत्तमभनो देव एव त्यागी देवः प्रमाद्यसूपति—

13 नियमने नैगडन्दाम देव: । इत्थन्स¹⁰द्वन्दिवृन्दैरिवरलिवलसच्चाटुवादं वदिद्भ्यंस्यास्थानस्थिता-नामसममसुहृदां विव्यये चित्तवृत्तिः ॥ [२९॥*] भरद्वाजो नाम च्युतकलुषदोषस्समभ[व]द्य ए[क]स्सर्वेषामुपशमधनानामधिपति: । तदीयात्तेजस्तः कृत्रकलशवासाद्यदभवत्स वै भारद्वाजस्त्रि-भवनचमत्कारिचरितः ॥ [३०॥*] त्त्रैलोक्याविध यस्य कीत्तिलिडतं लक्ष्मीश्च वाञ्छाविध्य-त्कोषः प्रलयोपपन्नमहिमा शापेन चापेन च । वण्यंम्वा¹³ नयविक्र-

14 मैकजलघेः किन्तस्य यस्याभवल्लीलास्वित्वत्वर्व्वं विश्ववंगिरमा शिष्यस्मुभद्रापितः ॥ 15 [३१॥ *] कोदण्डताण्डवनपण्डितवा (बा) हृदण्डमुद्दण्डकाण्डभरखण्डितपाण्डुसैन्यम् । यम्बीक्ष्य विक्षत-विपक्षपराजयाशस्सत्याद्रि (दृ) तस्स तपसोपि सुतश्चचाल ॥ 17 [३२॥] अथाक्षेपात्तेन द्रुपदिवपद-थाँद्वतिषया यदात्तं शापाम्भस्तरिलतकराव (ब) द्वचुलुकम् । पुमानासीत्तिस्मिन्वजय इव साक्षादनु च तं कुलं चौलुक्यानामनणुगुणसीम प्रववृते ॥ 18 [३३॥ *] विभवति च वि[स] प्यंत्सौ (च्छौ) यं-सौन्दर्यव-

¹ Originally मुजङ्गी—, changed to भुजङ्ग-.

Metre: Mālinī.
 Metre: Upajāti.

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse Sārdūlavikrīdita.

Metre: Vasantatilakā.
 Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁷ Originally सुरु, changed to सुर.

^{*} This aksbara is quite clear.

⁹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁰ Read इत्यं स-.

¹¹ Metre: Sragdbarā.
12 Metre: Sikharinī.

¹³ Read वण्णवें वा.

¹⁴ बाब्बं seems to have been changed to ज्ञब्बं as stated by Kielhorn,

¹⁵ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁶ Read यं वीदय.

¹⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁸ Metre: Sikbarini.

गृं यंक्षितिघरपरिपाटीसूच्यिते तत्त्र गोत्त्रे रचितचटुलचापाकृष्टिकृष्टाहितश्रीरभवदविनवम्मा विश्व-विख्यातकम्मा ।। [३४।।*] पितामहो यत्खलु सिंहवम्मा पिता च यद्वीरवरस्सधन्यः । जगत्यतीवा-तिश्योमुनैव महानुभावत्वमतोपि यन्तु ।। 2 [३५।।*] यस्य त्यागः सकलजनतापास्तदारिद्रचमुद्रो वेला व (व)न्धुक्षितिघरदरीचारितारिः प्रतापः । इंष्टे स्पष्टन्स यदि गणनान्तद्गुणानाम्बिधातु— म्वाचा विषेत्र पूर्ण (श्रं)नु भगवती भारती यस्य वश्या ।। 5 [३६।। *] रुद्राणीमिव भूभृतां परिवृढो

16 लक्ष्मीमिवाम्भोनिधिः कालिन्दीमिव भास्करस्स भगवान्ज्यो (ञ्ज्यो)त्स्नामिवात्त्रेस्सुतः । वैदेहीमिव जानकः ऋतुविधिः श्रीनोहलेत्यद्भूतं कन्या नाम ललाम तान्स सुषुवे सामन्तिचन्तामणिः ॥ भर्तुः [३७॥*] पुलोमतनयेव महद्गणानां च्छा (छा)येव दष्टतमसां महसाञ्च पत्युः । देवस्य सा रितिरवेक्षुद्यरासनस्य केयूरवर्षनृपतेईयिता व(व)भूव॥ [३८॥*] देव्या [त]या मदजलच्छटयेव

दन्ती वा(बा)ळप्रवाळळतयेव तटः पयोद्येः । पुष्पश्चियेव च तरुस्तडितेव मेद्यः शोभां स

17 कामपि व(व)भार नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ [३९॥*] निम्मपितन्सुकृत भिङ्गतये तयेदमभ्रङ्कपाग्रशिखरस्विळ तोष्णरिहम । देवस्य मन्दिरमुमाप्रणयैकव(ब)न्धो भिस्त्यानाकृति स्वयशसामिथ (व)
चक्रवाळम् ॥ [४०॥*] आकाशयानकमसेदितानामह्नोधिनाथस्य तुरङ्गमाणाम् । फेनाम्वु(म्बु)भिज्ञित्यनिषिच्यमाना मन्ये समुद्वान्ति न यत्पताकाः ॥ [४१॥*] विटङ्कभागेषु वृ(बृ)-

हत्सु यस्य वर्षासु तुङ्गामलसारकस्य । आक्लेषवत्यो नवमेथमालाः पारावतालीतुलनाम्बहन्ति 12

॥13 [४२॥*] आसीन्माध्मते-

19 ताः कामं यः कमनीयसुन्दरगुणैक्षं व्येज्जिगाय स्मरम् ॥ १० ४६॥ १ यस्याहवे दृढ्निपीडितखड्ग-कोटिनिर्द्दारितारिकरिकुम्भसमुद्भवेन । वीरिश्रयः क्षितितले विततञ्चतुष्कं मुक्तादलेन ननु

¹ Metre: Mālinī.

² Metre: Upēndravajrā.

[ै] Read स्पार्ट म. Kielhorn's suggestion to change यदि गणनां to परिगणनां is gratuitous. See below, p. 219, n. 3.

⁴ Read -णानां विधातं वाचा-.

⁶ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

e Read तां स.

⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdīta.

B Metre of this and the next verse; Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ Read निम्मिपितं सुकृत-.

10 It is not necessary to restore the visarga here as done by Kielhorn. It is correctly dropped according to the vārttika on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

¹¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁸ Read तुलनां वहन्ति.

¹³ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁴ Read –वासितां सुकृती. ¹⁵ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁷ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, the context requires some reading like यहचाचिता: in place of प्रसिद्धा:

¹⁹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdīta.

कीत्तिवधूरचकार ॥ १४७॥ *] किञ्च ॥ सा कदम्व (म्ब) गुहा मान्या यत्त्रासीत्सिद्धसन्तिः । तस्याः पुनरभूद्वन्द्यो रुद्रशम्भुम्मृनीदवरः ॥ १४८॥ *] तत्त्व अभावमहनीयतमस्य तस्य शिष्योभवज्जगति मत्तमयूरनाथः । निःशेषकल्मषमधीमपहृत्य येन सङ्कामितम्पर !--

- महो नृपतेरवन्तेः ॥ १ [४९॥ *] तस्मादभूद्भुवनमण्डनतामवाष्तो भूपालमौलिमणिकान्तिभरिच्च-तांघिः । श्रीधम्मंशम्भुरुचितामलकान्तकीर्त्तिस्स (इशै) [वा] गमाम्वु (म्बु) निधिपारिमतस्तपोभिः ॥ [५०॥ *] अस्मात्सदाशिवः शिष्यस्तपोराशिरभूशृपैः । ध्यत्पादद्वयम्बन्द्यमच्चितं शेखरांशुभिः ॥ १ [५१॥ *] अस्मादभून्माधुमतेयनामा शिष्यः सुधामा फलमूलवृत्तिः । तपान्सि तेजान्सि च यत्त्र वासमनन्यसंत्रान्तिगुणेन चक्तः । १० [५२॥ *] अस्माच्चुडाशिवः शिष्यो बन्दनीयतमोभवत् ।
- 21 कम्मंजालमलं येन नीतमस्तं मुमुक्षुणा ॥ [५३॥*] अथ सकलगुणानामाकरस्तस्य शिष्यो हृदयशिवसमाह्वो यद्यशोद्यापि वण्ण्यं (ण्ण्यंम्) । नृपमुक्टिनिविष्टैयंस्य माणिक्यचक्रैरकृत¹² चरणमूलं कान्तमेकान्तवन्द्यम् ॥ [५४॥*] विद्यानां निलयेन येन सुधिया [स] यव्रतेनाधिकं श्रीमन्माधुमतेयवन्श¹⁴वितता कीत्तिश्चिरं वृद्धिता । किञ्च क्ष्मा क्षमयाम्ब (म्ब)दः समतया मर्यादयाम्भोनिधिर्वेराग्येन (ण) जितः स्मरः स भगवान्कस्थास्पदं नः (न) स्तुतेः ॥ 15 [५५॥*]
- 22 कि स्तूयतेसौ मुनिपुङ्गवोथवा श्रीचेदिचन्द्रो नृपतिः कृतादरः। सद्वृत्तदूतप्रहितैश्पायनैः प्रदश्यं भिक्तिम्विधना विनाय यम् ॥ 17 [५६॥ *] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजोपि तस्मै सुतपसे स्वयम्। मुठं श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य भिक्तयुक्तः समाप्पंयत् ॥ 18 [५७॥ *] स्वीकृत्यापि मुनिभूयो मुठं श्रीनौहलेश्वरम् । अयोरशिवशिष्यस्य साधुवु (वृ) [त्त]स्य दत्तवान् ॥ [५८॥ *] अय स विहितकृत्यश्चेदिनाथः समर्थः करितुरगसमग्रः शक्तसामन्तपत्तिः। दिशमितिश्च-
- 23 यरम्यां सम्प्रतस्थे प्रतीचीमहितजनितभीतिर्दुक्षिवारप्रचारः ॥ [५९॥*] समरकृतविकारान्विक-मेण प्रहृत्य प्रणतनृपतिदत्तोपायनैर्वेद्धिताज्ञः । हृदयनिहितवित्तैर्राथनां पूरिताशो जलनिधिजलखेलं सैन्यचकं चकार ॥ [६०॥*] निमज्ज्य यो रत्निनधौ श्रीमान्सोमेश्वरं शनैः । अभ्यच्च्यं काञ्चनैः पद्मैरथा १०न्यत्तु न्यवेदयत् ॥ १६१॥*] जित्वा कोसलनाथमो [इ]नृपतेराप्तस्तु यः कालियो रत्नस्वर्ण्णमयः स येन विहि—

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Metre: Anushtubh.

³ Kielhorn read तत्त्र, but the aksharas तत्त्व are quite clear in his facsimile.

⁴ Kielhorn first read [म्पु?]रमहो, but subsequently while editing the Rāṇōd inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 353) gave the correct reading as above. Hall also had read —एएरमहो.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Read यस्य पादद्वयं वन्दा- as suggested by Kielhorn.

⁷ Metre: Anusbjubb.

[&]quot;Originally माधुमातेय, changed to माधुमतेय.

⁹ Read तपांसि and तेजांसि.

¹⁰ Metre: Upajāti

¹¹ Metre: Anusbtubb.

¹² The sense shows that the correct grammatical form here would be sparft.

¹³ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁴ Read - बंश-.

¹⁵ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁰ Read भनित विधिना-.

¹⁷ Metre: Vanisastha.

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubb.

¹⁹ Metre of this and the next verse: Mālinī.

²⁰ Originally -रथोन्यत्, altered to -रथान्यत्त.

¹¹ Metre: Anushtubb.

- 24 तस्सोमेश्वराभ्यच्वंनम्। दत्वा(त्त्वा) यः करिवाजिशुभ्रवश(स)नस्रवचन्द्रनादीन्पुनः सन्सार¹श्रमशा-न्तयेतिविनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टः प्रभुः ॥² [६२॥*] असारं सन्सारं³ य इह मनुते कोपि नृपित⁴स्त्व— दंधिव्यानत्या विगलिततमास्तत्व (त्त्व) निरतः। न तस्य श्रीभूयो विक्ः[ति]कृतये जन्मविरहा-दिति ध्यानाविष्टः शिवमहसि चि[त्तं] विहितवान् ॥⁵ [६३॥*]श्रीशङ्करगणस्तस्मादभूद्भूमी— श्वरो महान्। यत्पादद्वन्द्वमद्वंद्वं द्विषद्भिरिप सेवितम् ॥⁵ [६४॥*] संख्येसंख्यविपक्ष—
- पक्षदलनव्यासङ्गि खड्गव्रतं यस्यासीद्वृहसाहसस्य सततन्दानं जनानन्दकृत् । रूपेणाप्रतिमो मनो-भवभवं दप्पं जहारोद्धतं यः सर्व्वंत्त्र च सर्व्वंकालमवनीनाथः स्तुतः कोविदैः ॥? [६५॥*] यत्पादद्वयपद्मसद्म विततं भूतेरभूद्भूषितं भूपानां नमतां किरीटविकटप्रान्तस्थरत्नांश्वभिः । वक्षो-रत्निविन्समाश्चितवती⁸ लक्ष्मीः क्रमेणागता वीरश्चीरपरैव यस्य नृपतेः कौक्षेयघाराश्रया ॥ [६६॥*] तस्य श्रीयवराजदेवन्-
 - 26 पतिभ्रति कनीयानभू द्भूपैयंच्चरणारिवन्दपिततैभृँ ङ्गैरिवा [ङ्ग]स्थितम् । यः सत्यव्रतसत्व (त्त्व) सूक्तिवसितः श्रीविक्रमैकाश्रयः प्रायस्तस्य न सज्जनोपि सकलान्वक्तुं गुणान्श (ञ्श)क्ष्यति ॥ [६७॥*] दंण्ट्राकोटिविपाटनोग्नवदनः कूर स्वरो भासुरो नेत्र प्रान्तिविकीण्णंकोपक्षिरः पादप्रचारायुष्टः । येनाकस्य भुजेन भूमिपितना लाङ्गूलव (व) द्वक्रमो दैत्यो व्याध्रवपृर्हतोतिभयदः शस्त्रीभृता पाणिना ॥ [६८॥*] कन्दप्पोभिनवः पुर—
 - 27 न्धिनयनप्रीतिप्रदोप्यन्यथा यः कालः करवालकोटिविहतस्यूलेभकुम्भस्थलः । चित्त्रं यच्च सर-स्वतीकृतरितः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरश्चातुर्व्वण्ण्यंविचारचारुचतुरो यच्चार्थिचिन्तामणिः ॥ [६९॥*] यस्योतु (त्तु)ङ्गगजेन्द्रमज्जनगलहानाम्बु (म्बु) भिम्मिश्रतं रेवावारि विविक्ततिकतमुचितस्नानेन तन्वीजनः । संप्राप्योरुनितम्ब (म्ब) ताडनवशव्यस्तास्तवीचीचयं स[द्वंद्वं] स्मरसौरभेण महता निर्व्याजमायोजितः ॥[७०॥*] रामाणां क्-
 - 28 चमण्डलेषु नियतं हारप्रकारकमात्संपूर्णो शशिमण्डले च विमले ज्योत्स्नाच्छलेनोज्व (ज्ज्व)लम् । मन्ये¹¹ मानसवारि यस्य वितते हन्सावली¹²विभ्रमाद्भ्रान्त्वाशेषमुमापतेस्तु वसतौ विश्रान्तिमागाद्यशः ।।[७१।।*] संपूज्य देवमीशानिम्वभवैः । स्वैर्यथोचितैः । यथागमं यथाशास्त्रं स्तोस्त्रम्बिह्त¹⁴वान्नृपः ।।¹⁵[७२।।*] अविचलितमनोभिर्यस्त्वमीश क्षितीशैर्वित्रभव—विहितकृत्यैरिज्यसे [ते] कृतार्थाः । य इह कृ[तिव]—
 - 29 कारा मन्मथैकान्तचिता (त्ता) भवित वरद तेषां संपदुन्मादहेतुः ॥ [७३॥] समदकरिषटाभिः कि किमङ्गाङ्गनाभिम्मदनशयनलीलां भावयन्तीभिराभिः । कनकतुरगवासोरत्नजातैर्ने कृत्यं न हि भवित भवानीवल्लभस्यार्च्चनं चेत् ॥ [७४॥ *] भवित नृपतिवन्त्रो । जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुत—

¹ Read HHIV-

² Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

³ Read संसार.

⁴ The aksbara q, which was omitted, is written below the line.

⁵ Metre: Sikharīņī. 6 Metre: Anushtubh.

⁷ Metre of this and the next six verses: Sārdālavikrīdita.

⁸ Read -रत्ननिधिं समाधितवती.

[&]quot;The visarga, which was at first incised after 7, is cancelled.

¹⁰ The \$\frac{1}{2}\$ of \$\frac{2}{3}\$ is written below the line.

¹¹ Originally मान्ये, changed to मन्ये.

¹² Read हंसावली-.

¹³ Read -मीशानं विभवे:.

¹⁴ Read स्तोत्रं विद्वित-. The change of स्तोस्त्र into स्तोत्र has not been made in the original.

¹⁵ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following three verses: Mālinī,

¹⁷ Read -वंशे.

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मुचितविचारश्चारुरूपप्रभावः । समरविजयसंपत्तस्य यो निःप्रपञ्च^रञ्चरणयुगलमूलं संश्रितः शङ्करस्य ॥[७५॥*] किमिह

- उ० व(ब)हिभरुवतैर्जाय सर्व्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवित नित्यं भिक्तयोगो ममैकः । सकलसुखिवशेषाद्यत्र पीयूषवर्षः स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥ [७६॥*] भूपत्रययशोराशिवर्ण्णनं प्रथमं कृतम् । श्रीमता श्रीनिवासेन श्रीस्थिरानन्दसूनुना ॥² [७७॥*] भूपतीनां त्रयाणां तु कीत्तिकीर्त्तं— नमुज्व (ज्ज्व)लम् । विहितं सज्जनेनाय सुविया थीरसूनुना ॥ [७८॥*] पत्तनमण्डपिकायां ॥ लवणस्य खण्डिका[यां षो]—
- 31 [ड]सि(शि)का घाणके च षोड³ षोडसि(शि)का। तैलस्य मासि मासे दिनमनु च युगायुगे च पौरस्तु ॥ (७९॥ क्ष) पूगफलमिरचशुण्ठीप्रभृतिषु भाण्डेषु भरकपौरस्तु। वीथीं च प्रति च कपर्दी द्यूतकप⁵द्दास्तु शाकवार्त्ताकम् ॥ (८०॥ स्विण्जामादायस्तृणपूलकधी मिं]रादि य- तिकञ्चित्। दत्ते करी चतुष्टयमञ्ज तुरङ्गो द्वयन्तु पौराणाम् ॥ (८१॥ स्वृह्दिन्य)द्दानं किमपि च विद्याधनन्तदुद्दिष्टम्। य[त्त्र] दः [पुण्यश्री]-
- 32 [की]त्तंयः प्रवर्त्तन्ते ॥[८२॥*] यत्त्र च श्रीनोहलेश्वरमठे श्रीमदघोरशिवा[चा]र्योभूत् ॥
 कविचिद्धि[क्षावृ]त्तिः कविचदिप च शाकाभ्यवहृतिः क्विचन्म्लाहारः क्विचदिप च कंदांश्च
 वु(बु)भुजे। परं ज्योतिः शैवं विगलितरजस्कान्धतमसं न्वि(वि)चिन्वन्नो यातो विषविषयवे—
 [ग]स्य कलनाम् ॥⁶[८३॥*] तेनेयं प्रशस्तिः सङ्गतिमानीता । श्रीत्त्रपुरी[सौ]भाग्य—
 पुरलवणनगरदुर्लभपुरविमानपुर[न]........7
- 33 भिः काष्ट[वृ]षः प्रत्यहमथ रक्षितः समानेयः । देव मर्माचारायं ¹⁸ [चारु]— दारुणि ॥⁹[८४॥*] सुदिलष्टव(ब) व्यघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या । आस्तामियमा— कल्पं कृतिदच कीर्त्तिदच पूर्व्या च ॥¹⁰[८५॥*] कायस्थश्रीसीरुकस्य ॥ करणिकघीरसुतेन तु नाईनाम्ना प्रशस्तिरालिखिता । सत्सूत्र[घा]र[स]ङ्गमतनूजनोन्नेन चोत्कीर्ण्णा ॥[८६॥*] स्वकी[यदायादक्रयपु(प्र)दानम्] ॥¹¹ द ¹²। [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Siva.

(Verse 1) May the mass of Sambhu's matted hair, the store of all blessings, protect you !—(the mass of matted hair), on which the rolling waters of the Mandākinī (i.e., the Gangā), flowing down from the bright vault of heaven, appear like a white umbrella, being upheld by the wind from the opened mouths, dreadful through the large expanding hoods, of the lord of serpents (which is) greatly afflicted, being drawn into a tight knot!

Moreover-

(V. 2) May the flame of the fire of the eye of the moon-diademed (Siva) protect

¹ Read निष्प्रपञ्च-.

² Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

Belete que. There is no indication that these aksharas have been cancelled.

⁴ Metre of this and the following three verses: Giti.

⁵ The akshara q which was at first omitted is written below the line.

⁶ Metre: Sikharini.

⁷ About eight aksbaras are illegible here.

^{*} Perhaps अम्मीचारार्च is meant.

⁹ Metre: Aryā (?).

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: Aryā.

¹¹ These aksharas are fairly legible on the original stone.

¹² One akshara is indistinct here, and two or three more have been lost by the breaking off of the corner of the stone.

you,—(the flame) which rises up as if to burn the moon, because it is a friend of the god of love!

- (V. 3) May the nectar-rayed (moon) of Sarva, the unique flower in the forest of his matted hair, protect you!—that (moon) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, persistently asks for, in order to play with; which is the stake when (Siva), the destroyer of the cities, plays at dice with the goddess (Pārvati); (and) which Pārvatī uses as a missile when she is talking angrily (with Siva) in amorous sports!
- (V. 4) May the gigantic dance of the conqueror of Tripura (i.e., Siva) in which he indulged to his heart's content² protect you!—(the dance) during which the quarters were pushed back by the exceedingly strong blasts of wind, caused by his massive arms, which suddenly became terrific through his graceful movements as he energetically applied himself to it (i.e., to the dancing); and during which the sky rose higher as the earth bent down under (the weight of) his mighty chārī step!
- (V. 5) Using my speech to (describe) the family which has sprung from the moon, I, alas! have, through folly, begun to measure the sky with my hands.
- (V. 6) Even though my speech has no brilliance, it will attain it from this great family of the moon whose rise is being described. Or, do not, mark! the streams of rut of the elephants of the quarters, though naturally black, attain the (vhite) colour of the milky ocean, when they come into contact with it?
- (V. 7) That abode of lustre which obtained its rise from the eye of Atri, which befriends the earth by whitening it, which rises up to the Lōkālōka mountain (and) dispels great darkness, is called the moon. The crescent of that very (moon) adorns the forehead of Sambhu. From the same moon sprang, what more (need I say?), this family also of the Haihayas.
- (V. 8) And in this (family) which was rendered the highest object of reverence by (those) primeval kings, Budha and others, there was a noble prince named Arjuna who covered the wide quarters with the lustre of his fame, which deserves praise because he cut down his enemies like forests.
- (V. 9) What happened even to that lord of Lankā (i.e., Rāvaṇa) when he was engaged in hostility with him—(the lord of Lankā), who with ease had lifted up³ (Kailāsa) the lord of mountains belonging to Sarva, (and before whom) the lord of gods went, none knew where, on his elephant which was terrified by the fire issuing from the thunderbolt as it vibrated and broke in striking (Rāvaṇa's) broad chest—that indeed is the measure of his glory!
- (V. 10) Who are we, oh! to describe the merits of him whom the god Dattātrēya, that abode of unrestrained amorous endearments of the goddess of fortune, favoured

¹ Kielhorn, who made the pada-chchhēda as kritvā graban mārgati, translated—'that (moon) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, lays hold of and seeks to play with'. It is better to construe the words as āgraban kritvā khēlāya mārgati.

² Kielhorn translates aryābat-ēchcham by 'to the full extent of your desires', evidently treating it as an adverb modifying the verb avyāt. The tenor of the whole verse, however, requires that it should be taken as an adjective to tāndav-ādambaram. Siva could indulge in the dance to his heart's content, because the quarters were pushed back, the sky rose higher and the earth bent down, thus affording more space for his dance.

^{*}Kielhorn translated 'of that lord of Lanka even, who with ease had coaxed Sarva and the lord of mountains', evidently deriving ullālita from ullal to coax, to fondle. But the word is clearly used here in the same sense as ullāsita (lifted up) in hēl-ōllāsita-v(b)ābu-danda-vibita-Srīkantba-sail-ōddba(ri)tib in line 6 of Goharwa plates of Karna (No. 50, below).

with the gracious promise of sons? What is the use of vain prattle? In this case even the goddess of speech is, I fancy, clearly perplexed!

(V. 11) Then, from him who was a mountain¹ for the creepers that were the farreaching vows of good men, how many lords of earth did not spring, the fame springing from whom was in the habit of defeating (i.e., surpassing in lustre) the young (i.e., full) moon?

(V. 12) Among those who thus appeared successively was born Kōkalladēva (I), who caused the wonder of men; who marked the highest limit of blessedness; who was like Indra on the orb of the earth that submitted to him; who was the wild fire in burning the spreading creepers that were his enemies; (and) whose valour, adorned as he was with pride, pervaded the circle of the three worlds.

(V. 13) On account of whose forces, when they met together for the conquest of the world, marching like the waves of the ocean overflowing its bounds, the multitude of the broad hoods of the lord of serpents sank under the earth which was pressed down

by their excessive weight.

(V. 14) When the dust raised by his forces gradually rolled on from the earth to the sky, the pairs of Chakravāka birds, apprehending (the approach of) night, separated in grief; the peacocks, mistaking it for the approach of clouds, performed a joyful dance; and on the disappearance of all light, the eyes suddenly became blind.

(V. 15) When the lords of elephants in his vast army, which was fond of the forests on the sea-shore, plunged into (its) water like the principal mountains crowding together, the ocean after a long time was reminded of that occasion when the Mandara

mountain revolved in it.

(V. 16) While he was occupying the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, the forest, with its multitudes of birds chirping harshly, cried out, as it were, in pain, as (the trees were) being broken by the rutting elephants of the army.

(V. 17) Having conquered the whole earth, he planted two unique pillars,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya)² that (well-known) Krishnarāja, and in the

quarter of Kubēra3 Bhojadēva the treasure-house of fortune.

(V. 18) From him then was born Mugdhatunga, than whom (there was) none exalted in the three worlds. And when he was desirous of conquering the quarters, what

country did he not obtain, having destroyed his enemies?

(V. 19) His sole object of affection, when he was preparing for fight, was his sword,—(which was) a couch for the goddess of battle, a bolt for (the destruction of) the enemy's army, a sprout of the creeper that was his anger, a dear friend of haughtiness, a channel (made) of sapphire for the water of good deeds, a branch of the tree of bravery, and an endless path for the movements of his adventurous deeds.

(V. 20) Possessed of the prowess of Rudra4, he so dealt with the hostile forces

¹ It is not necessary to translate parvata by 'a tree' as Kielhorn does. Again, his translation of the expression taruṇa-tāraka-rāja, etc. as 'renowed for their zeal in defeating kings who were like newly risen Tārakas' and his remark 'Tāraka was a Daitya who was killed by Indra' are manifestly wrong. Tāraka (n.) means 'a star' and tāraka-rāja, 'the moon'.

² I. e., in the south.

³ I. e., in the north.

⁴ Kielhorn translated randram yō dhāma vi(bi)bhrat by 'possessed of terrific splendour'. The whole verse is, however, intended to compare the battlefield, where the king slaughtered his enemies, with the cemetery where Rudra revels in the company of his hosts of spirits and goblins. Besides randra is used before in the sense of 'terrific' and it is not likely to have been used in the same sense again in the last quarter. I, therefore, prefer to take randram dbāma as 'the prowess of Rudra'.

in every fight that crowds of goblins stalked about, headless trunks (of warriors) were running (here and there), carrying their own heads (which had been) cut off, small imps were howling, confronting goblins had fire blazing forth from the hollows of their mouths and (the battlefield) appeared dreadful with the terrific cries of ill-omened jackals howling in their desire for devouring flesh.

(V. 21) The forests near the sea-shore where his forces were encamped during his expeditions, had their coral sprouts doubled on account of the foreparts of the hands

of women moving (among them) to gather them.1

(V. 22) 'Here the waves of the ocean are playing, here the wind is blowing which makes the women of Kērala sport, here the serpent is taking away the fragrance of the trees'.—Thus wandered his thoughts in the vicinity of the Malaya mountain!

(V. 23) Having conquered the rows of countries along the shore of the eastern ocean, and having taken the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala, he, who continually destroyed the abodes of (his) enemies, was the ablest master of the sword.

- (V. 24) From him was born that Kēyūravarsha², who was guided by polity³; who fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa; who sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karṇāṭa even as a deer does on a pleasure-hill; who applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa; who enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, (and) was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kalinga.
- (V. 25) Even when his forces marched for vanquishing the guardians of the quarters, sporting as at the time of world-destruction, so as to rouse the apprehension of the three worlds, no mass of dust could rise from the ground, inundated as it was with the streams of tears flowing from the eyes of the wives of (his) enemies who were again and again taken captive.
- (V. 26) In battle that king wielded his large sword, which, being covered with a multitude of pearls from the pitcher-like frontal globes of elephants which were clearly broken open, appeared, as it were, to be strewn with the particles of the enemy's fame, which it had often drunk but subsequently emitted, under the pressure of the king's firm grasp.

(V. 27) Up to the Kailasa mountain, the friend of Parvati's continuoulsy charming sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (of the south) and then up to the western lord of waters (i.e., the western

ocean) the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies.

(V. 28) He strew the battlefields all over with the heads of his proud enemies who, exasperated with rage attacked him—(the heads), the skull-bones of which were falling off, being pressed by the machine-like hands of the exulting female goblins, eager for the blood dripping from (the parts) struck by his vibrating swift arrows, (and) which were honoured with side-glances of (heavenly) damsels moving in the sky.

(V. 29) "(Our) king is Rudra incarnate; (our) king is the support of the mansion of the three worlds; (our) king is an iron fetter for curbing the wayward princes;"—When multitudes of excellent bards continuously uttered such brilliant words of flattery, the minds of his enemies who were present in his hall of audience were incomparably afflicted.

¹ The idea suggested is that the fingers of the women were like coral.

² He is identical with Yuvarājadēva I mentioned in verse 46 below.

³ Kielhorn translates nīti-nayanah by 'the observer of good conduct', but the idea that the science of politics is an eye of the kings is often met with in Sanskrit literature. Compare Daiakumāracharita (Bom. Sansk. Series ed., 1919), p. 130.

⁴ I. e., where Pārvatī is always sporting.

- (V. 30) There was (a sage) named Bharadvāja, (who was) free from the blemishes of sin, (and) who was the sole lord of those whose wealth is tranquillity. What sprang from his male energy deposited in a jar—that verily was Bhāradvāja, i.e., Drōṇa whose deeds excited the wonder of the three worlds.
- (V. 31) His fame gracefully roamed throughout the three worlds; his fortune was limited (only) by his desires; his rage, (manifested both) by his curse and his bow, was terrible, such as would be suitable for the destruction of the world. What can we describe of that sole ocean of policy and valour, whose disciple was that husband of Subhadra (i.e., Arjuna) who with ease humbled the great pride of Sarva.²¹
- (V. 32) Seeing him whose strong arm was skilful in wielding the bow, and who with his many powerful arrows exterminated the Pāṇḍava army, even that son of Dharma, who was honoured for veracity, swerved (from the truth)² when he lost (all) hope of defeating the enemy.
- (V. 33) Now, in the water, of which he in the act of cursing had taken up a handful (chuluka) with his trembling hand, in rage to bring calamity on Drupada when insulted (by him), there sprang a man like victory incarnate; from him is descended the family of the Chaulukyas of great merit.
- (V. 34) In that powerful family, in which was produced a series of kings eminent in spreading valour and beauty, was born Avanivarman whose deeds were well-known in the (whole) universe, (and) who drew to himself the enemy's fortune when he bent his beautiful bow.
- (V. 35) That his grandfather was Simhavarman and his father was Sadhanva the best of heroes,—this by itself rendered him exceedingly great in the world. To add to this was his great dignity.
- (V. 36) Of him, whose liberality has broken the seal of poverty of all people, (and) whose valour has made the enemies take shelter in the mountain-caves by the seashore, he (alone) apparently might possibly count the merits, to whom is indeed submissive the divine Bhāratî, the milch-cow of speech.
- (V. 37) As the lord of mountains (Himālaya) begot Rudrāṇī (i.e., Pārvatī), the ocean Lakshmī, the divine sun the (river) Kālindī (Yamunā), the son of Atri the moon-light, Janaka's sacrificial rite Vaidēhī (i.e., Sītā), even so (he), the jewel that fulfilled the wishes of the feudatory princes, begot that wonderful ornament in the form of a maiden, named the illustrious Nōhalā.
- (V. 38) As the daughter of Puloman⁴ (was the beloved wife) of the lord of the hosts of Maruts⁵, as Chhāyā (was) of that lord of the light (i.e., the sun) that dispels darkness, as Rati (was) of the god whose bow is (made of) sugar-cane, 6—even so did she become the beloved (wife) of Kēyūravarsha.
- (V. 39) That moon-like king attained indescribable splendour through her, even as the elephant (does) by the stream of rutting juice, the seashore by a creeper of tender coral, a tree by the beauty of flowers, and a cloud by lightning.

¹ The reference is to Arjuna's encounter with Siva described in the Mabābbārata.

² Kielhorn's translation 'Even that son of Dharma minding his promise retired etc.' gives a wholly incorrect sense. The allusion here is to an incident in the Bhārata war when Yudhisthira was tempted to tell a lie to bring about the death of Drōṇa. See Mahābhārata, Drōṇaparvan, Adhyāya 193, vv. 54-59. Compare also Veṇāsamhāra, Act III, v. 111.

³ For yadi used here in the sense of 'possibly,' compare the Mēgbadūta, v. 113.

⁴ I.e., Sachī.

⁵ I.e., of Indra.

[#] I.r., of the god of love.

(V. 40) For the attainment of religious merit she has constructed this temple of the god (Siva) who is the sole object of Umā's love, (this temple), on the pinnacles of which with their cloud-scraping tops trips the sun, (and which is) as it were the mass of her extensive fame (in a tangible form).

(V. 41) The flags on it do not flutter, because, I fancy, they are constantly sprinkled with the foam-water of the horses of the sun, that are fatigued by continuous marching

through the sky.

(V. 42) On the broad pinnacles of this temple, which has a lofty fluted disc,1 the rows of fresh clouds clinging to them in the rainy season bear resemblance to flocks of pigeons.

(V. 43) There was (a sage), Pavanasiva, the lord of Madhumati; after him

flourished Sabdaśiva; the pious Iśvaraśiva again sanctified his discipleship.

(V. 44) To him, who was a store of austerities, the cultured (queen) donated the villages Nipānīya and Ambipāṭaka as a reward for scholarship.

(V. 45) And she gave to (Siva) the enemy of Smara, Dhangatapātaka, Pondī,

Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Vīḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōshṭhapālī.

(V. 46) From her was born to the illustrious king Yuvarājadēva (I), the illustrious Lakshmnarāja (II), elevated and possessed of great splendour like the sun; the lustre of whose feet, resorted to by fortune, was honoured by the exalted heads of kings (even as the lustrous rays of the sun, possessed of beauty, are revered by the high peaks of mountains), and who, by his unique, attractive and beautiful excellences, surpassed the god of love.

(V. 47) For the goddess of whose heroism the lady Fame verily spread out on the ground a four-stringed necklace, with the mulitude of pearls from the frontal globes of the enemy's elephants, rent, in battle, by the edge of his firmly grasped sword.

Moreover-

(V. 48) Venerable is that Kadambaguhā where there was a succession of sages. To them again was Rudraśambhu, the chief of sages, an object of adoration.

(V. 49) He, who was most venerable in this world by his power (derived from the knowledge) of the reality, had in this world a disciple (named) the Lord of Mattamayūra, who, having completely removed the stain of impurity from the king Avanti, communicated to him the supreme lustre² (by initiating him in the Saiva faith).

(V. 50) After him came the illustrious **Dharmasambhu**, who became an ornament of the world, (and) whose feet were revered by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes; who, having crossed the ocean of the Saiva faith by his austerities, attained fitting, spotless and pleasing fame.

(V. 51) After him came his disciple Sadāśiva, who had a store of austerities, (and) whose venerable feet were worshipped by princes with the rays of their crowns.

(V. 52) After him came his disciple named Mādhumatēya, who, living on fruits and roots, was possessed of excellent lustre, (and) in whom austerities and radiance always dwelt together.

(V. 53) After him there was (his) most venerable disciple Chūdasiva, who, being

¹ In Indian Šilpašāstra, amalasāraka means 'a circular fluted disc which surmounts the spire of temples', so called from its resemblance to the emblic myrobalan. Cf. Skandhād—urdivani bhavēd ghantā yadi v-āmalasārakam, in Śamarāngaṇasātradhāra (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Vol. II, p. 173.

² Kielhorn at first read puram-ahō in this verse and translated it as 'who became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti,' but himself corrected his mistake later on in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 553.

desirous of final liberation, removed completely the taint consequent on actions (performed in previous births).

(V. 54) Then (came) his disciple named Hridayasiva, a mine of all virtues, whose fame deserves to be sung even now; the soles of whose uniquely venerable feet

were rendered beautiful by the multitude of rubies set in the crowns of princes.

(V. 55) To whom is not the holy man an object of praise—(the holy man) who, an abode of (all) lores, wise and true to his vows, increased still further and for a long time the fame of the illustrious Mādhumatēya lineage; who, moreover, surpassed the earth by his forbearance, the cloud by his impartiality, and the ocean by decorum of conduct, and (who) vanquished the god of love by his freedom from passion?

(V. 56) Or, why need that foremost of sages be praised at all—(he), whom the king, the illustrious moon of the Chēdi (country), showing his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, brought him hither respectfully (and) in due form?

(V. 57) The illustrious Lakshmanaraja also, being full of devotion himself, offered that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanatha.

(V. 58) The sage, having accepted it, again made over the holy Nauhlēśvara monastery to his well-conducted disciple Aghōraśiva.

(V. 59) Then, having accomplished his object, the powerful lord of Chēdi, with all his elephants and horses (as well as) powerful feudatories and foot-soldiers, proceeded to the extremely charming western quarter, causing terror to all his enemies, his progress

being difficult to check.

(V. 60) Having struck with valour those who showed vehemence for fighting, having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who submitted to him, having fulfilled the desires of suppliants with wealth on which they had set their hearts, he allowed the host of his army to sport in the water of the ocean.

(V. 61) Having bathed in the ocean, the illustrious (Lakshmanarāja) quietly wor-

shipped (the god) Someśwara with golden lotuses and also offered something else.

- (V. 62) He worshipped Sömesvara with that (effigy of) Kāliya wrought of jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the prince of Ōdra, after defeating the lord of Kōsala. The prince, having besides presented elephants, horses, white garments, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), (and) being filled with joy, very humbly praised (the god) to get rid of the troubles of worldly existence.
- (V. 63) "Whenever a prince, who is freed from ignorance by bowing to your feet (and) is devoted to the truth, considers this life worthless, his royal fortune will not produce again (any) passion in him,2 for he gets rid of re-birth"—Absorbed in such meditation, he fixed his mind on Siva's greatness.
- (V. 64) From him was born the great lord of the earth, the illustrious Sankaragana (III), whose matchless pair of feet was worshipped even by (his) enemies.
- (V. 65) Firm in daring as he was, he devoted his sword to the destruction of the innumerable hosts of his enemies; his charity always delighted the people; being of

*Kielhorn translates 'His good fortune is no longer liable to change', but fri which is used here generally means 'fortune', 'wealth', 'prosperity'. Vikriti-kritayi na (bbavati) can scarcely mean 'is not liable to change'. For the idea of fortune infatuating a person, see below ya iba krita-vikārāh etc. in verse

73, below. For the meaning of vikriti see n. 1, above.

¹ Kielhorn translated samara-krita-vikārān—vikramēņa prahritya as 'having valorously struck down (adversaries) who were humbled in battle.' The verse is intended to contrast two types of the king's adversaries—(i) those who prepared themselves for fight and (ii) those who submitted to him. The poet has used vikāra and vikriti several times in this inscription in the sense of 'passion,' 'rage' etc.

matchless beauty, he humbled the haughty pride of the mind-born (i.e., the god of love); and as the lord of the earth, he was praised at all places and times by the wise.

(V. 66) The pair of his lotus-like feet, which afforded a broad resting place for fortune, was adorned by the rays of jewels set on the broad sides of the diadems of princes as they bowed (to him). Fortune, which resorted to his ocean-like breast, had come to him as a heritage; not so, however, the glory of heroism which depended on the edge of that prince's sword.

(V. 67) His younger brother was the illustrious king Yuvarajādēva (II), on whose feet princes bent down as bees hover on lotuses. Of him, who was an abode of devotion to truth, courage and pleasing speech, and the sole resort of fortune and valour, even a good

man2 will not probably be able to describe all excellences.

(V. 68) This prince overpowered with his arm and killed, with his hand which wielded a dagger, the radiant, fiercely roaring demon in the form of a tiger, whose mouth appeared terrible as it tote (animals) with its sharp teeth, the corners of whose eyes were blood-shot with rage, which used its paws as weapons of attack, and which sprang forward with its uplifted tail.

(V. 69) Though he delighted the eyes of women as a new god of love, he was otherwise the god of death who broke open the frontal globes of huge elephants with the edge of his sword and, strange to say, (though) he was fond of Sarasvati, he devoted himself to the worship of Siva, and clever as he was in discriminating between the four castes,

he was a wish-fulfilling jewel to (all) suppliants.

(V. 70) When young women for their usual bath plunged into the water of the Rēvā, which was clear, but bitter, being mixed with the rutting juice which flowed into it at the bathing of his huge and excellent elephants, they innocently became perfumed with the strong fragrance of copulation³ as the multitudes of waves, dashing against their thighs and hips, surged up and down.

(V. 71) I fancy that his radiant fame, after wandering everywhere,—on the round breasts of women surely in the form of pearl-necklaces, on the spotless full disc of the moon in the guise of the moon-light, on the extensive waters of the Mānasa lake as a beautiful row of swans,—has found rest in the abode of Umā's husband (i.e., in Kailāsa).

(V. 72) Having worshipped the god Iśāna (Siva) with suitable (gifts of) his wealth, the king composed the (following) hymn of praise, according to traditional works

(āgamas) (and) scriptures :-

(V. 73) "Happy are those kings, O Lord, who with steady minds worship thee, spending their wealth on (charitable) works. For those who (on the other hand) are swayed by passion, and whose minds are solely engrossed in love, fortune becomes a cause of intoxication, O granter of boons!

(V. 74) "Of what use are these troops of rutting elephants (and) these women

The use of sajjana 'a good man' seems at first sight to be inappropriate here, as there is hardly any connection between the good nature of a man and his ability to describe the merits of a king. The poet has, however, used it here as his own name was Sajjana; see v. 78 below. So he means to say 'Even I may not be able to describe all the merits of this kingl'

¹ Kielhorn translates kramēn=āgatā by 'come to him gradually', but here the sense clearly is that of 'obtained by succession'. Compare krama-prāpta in Vākāṭaka seals. There is a contrast intended here between Lakshmī and Vīraśtī. Both of them resorted to Śańkaragaṇa; but while he received the former as a heritage, the latter was attracted by his deft swordsmanship.

a Kielhorn's rendering 'they truly become perfumed with the strong fragrance of the god of love' does not bring out the intended sense clearly. The idea expressed in this verse occurs, though in a somewhat different form, in the Raghwanisa also, see Canto IV, v. 45.

who display amorous dalliance? Gold, horses, garments and all kinds of jewels are of no avail, if thereby (Siva) the lord of Bhavānī is not worshipped.

- (V. 75) "Birth in a royal family, enjoyment of the earth, learning, proper discrimination, beautiful form (and) excellent victory in battle,—(these) accrue to him, who takes refuge with the holy feet of Sankara.
- (V. 76) Why need I say more? May my single-minded devotion, the cause of everything, be always directed to thee O Lord!—in which there will be, by thy grace, a shower of nectar,—such as can be experienced by one's own self,1—owing to the presence therein of all kinds of highest pleasures."
- (V. 77) The great fame of the (first) three princes was first described by the illustrious Srīnivāsa, the son of the illustrious Sthirānanda.
- (V. 78) Then the brilliant eulogy of the three (other) princes was composed by Sajjana, the wise son of Thira.

In the Mandapikā2 of the town-

- (V. 79) There shall be paid a śōdaśikā³ (coin) on (every) khandikā⁴ of salt and (also) one śōdaśikā for (every) oil-mill per month, and a paura⁵ for a couple of yugās⁶ per day.
- (V. 80) In the case of betel-nuts, black pepper, dried ginger and other merchandise, a paura (shall be paid) by every measurer?; a kapardī shall be paid for every vīthī (shop) and dyūtakapardas8 for vegetables and egg-plants.
- (V. 81) In the case of dealers in liquids, the tax should be (in the form of) bundles of grass, dhirmara and whatever (else may be possible). An elephant (offered for sale)

¹ Kielhorn translates wayam=anubbava-gamyō by 'which will manifest itself of its own accord'. The expression, however, clearly means that the shower of nectar cannot be described in words, but can be appreciated only by self-experience.

² Mandapikā (from which the Marāṭhī word Mandaī, a 'market-place', is derived) seems to have been a pavillion in the market-place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed. It was also called Sulka-mandapikā, see Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions, p. 159.

³ Śödafikā was probably a coin equal in value to one-sixteenth part of a dramma. Cf. Vinisōpaka mentioned in lines 10, 20, 26 etc. of the Siyadōnī inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 174 ff.

⁴ Khandikā seems to have been a measure of capacity corresponding to the modern khandi which is equal to 20 maunds. The Harsha stone inscription of Vigraharāja (Ind., Ant., Vol. XLII, pp. 57 ff.) mentions the tax of one vinisāpaka on every kūṭaka of salt at Śākambharī.

⁵ Paura seems to have been a small coin like kaparda. The Siyadoni inscription states in line 20 the tax of two kapardas per yugā, which was assigned to the local deity.

The meaning of yugā is not certain, but it may be noted that the Sīyadōnī inscription states in line 6 that a yugā was stamped at the local mandapikā when a quarter panchiyaka-dramma was paid and that it was valid for a day. It was probably a voucher authorizing the owner to exhibit his articles in the market-place for one day.

⁷ Bharaka is probably a kind of measure. It is also mentioned in connection with cocoanuts in, v.71 of the Arthunā inscription of Chāmundarāja of V. 1136 (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 302). See also Mitāksbarā on Yajāavalkya Smriti, II, 221. The Sīyadönī inscription mentions in line 30 the tax of three-quarter Vigrabapālīya-dramma on every bharaņa (measure).

⁸ Dyūtakaparda seems to have been a smaller coin than a kaparda. It was so called probably because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling. It may be noted that the Māngröl (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) inscription of V. 1202 mentions a daily tax of one kākini on gambling. Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, pp. 158 ff.

⁹ Pūlaka may be connected with pālikā. The Sīyadöni inscription mentions in line 26 a tax on every pālikā of leaves. Pūtaka is also mentioned in v. 72 of the above-named Arthūnā inscription.

Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives dbīvara in the sense of 'a fish-basket'. Dbīrmara may have the same sense here.

should be taxed four pauras, and a horse two pauras 1.

(V. 82) Similarly whatever other gift and whatever reward for scholarship may be made . . . (by them) the religious merit, wealth and fame are obtained.

At the monastety of the holy Nohaleśvara there was the illustrious preceptor

Aghōraśiva-

(V. 83) Sometimes living on alms and sometimes on vegetables, sometimes eating roots and sometimes subsisting on bulbous roots, seeking the supreme light of Siva free from the intense darkness of passion, he had never to suffer from the virulent poison of sensual enjoyment.

By him was the eulogy put together.

The (inhabitants of) famous Tripuri, Saubhāgyapura, Lavananagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura . . . shall bring guarded (to the monastery?) the bull made of beautiful wood every day (at the fair?) of the god for the performance of the religious rite.

(V. 85) May this composition, which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara, and the afore-mentioned glorious work, 2 (both of) which have well-

joined parts, endure till the destruction of the world!

Of the Kayastha, the illustrious Sīruka.3

(V. 86) (This) culogy was written by Nai, the son of Dhira, the writer of legal documents and was engraved by Nonna, the son of the excellent Sutradhara (artisan) Sangama.

There shall be no sale or gift (of any portion) of one's own donation.4

No. 46; PLATE XXXVI

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

This inscription was noticed for the first time by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for 1920-21, pp. 51 ff. The same scholar subsequently published a transcript and a translation of it in his Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments, pp. 122 ff., and finally edited it with a lithograph and a translation in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, pp. 127 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj at Gurgi, a village about twelve miles due east of Rewa town in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewa.

The inscribed slab measures about 4' 1" by 3' 4". There are forty-nine lines in all. The average size of the letters is .8". The record has suffered a good deal in its lower part

² For kīrti, a glorious work, see C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Nõhalēśvara.

⁴ For a similar restriction, see verse 35 of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta, Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 193.

¹ The Pēhēvā inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 184 ff.) mentions the tax of one dharma on each horse brought to the market for sale. The Harsha stone inscription mentions the tax of one dramma on every horse sold by the Hēdāvikas of Uttarāpatha, Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 64. See also Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 124.

⁸ Siruka was evidently the author of the portion of the present inscription which follows verse 77. Kielhorn however, thought that he was the writer who originally wrote the eulogy of the first three princes.

comprised in Il.23-46 owing to the flaking off of a large portion of the surface of the stone. In Il.28-39 especially, only a few aksharas at the right end can be read with confidence. The loss of this portion is very much to be regretted as, judging from the few preserved aksharas, it contained a description of the military exploits of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. As it is, we are left in doubt not only about the Kalachuri king during whose reign it was incised, but also about the Saiva ascetic who caused it to be put up.2

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and closely resemble those of the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva. The only points that call for notice are that dh in some cases shows the left limb developed as in the Kārītalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II,³ but it is here joined to the right vertical, see -dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayaḥ in l.17. In other cases the letter does not differ from v except in the absence of the wedge at the top, and it is noteworthy that the two verticals of dhā are not joined here as is generally done in other tecords of the period. In one other respect⁴ the present inscription shows a later stage, viz., in the use of the avagraha which appears for the first time in the records edited here; see -samadhayō='chchha-matayō, l.17, tasy-āspadē='gra-, l.30 and Mahēndrē='rvvudē, l.31.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for the opening obeisance to the deity, the whole record is metrically composed. There are forty-six verses in all. The inscription is composed in an artistic kāvya style. As regards orthography, the consonants preceding and following r are doubled in a few places, see -ttribhuvana-, 1.8, -kīrttanīyaḥ, 1.9 etc; b is everywhere denoted by the sign for v, see e.g., -pravandha-, 1.4; the dental s is used for the palatal s in yasō-, 1.13, and n for the anusvāra followed by the dental sibilant in -pradhvansa-, 1.23 and -vansa-, 1.24. In other respects the record is carefully written and incised.

The inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which comprises vv. 1-26, contains the spiritual pedigree of the Saiva ascetic who put up the present record. After two mangala slokas invoking the blessings of Siva, the inscription mentions Madhumatī, the abode of the Saiva Saiddhāntikas. In their lineage there was an ascetic named Chūdāsiva. His disciple Prabhāvasiva was invited by Yuvarājadēva (I), the son of Mugdhatunga, and was placed in charge of a monastery which the latter had built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple was Prašāntasiva who erected a temple of Siva near another built by Yuvarājadēva, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hata-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Sōṇa for the practice of Yōga, and another on the bank of the Gaṅgā in Vārāṇasī for the performance of austerities. His disciples are said to have toured in the country, imparting right knowledge to the people and receiving homage from their rulers. Praśāntaśiva's disciple, Īšānaśambhu, is next praised. He appointed his younger brother-disciple Prabōdhaśiva the head of the monastery. Verse 21 which is partly mutilated seems to refer to the construction of a temple by Prabōdhaśiva near⁵ the

¹ Banerji referred it to the reign of Gängëyadëva and N. P. Chakravarti to that of Kökalla II (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 129 and n.1). I have supported the latter view below.

² Both Banerji and Chakravarti hold that the record was put up by Prabodhasiva. I have shown below that it belongs to the time of his successor, whose name is lost.

³ See above, No. 42.

⁴ Banerji's remark that the record contains the later form of th in which the upper loop has become open does not seem to be correct; for everywhere in this record the earlier from only is used.

⁵ The monastery of Praśantaśiva seems to have been mentioned here as in the Chandréhë inscription only to define the position of the temple built by Prabödhaśiva. It does not seem to have been repaired by him as supposed by Banerji, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 129.

monastery built by his preceptor on the bank of the Sōṇa. These two buildings are referred to in the Chandrēhē inscription also. The next five verses are almost wholly damaged, but the few words preserved at the end of I. 30 indicate that verse 24 probably contained the name of another Saiva ascetic who succeeded Prabōdhaśiva. The next two or three verses were devoted to his description, but they have unfortunately been too much mutilated, so that even the name of the ascetic has not been preserved. The aksharas at the end of I.31 suggest that his fame had spread from the Mahēndra to the Arbuda mountain. Verse 26 mentions the village Sāmantapāṭaka, but in what connection it cannot be determined.

The second part of the inscription, which comprises vv. 27-34, contained a description of Kalachuri kings and their military exploits. Their family is introduced in v. 27 as ēṇāṅkāmaya 'the lineage of the deer-marked (moon)'. Verse 28, which mentions the defeat of a Gurjara king, probably describes Yuvarājadēva I; for, the latter is said to have conquered the north in the Viddhasālabhañjikā of his court-poet Rājaśēkhara, which means that he had inflicted a defeat on the contemporary Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor of Kanauj. The names of his successors who were eulogized in the next four verses have been lost; but verse 33 mentions the king Kōkalladēva who is doubtless the second king of that name, the great-grandson of Yuvarājadēva I. The following verse refers to his victories over a Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauḍa (Western Bengal) and Kuntala which comprised the Southern Maratha country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.¹

The third part of the inscription, which commences with verse 35, records the grants which the king Kēyūravarsha made for the benefit of the god Siva installed in the temple where the present inscription was put up, and for the support of the Saiva ascetics who were in charge of it. The name of the god was Somanatha as appears from v. 42. It was also mentioned in the opening obeisance, but only the last two aksharas of it are now legible. Among the villages granted by the king, the names of the following can be made out with certainty—Sārasadollaka, Vakkadollaka, Rajyauddha, Nāsapundikā, Khatollikā, Ābhīrapallī, Sarasvatī (which may be a river), Sāmantapāṭaka, Bhaddhachiurā, Kusumbā,2 Kukkudiyā, Rajogrāma, Karodhaka, Brahmapuri, Susiddharthaka and Pondik. Besides these, two fields called Kavachakshetra and Nannēśvarakshētra are also mentioned in the same connection. Verse 43 expresses the hope that the provision for the maintenance (vritti) of the Saiva ascetics which was originally made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was preserved by his successors may last for ever. This clearly indicates that this Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently identical with Kēyūravarsha mentioned before in v. 35, is the first king of that name. The use of the plural in connection with his successors (anantarair-nripaib) in v. 43 shows that at least three kings had followed him before the time of the present record.3 This is also corroborated by the fact that Kōkalladēva II is the last king mentioned in it; for we know from other records4 that he was the fourth successor of Yuvarājadēva I. The present inscription, which apparently mentioned in verse 24, a successor of Prabodhasiva is later

¹ These victories were ascribed to Gangeyadeva by Mr. Banerji on the ground that Gangeyadeva is known to have raided Kuntala, but the record does not carry the genealogy of the Kalachuris further than Kökalla II. Vanavāsa means 'dwelling in a forest' and has no reference to Banavāsi in North Kanara, as Banerji supposed.

² Banerji read this name as Tujumvā.

³ So he cannot be Yuvarājadēva II as supposed by N. P. Chakravarti. Besides, there is no evidence to show that Yuvarājadēva II also bore the birnda Kēyūravarsha.

⁴ Viz., the Bilhari stone inscription (No. 45, above) and the Banaras plates of Karna (No. 48, below).

than the Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhasiva, dated K. 724 (972-3 A.C.) and may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Mahēndra is evidently the well-known mountain of that name on the eastern coast. Arbuda is, of course, Mount Abu. Himālaya and Vārāṇasī are too well-known to need identification. Madhumatī has been shown to be identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet, one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat.¹ Gauḍa and Kuntala have already been identified. Of the villages granted by Yuvarājadēva, only Sārasaḍōllaka was identified by Mr. Banerji with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilāspur-Kaṭnī section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, but it is far away from Gurgi. It may be Sarsi, 2 miles south of the Sōṇa and 34 miles south by west of Chandrēhē. Brahmapurī may be Bāhmangaon about seven miles south by west of Gurgi. As for Karōḍhaka there are several villages of the name Karaoṇḍi or Karauṇḍia in the Rewa District, but the nearest to Gurgi is the Karaoṇḍi which lies only four miles to the south-east. The other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT 2

- मिडिः [ना]थाय ।। लङ्का[धीशेड] वा (बा) हुव्यतिकरचटुल [स्फा] टिकाद्रीन्द्रकोटि- थेणीसंघट्टवि (बि) भ्यद्गगनच रवरच्छन्नदि[क्चक]वालं (लम्) [।*]
- 2 ---- 0 मत्या जगदकृत तदात्रन्दिन[ह्ना]दघोरं स्वच्छन्दः सोद्रिवासी मुदमुपचिनुताच्चन्द्र-चूडामणिव्वं: गा[१।।*] नन्दिन्केयं प्रवि[ध्टा] प[शुपति]-
- त्रि*]द[नं] [सैव*] देवीति म[न्ये] मिथ्यैतन्नास्मि सान्या मम क[थय क]प[दंस्थिता का] तवेश । मुग्धे त्वद्रपधारी श्विदशरिपुरसौ दृश्यतां पातितोग्ने केनास्त्रेणेति दे-
- 4 [त्या] क[टुव]चनजितः पातु मौनी शिवो वः ॥[२॥*] [सच्चर्या]चा[यंवर्या] [सतत*][हुत-वह]िस्नम्धसूमप्रव (व) त्यप्रारव्धा (ब्धा) कालमेधोदयमदमुदितोस्नादिनृत्यन्मयूरा । अ-
- ५ स्त्युच्चैः [सौ]धजालज्वलदनणुमणि[ज्यो]ति[षा]ञ्च[कवा]लैः स्वलींकम्वा⁸ हसन्ती जगित मधुमती धाम सैढान्तिकानाम् ॥[३॥*] पूर्व्वे यत्रावतीर्यं व्रतनियतमनोवृत्त-
- यस्तापसेन्द्राः शिष्याणामाशशंसुः शिवमतमतनु व्यस्तिनःशेषदोषम् । येषामद्यापि कीर्तिद्वंवलयित सुधाधौतकान्तिः प्रसिद्धा विश्वं सम्पन्नविद्वज्ज-
 - त्र नकुमुदवनानिन्दनी चिन्द्रकेव ॥[४॥*] शैवानामन्वयेस्मिन्नतिमहति मुनिम्माननीयो मुनीनामेन:-शुष्केन्धनानान्दवदहन इव द्योतमानैम्महोभिः ।
 - 8 श्रीमांश्चूडाशिवोभूद्भवचरणयुगध्यानवो (बो) धर्द्धिलाभप्रोद्भूतात्यन्तशुभ्रत्भिभुवनभवनाभ्यन्तरभ्रा-न्तकीत्तिः ॥[५॥*] तस्याखिलक्षितिपतिप्रणतोत्तमाङ्गच्डा-
 - 9 मणिद्युतिचयाच्चितपादपीठः । शिष्यो व (ब) भूव भुवनत्रयकी त्तंनीयः श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाममुनि-मर्मनीषी शा[६॥*] आनीय यं सहजवासनया नयज्ञः श्रीमुग्ध-

¹ Above, p. 208.

² From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read नम: श्रीसोमनायाय. The name of the god occurs again in l. 47.

⁵ Banerji doubtfully read - बीरेन्द्र-, but r has only a wedge and no acute-angled triangle in its lower part as is seen here, and the subscript letter in the last akshara is certainly not r.

⁶ The aksbaras lost here may have been सर्व कल्पान्त-.

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses: Sragdbarā.

⁸ Read स्वलोंकं वा.

¹ Metre of this and the following tw overses: Vasantatilakā.

- 10 तुःङ्गतनयो युवराजदेवः । सत्वो (स्वो)पकारभवदुत्तमकीत्तिहेतोरग्राहयन्मठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥ [७॥*] तस्यामलेन तपसा च विवर्द्धमानविद्याव (ब)लेन च सम-
- 11 स्तजगतप्रतीतः । शिष्यः प्रकामकमनीयगुणैकधाम श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवनाममुनिव्वं (व्वं)भूव ॥ [८॥*] आकृष्टा चिरसञ्चितेन तपसा यस्याङ्गसङ्गोत्सुका छक्ष्मीभीग-
- 12 पराङ्मुखस्य सततं निःश्रेयसाकांक्षया । आज्ञां प्राप्य परोपकारकृतये तद्वल्लभानां सतां स्थानेषु स्थिरतामवाप वनितेवात्यन्तसः यव्रता । [९॥*] त्यागं स्तम्भिम-
- 13 वावलंब्य (ब्य) विलसज्ज्ञानाम्बु (म्बु)सेकिकियामासाद्य प्रसरत्तपोव (ब) लक्नुतप्रत्यन्तरक्षाक्रमः । इत्थं यस्य यसो (शो) मयः स ववृषे का [ले]न कल्पद्रमो येन व्याप्तिमदं प्रस–
- 14 ह्य सकलं व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरम् ॥[१०॥*] येन श्रीयुवराजकारितलसत्कैलासप्रङ्गोपमप्रा-सादोत्तरतः सुमेरुशिखरस्पद्धि प्रसिद्ध[म्भ]वि । सद्य स्थापितमीश्व-
- 15 रस्य सकलत्रैला[लो]क्यविस्मापकं यत्स्वर्गां व्रजतस्तदीययस (श)सः सो[पा]क्नमाग्गियते ॥ [११॥*] यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्रक्षीशं षडाननमथ प्रथितोहकी[त्तिं]:।
- प्रासादसिन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान्द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च ॥ [१२॥*] दाहोत्तीर्णंसु वर्णंदानशिमतद्रव्याथिसार्थस्पृहः सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत्तदपरं यः शो-
- 17 णतीरोपरि । यस्मिन्योगजुषः प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाधयः शान्ताः सिद्धसमाधयोऽच्छमतयो ग[च्छ]न्ति मुक्तेः पदम् ।।[१३॥*] तीर्थस्थाननिषेवणोद्यतिधया-
- 18 मत्यन्तविश्रान्तये यस्तत्कारितव (वा)न्मुनिः सुरसरित्तीरे तपःस्थानकम् । यत्संसेव्य महेश्वराच्यं-नरता वाराणसीवासिनो मन्यन्ते भवसागरं गृहमपि क्षीणं
- 19 यथा [गोष्प]दम्॥[१४॥*] आसीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थितस्था-णुध्याननिलीनिवश्चलमनःसंवेदितान्तर्म्मदः। जग्मुर्यस्य दिनानि दानिनरत-
- 20 -- 06[पाञ्चार्थिक]तत्व (त्त्व)ज्ञानविचक्षणैश्च गुणिभिः सार्द्धं परीक्षाक्षमैः ॥ [१५॥*] तीवांशोरंशुसंघा इव निरतिशयोल्लासिनः स्वैः प्रभावैर्यस्यान्तेवासिनोघस्तमसि नि-
- 21 [पितता*][न्प्रत्यहं] वो (बो) धय[न्तः ।] [लो*]कानालोकदानो[प]कृतिपरिणमत्कीर्त्तयः संभू-ताज्ञा[शो]भा भूभृच्छिरोभिः प्रवरमुनिजनैरच्य (च्यं)मानाश्चरन्ति ।। [१६॥*] तस्याभ[व]-
- 22 [त्प*]र[श्]राम इवेश्वरस्य [शिष्य*]ः समस्तकविर्पुगवगीतकीर्तिः । श्रीशानशम्भुरखिलाव-निपाल[मौ]लिमालामणिद्युतिपिशंगितपादपद्मः है ॥[१७॥*] नि[ज्जि]त्य
- 23 पण-प-पण---प[सर्व्वार्थि]नां येन श्रीगॅमितोपभोगपदवीं दौर्गां]त्यदु:खच्छिदा। सद्विद्या भवव (य)न्धनव्यतिकरप्रध्वन्स¹⁰कम्मॅक्षमव्यापारेति
- 24 [समग्रसं] v v v - v v ¹¹ ।।[१८।।*] यो माद्यत्कलिकालदन्तिदलनथ्यापारपञ्चाननः श्रीमन्मत्तमयूरवन्स¹²तिलको निःशेषविद्यानिधिः । विद्वत्य-

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

^{*} The engraver at first incised off, but later on cancelled the curve on the top.

³ What looks like an anumāra on mi is probably due to a fault in the stone,

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses: Sārdūlavikrīdīta.

⁶ The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored here as —स्याज्यात्म-.

⁷ Metre: Sragdbarā.

⁸ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

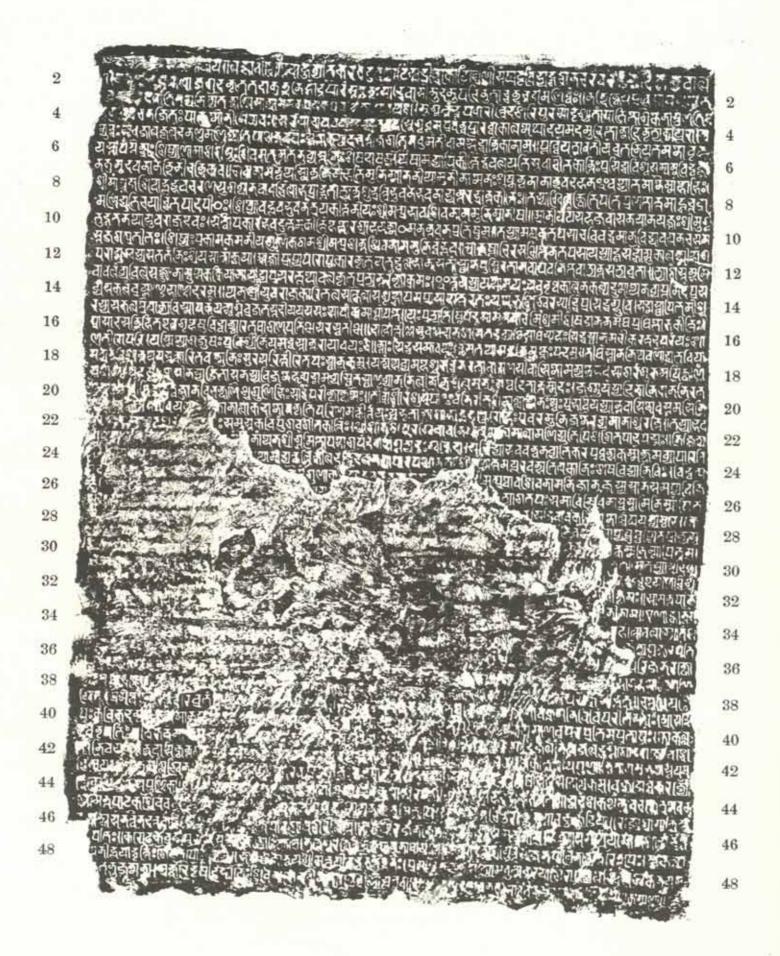
⁹ Banerji read प्रवी, but the anusvāra on वी is clear in the impression. The sense also requires the use of the accusative.

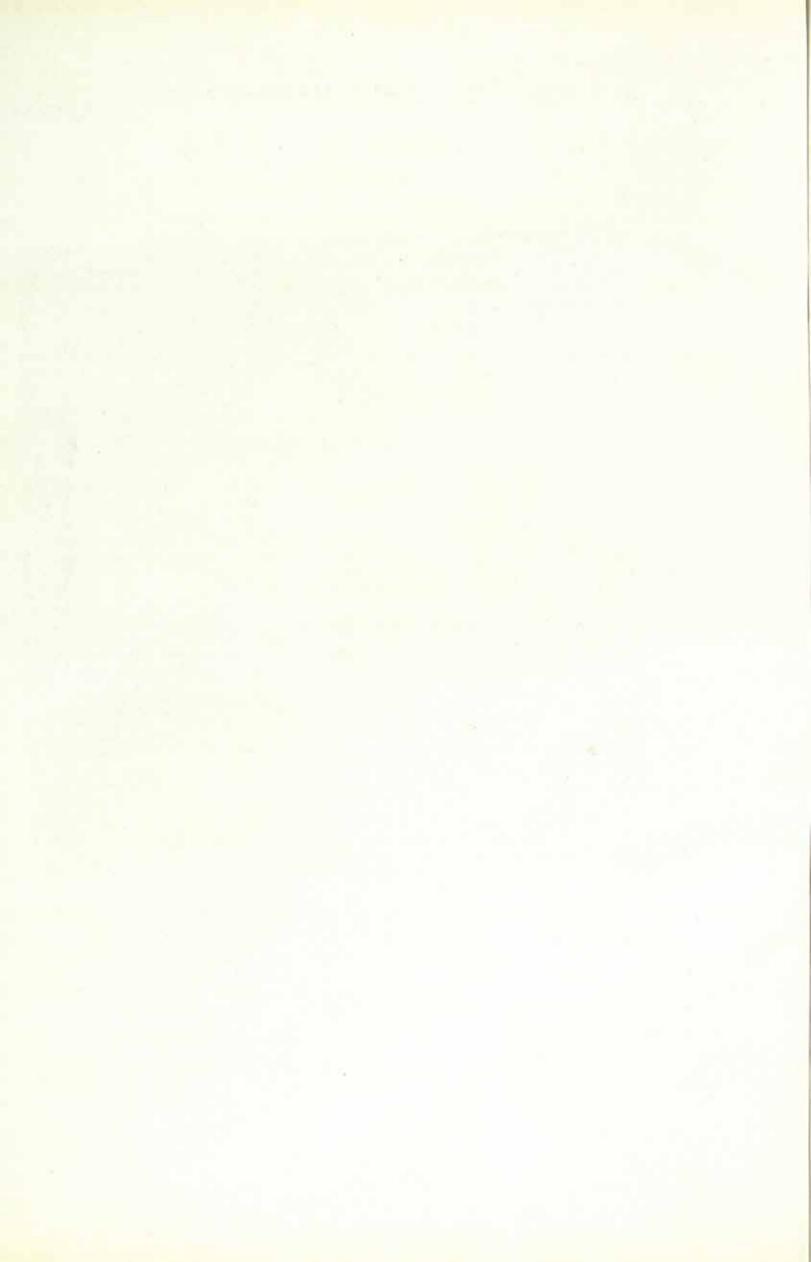
¹⁰ Read - प्रध्वंस-.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse: Sardūlavikrīdita,

¹² Read -वंश-.

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II





- 25 [पं]द 0 0 0 0 - 0 - [तस्या]शेषगुणाक[रस्य भुवने] - म - 0 1 ।।
 [१५॥*] [श्री]मत्प्रवो(बो)धशिवनामनिजानुजस्य स्थानं समर्थं विजि-
- 26 तं नि[जभित्तयोगात्*]।2--०-०००-००-०--,--०-०००-००-००-- 3।।
 [२०।1*] [येन*] त्यागतपःसमाधिनिधिना स्वस्वामिनिम्मापित-

- 33 [क*] u v प्याय[पु?]-,- u u u u u - [1*] - u u u u u u -,- - u - u u u - u u - u नीना[म्] ।।[२६।।*] एणाङ्कान्वय-
 - 34 u u u u — u , — u u u u u u — u [1*] — u u — u — u u u — — [गृ]हीत्वा व (व)लात्स्यातं स—
- - 38 [रिक्रिज*]तपादरे[णु:] - ० [गजघटा] ० ० ० -¹¹[॥३०॥*] - ० ० ० -० ० - ० - -, - - ० - ० ० ० - ० पराक्रमोभ्त् [।*] [चि]वेपि य[विल्लित] -
 - 39 खितरूपमवेक्य वीरवर्त ००० ०० ।।[३१।।*] ० जा ००० [निजवैरि] –, [ण] विक्रमनिधिविपरीतमल्लः । आसी[ज्ञ]-

¹ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied here as कि नाम नालोक्यते ।

² The first eight letters may be conjecturally supplied as शैव जगाम भूवनं.

³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: Sārdūlavikrīdita,

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^{*} Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ Metre: Mālinī.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following three verses: Vasantatilakā.

41 देवनृपतिः [प]तिहत्तमा[नां] - - v - v v - v - v [नान्सुः] (नांशुः) ॥[३३॥*] [प्र] - विश्वति हतशक्तिर्गृ[ज्जं][रेशो हि*]माद्रि जलनिधिजलदुर्गं गौडराजोधिशे-

42 ते। निवसित वनवासे कुन्त[ले][श:*] v --, v v v v v -- [मण्डनं चास्य मन्ये] ।। [३४॥*] [स्थानं] v - v v v - v य कीर्त्तनी[यं] पुण्यान्विताय मुनये स्वयम-

43 चित्रताय । — नमू (मु) ल्लिखित[शा] $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ = [\hat{\mathsf{a}} \hat{\mathsf{a}}] \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}}] \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}]} \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}]} \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}}] \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}}] \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}}] \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}]} \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}]} \times [\hat{\mathsf{a}]$

44 द्धे को प्रथ [ना]सपुण्डिका ॥[३६॥*] प्रप्रप्रप--प्र,प्रभ पुरं खटोल्लिका । प नकलाभीरपल्ली प्रप्रप्रसरस्वती ॥[३७॥*] [एतेषां] द्वादशकञ्च कवचक्षेत्रमेव च ।

46 [नेता][न्शा] सनत्वेन दत्तवा[न् ।*] २२२४ ० [सिद्धा] न्तपारगाय गरीयसे ॥[४०॥*] पुरं पौरजनाकीण्णं ५५४५ समस्तकम् । भक्त्या समर्प्यामास शासनत्वे-

47 [न भू*]पतिः ॥[४१॥*] करोढकं व (ब)ह्मपु[रीं] [सुसिद्धार्थं ?]कपोण्डिकाम् । नन्नेश्वर[क्षेत्र]— मदात्सोमनाथाय श[ममवे *] ॥[४२॥*] दत्ता श्रीयुवराजेन पालिता[न]न्तरैं र्मृपैः । आकल्प—

48 [स्या*][यि]नी भूयादृत्तिः शैवतपोभृताम् ॥[४३॥*]भारद्वाजान्वयश्रीमत्त्रयीव[र्द्ध]ननन्दनः । प्रस-(श)[स्तिमकरोत्स्तुत्यो] मधुर्मधुरया गिरा ॥[४४॥*] अलेखि लेखकेनेयम-

49 [ब्बोक^{8*}]तनुजन्मना । अक्षरैर्दृषदि स्पष्टैः शिवनागेन घीमता ॥[४५॥*] उत्कीण्णी सूत्रघारेण महेश्वरसुतेन च । माधवेन न -- पृ [गु*]णिना विश्वकर्म्मणा ॥[४६॥*] सिद्धिः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to [the holy Soma]natha!

(Verse 1) May the self-willed moon-crested (god Siva) living on the mountain (Kailāsa),—who made the world,—which had its multitudes of quarters covered by the best of aerial beings¹⁰ terrified by the clash of the rows of peaks of the excellent crystal mountain (Kailāsa) (when it was) shaken by the movements of the mighty arms of the lord of Lankā,—dreadful with the echoes of their cries at the thought that it was the end of the world,—increase your joy!

(V. 2) 'Nandin, who is this (lady) that has entered the abode of Pasupati? 'I think that she is none but your ladyship'. 'This is false. I am not she. She is some-

¹ Metre: Mālinī.

² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Metre from here to the end: Anushfubb.

⁴ Banerji read Khayēllikā.

⁵ Banerji read these two names as भन्नचित्रा and तज्ञम्बा.

[®] These two aksharas are conjectural. Banerji suggested वेदा-.

^{*} Banerji's reading सान्तर- is not correct and does not give a good sense.

⁸ The starred aksharas in the beginning of ll. 47-49, though lost in the accompanying plate, are read from an old estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ The reference here is to the denizens of Kailasa, who were terrified by the shaking of the mountain, and not to mere birds as thought by Banerji.

¹¹ The verse refers to Pārvatī's jealousy of the river Gangā which Siva sheltered for a while in his matted hair. The verse is in the form of a dialogue first between Pārvatī and Nandin (Siva's door-keeper) and next between her and Siva who tries to conceal the Gangā from his consort. For a similar dialogue between Siva and Pārvatī, see Mudrārāksbasa, I, 1.

- one else. O Isa! Who is seated in your matted hair? 'You simple-minded, he is the enemy of gods who has assumed your form. See I have thrown him down before me!' 'By what missile?'—May Siva who was thus silenced, being vanquished by the goddess (Pārvatī) with harsh words, protect you!
- (V. 3) There is in this world Madhumati, the abode of those who are versed in the Saiva Siddhāntas,—which contains excellent Achāryas of noble conduct; in which the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the untimely appearance of clouds caused by the uninterrupted mass of dark smoke of the ever-kindled (sacrificial) fires; (and) which laughs at the heavenly world with the mass of lustre of the large and resplendent jewels set on the rows of its high mansions;—
- (V. 4) Where appeared the first best ascetics, whose minds were restrained by vows, (and) who taught the great and flawless doctrine of Siva to their disciples;—whose well-known fame, having the bright lustre of nectar, even now whitens the universe, delighting the prosperous and learned men even as moonlight does the assemblage of night-lotuses.
- (V. 5) In this very great succession of Saivas there was the illustrious Chūdāśiva, who was venerable to sages; who, with his shining lustre, was to sins what the forest fire is to dry fuel; (and) whose extremely white fame, which had arisen from the attainment of the perfection of knowledge through meditation on the feet of Siva, roamed about inside the mansion of the three worlds.
- (V. 6) His disciple was the wise sage called the illustrious Prabhāvaśiva, whose foot-stool was honoured by the mass of lustre of the crest-jewels on the heads of all kings bending (in salutation), and who deserved glorification in the three worlds.
- (V. 7) Having brought him out of a natural desire, Yuvarājadēva (I), the son of the illustrious Mugdhatunga, who was versed in policy, made him accept a monastery, which was constructed at an enormous expense, with the object of gaining excellent fame arising out of the benefit to creatures.
- (V. 8) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious Praśāntaśiva, the sole abode of the exceedingly attractive qualities, who became famous in the whole world by his faultless austerities and increasing learning.
- (V. 9) Attracted by his long-accumulated austerities, the goddess of fortune, (though) eager for the bodily contact of him who was always averse to enjoyment on account of his desire to attain final emancipation, remained steadfast like an exceedingly virtuous wife, in the houses of good persons who were dear to him, when she received his order to benefit others.
- (V. 10) Having obtained the support of the post of (his) charity, having received the sprinkling of the water of (his) shining learning, and being protected all round by the force of (his) extending austerities, the wish-fulfilling tree of his fame grew up in course of time, which has completely filled the cavity of the vase-like universe.
- (V. 11) To the north of the temple,² resembling the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which was caused to be built by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I), he erected a temple of Iśvara, well-known on the earth, which vies with the summit of the Sumēru (mountain) (in altitude), which causes wonder to all the three worlds, (and) which serves as a flight of steps to his fame rising to heaven.

¹ Siva is referring to the stream of the Gangā which flows down from his matted hair.

² Banerji translates prăsăda by 'a palace,' but it is probably used here in the sense of 'a temple'. Compare the Kărîtalăi inscription (No. 42), v. 18.

(V. 12) The learned one, whose great fame was well-known, installed Uma, Siva united with Uma, and the six-faced (Karttikeya) in the shrines attached to the temple

and also Ganapati and Sarasvatī at the gate.

(V. 13) He, who had satisfied the desire for wealth of hosts of suppliants with gifts of gold which had emerged (purified) by burning, caused to be built another abode for the siddhas on the bank of the Sōṇa; having entered which, the tranquil Yōgins, who have destroyed the impediments of mental anxieties by (the performance of) vows and who have clear minds, having attained success in meditation, reach the goal of final emancipation.

- (V. 14) For the absolute rest of those who are intent on living in a holy place, he, the sage, caused to be built the (well-known) abode for performing austerities on the bank of the heavenly river (Gangã); having resorted to which, those who live in Vārāṇasī (Banaras), devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, consider the ocean of worldly existence, though extensive, to be as small in size as a puddle made by a cow's foot.
- (V. 15) Seated in a solitary place he,—who had mastered (all) the āsanas, who felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Siva seated in the midst of the lotus of the heart, and who was fond of making gifts,—passed his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the Pānchārthika¹ system and were capable of examining (other systems).
- (V. 16) Extremely resplendent by their own majesty like the multitudes of the rays of the sun, his disciples,—who day by day arouse those who are steeped in ignorance (as the rays awaken those enveloped by darkness); whose fame is due to the benefit they confer on the people by their gift of knowledge (as that of the rays is due to the light they give); whose commands are borne by kings on their heads (as the splendour of the rays is borne by mountains on their peaks), —move about (among people) being honoured by the best of sages.
- (V. 17) His disciple was the illustrious Iśānaśambhu, even as Paraśurāma was of Siva,—(he) whose fame was sung by all great poets, (and) whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the rays of jewels on the rows of heads of all kings.
- (V. 18) Having conquered he, who removed the misery of poverty, made the goddess of fortune become an object of enjoyment to all suppliants, and [devoted himself to] right knowledge, because it is capable of destroying the multitude of the bonds of worldly existence.
- (V. 19) Of him, who was a lion in the act of destroying the rutting elephant that is the Kali age; who is the fore-head mark of the illustrious Mattamayūra lineage, and the store of all learning ; (who is) the source of all excellences in this world the assembly of learned persons . . . -[what has not been observed?].
- (V. 20) Having made over his office (as the head of the monastery) to his younger brother, the illustrious Prabodhasiva, he [attained the world of Siva] which he had won by his devotion.
- (V. 21) By him who was the store-house of charity, austerities, and meditation [was built a matha near the temple] erected by his teacher which [the celestial beings] do not cross for fear of obstruction in the attainment of the desired siddhis.

¹ The Päśupata system is called päñchārthika, because it treats of the five subjects, kārya effect, kārana cause, yōga union of the soul with Iśvara, vidhi rites, and duḥkhānta the cessation of misery. See Sarvadar-ṣanasangraha, Ch. VI.

- (V. 22) And a well [was dug by him] The host of suppliants also having obtained abundant wealth which they had not (even) longed for before
 - (V. 23) caused to be built by his good work
 - (V. 24) Thereafter, the high-souled one in his place
- (V. 25) His (fame) on high on the Mahendra (and)

 Arbuda (mountains) was able
 - (V. 26) Sāmantapāṭaka
- (V. 27) In the lineage of the moon having snatched the well-known sword by force
 - (V. 28) Having vanquished the lord of Gürjaras
 - (V. 29) the protection of the family
- (V. 30) he, the dust of whose feet was reddened by the jewels on the heads of feudatories the herds of elephants.
- (V. 31) was born the valiant one seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture the vow of heroes.
- (V. 32) [From him was born] the king who was the store-house of valour, the terrible fighter who was to the poets what a cloud is to the kadamba trees
- (V. 33) From him was born the king Kökalladeva (II) of matchless prowess, whose (beautiful) form was praised by the god of love, (who was) the lord of the best
- (V. 34) The Gūrjara lord enters the Himālaya, being deprived of power, the king of Gauda lies in the watery fort of the sea, the lord of Kuntala lives in the forest this I consider to be the ornament (of his provess).
- (V. 35) The king Keyūravarsha himself offered by an inscribed [charter] the famous abode to the ascetic possessed of religious merit whom he himself worshipped
- (V. 36-7) The villages Pakka— . . . and also Sārasaḍōllaka Vakkaḍōllaka and Rajyauddha . . . Nāsapuṇḍikā -pura, Khaṭōllikā, -nakalā, Ābhīrapallī, . . . (and) Sarasvatī.
- (V. 38-40) The twelfth part of these and the Kavachakshëtra, and also Sāmanta-pāṭaka (and) Vaṭa- . . . Tallapaṭī, Bhaddhachiurā, [Kusumbā] and Kukkuḍiyā, together with Rajōgrāma, [the king] gave as a grant to the great [ascetic] who had completely mastered the (Saira) Siddhantas.
- (V. 41) The king gave through devotion the whole city crowded with citizens as a grant.
- (V. 42) (He) gave to the Siva (called) Somanātha (the villages) Karodhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka, Poņdikā (and) the Nannēśvarakshētra.
- (V. 43) May this provision for the maintenance of Saiva ascetics, made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I) and preserved by the succeeding rulers, endure till the end of the kalpa!
- (V. 44) The praiseworthy Madu, the son of the illustrious Trayivardhana of the Bhāradvāja family, composed this *prafasti* in sweet words.
- (V. 45) The intelligent scribe Sivanaga, the son of Avvoka, wrote it on the stone in clear letters.
- (V. 46) It has been inscribed by the Sutradhāra, the skilled artist Mādhava, the son of Mahēśvara

Success !

No. 47; PLATE XXXVII

MAKUNDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

This inscription was brought to public notice by General Cunningham's Assistant Mr. J. D. Beglar who found a rubbing of it in the Asiatic Society's collection. He called attention to its date¹ in connection with the description of the ruins at Makundpur, a village about nine miles south by west of Rewa, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. He could not, however, find the inscription when he visited the place in 1874-75. The record was next twice referred to by Dr. Kielhorn² who, drawing attention to its date, pointed out the desirability of examining it. Its impressions were not, however, accessible to him, when he wrote his exhaustive articles on the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era³, and none has noticed the inscription since then. At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, kindly visited Makundpur in 1931. He was fortunately successful in tracing the inscribed slab, and supplied me with excellent estampages from which the inscription is edited here.

The record is incised on a slab lying on the ruins of a small temple⁴ situated to the north-west of Rūpasāgar, a large tank, at Makundpur. The inscribed surface measures 3' 2" in length and nearly 5" in height. The record has suffered considerably at the top, about half a dozen aksharas and the mātrās on the top of some more on the right-hand

side of the first line being wholly or partially damaged.

The inscription consists of three lines of which the last two are shorter than the first. The characters belong to the Nägari alphabet of the eleventh century A.C. Most of the letters have a wedge or an inverted acute-angled triangle at the top. It is noteworthy that the left limb of f is not joined to the right-hand vertical; f, though still without a vertical, has, for the first time in the records edited here, a horizontal line at the top, and h has a fully drawn tail. The language is Sanskrit. Attention may be drawn to the incorrect causal participle ghatapita, 1.3, formed on the model of karapita which figures in earlier records, and the wrong gender in dharmam=idam, 1.2. As regards orthography, the sign for v is used to denote b in Vudha-, 1.1, and the dental s substituted for f in Jalasayana-, 1.2. The consonant preceding and following f is reduplicated in Sattradhara-, 1.3 and dharmma-, 1.2 respectively.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the title Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka which is rarely, if ever, seen to be assumed by rulers of the eminence and power of Gāṅgēyadēva. Owing to the mutilation of the Piawan rock inscription this is now the only known extant record of the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva. The object of the inscription is to record that the Śrēshṭhin Dāmōdara, the ornament of the family of Gṛihapati, caused a temple of Jalaśayana⁵ (Vishṇu reposing on water) to be constructed. The work was executed by the Śūtradhāra Sāmbhūka.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its date, which is given with full details in line 1 as Samvat 772, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttika, a Wednesday. Beglar called attention to the fact that from the form of the characters, the date cannot be referred to the Vikrama Samvat. He also suggested that it probably referred to the Chēdi

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 5, n. 1.

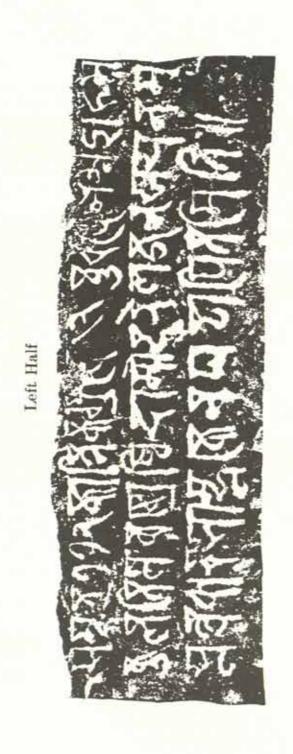
^{*} Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 85; Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 354.

³ Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. and Festgruss an Roth, pp. 53 ff.

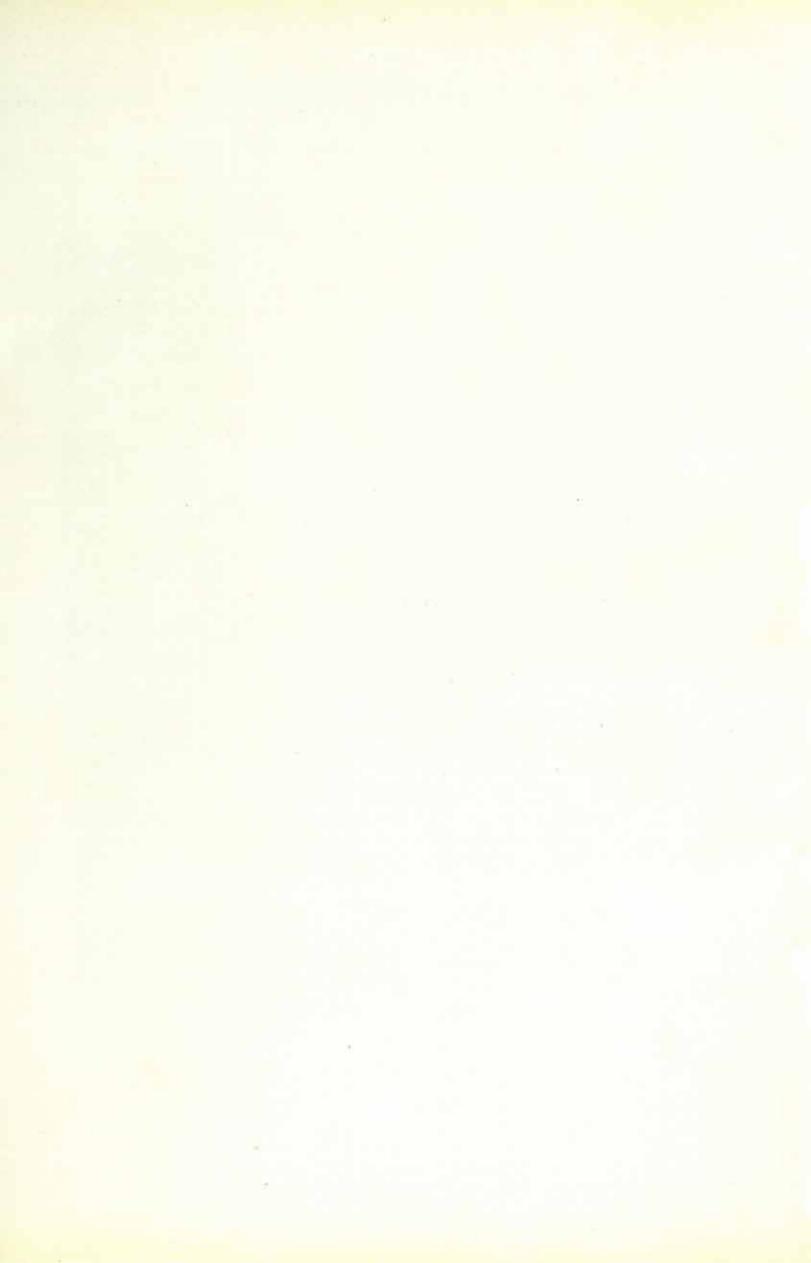
⁴ This may be 'the Vaishnavic temple' which, according to Beglar, supplied materials for a large Saiva temple nearby. See C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 4.

⁶ This form of the deity is probably identical with what is commonly called Seshasāyin 'Vishņu sleeping on his couch of the serpent Sēsha'. As the temple was situated near the large tank of Rūpasāgar, it was appropriately dedicated to this form.

MAKUNDAPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772







era,—an opinion to which Dr. Kielhorn lent his support. This is no doubt the correct view, for the Banaras grant of Gangeyadeva's son Karna which was made on the first anniversary of Gāngēya's death is dated in the Kalachuri or Chēdi year 793 i.e., only twenty-one years after the date of the present record. According to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the month of Karttika should fall in 1019 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 772 was current and in 1020 A.C. if it was expired. But in 1019 A.C. the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of that month ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), while in 1020 A.C. the same tithi ended 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was the tithi connected with Wednesday in any way. Even the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits earlier dates of the era will not do; for in 1021 A.C. which, according to it, should correspond to the expired Kalachuri year 772, the tithi fell on Friday (the 20th October). The date is, therefore, irregular. But of the three equivalents mentioned above, the first, viz., Tuesday, the 13th October 1019 A.C. comes nearest to it. Overlooking the discrepancy of one day, the date of the present inscription may, therefore, be taken to correspond, for the current Kalachuri year 772, to the 13th October, 1019 A.C. This is one of the few dates in current years. It shows, again, that the Kalachuri year must have commenced on some day before the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT1

- मिद्धिः [।*] सम्वत् ७७२ कार्तिक शुदि १२ वु(बु)ध[दिने] महा[हं]महामहत्तक[श्री] [महाराज् ?] [श्री][गाङ्गेयदेव]रा[ज्ये] ग्रहपित—
- क्लितलकश्रेष्ठिदामोदरेण जलस (श)यनमठं कारि[तं] धर्मामदं ॥ मंगलं महाश्री: ॥ सिद्धिः ॥
- 3 स्राधारसाम्भूकेन घटापितमिति⁹ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 772 on Wednesday, the 12th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika, during the reign of the Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka¹⁰ the illustrious [Mahārāja] Gāṅgēyadēva, the Śrēshṭhin (merchant) Dāmōdara, an ornament of the family of Grahapati, 11 has caused (this) temple of (Vishṇu) who reposes on water, to be constructed. This is a pious work. (May there be) bliss and good fortune! Success!

(This work) was executed12 by the Sūtradhāra (artisan) Sāmbhūka.

¹ From inked estampages, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read संवत.

⁴ The matras and curves on the top of letters enclosed in brackets in l. 1 have been broken away,

⁵ Only the first akshara of this word is partly seen. I am not certain about the following three aksharas.

⁶ Of the five aksharas in this royal name, traces of the first are clearly seen, the third akshara ya is completely damaged, and only the mātrās over ng and d have been broken off, while the last akshara is quite clear. There is, on the whole, little doubt about the correctness of the reading given above.

⁷ The anuspāra over ta is wrongly placed over the following aksbara. Read मठ: कारित: 1

⁸ Read धर्मीयम.

⁹ Read घटितमिति.

¹⁰ For Mahattaka used as an official title, see l. 77 of the Sanjān plates of Amöghavarsha, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 251.

¹¹ Grahapati, lit. the lord of planets, signifies the moon. The expression would then mean an ornament of the lunar race which would scarcely be appropriate in the case of a merchant. Perhaps Grahapati is a mistake for Grihapati, but even then it seems to be used here as a personal name rather than in the usual sense of 'a house-holder', or 'the head of a village.'

¹² Ghațăpita seems to be used in the same sense as kārāpita. For its sense, see Kielhorn's remarks on kārāpaka in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 62, n. 53.

No. 48; Plate XXXVIII

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 793

THE inscription on these plates was first brought to notice by Captain Wilford who described it as follows in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, page 108:-

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish in the old fort of Banaras. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly and in the same shape with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in bas-relievo, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed; two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull is written Sri-Karnnadēva. The grant is dated in the second year of his new year and also of his reign answering to the Christian year 192 . . . The ancestors of Śrī-Karnnadēva mentioned in the grant were, first his father Gangeyadeva, with the title Vijaya-kantaka; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kökalladeva, whose father was Lakshmanarājadēva." 1 The plates were subsequently edited in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff., with lithographs, but without a translation, by Dr. Kielhorn, who gives the following account of their subsequent history2:-

"The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Banaras College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College. Both were made over to Dr. F.E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal and has thus enabled me to publish the text of the inscription, the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately, the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise." As the plates appear to have been lost forever, they are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Kielhorn's article in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

The plates, which are two in number, appear to be 1' 4" broad by 1112" high each and are inscribed on one side only. They have each a hole about .6" in diameter for the ring which held them together. The letters appear to have been deeply incised. The inscription consists of forty-eight lines, of which twenty-eight are inscribed on the first and the remaining twenty on the second. The writer began with closely packed lines

¹ There are several mis-statements in this account. The figure on the seal must be taken to be that of Lakshmi. What is described as a basket before the Nandi is probably an incense pot. There must have been another like it behind the bull; see the seals of the Goharwa and British Museum plates (Nos. 50 and 54). The seal of Jayasimhadeva (Pl. LII) shows a handle to these pots, which makes it plain that they are not drums as conjectured by Hultzsch (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 140). The legend had probably a visarga at the end as in the legend of other cognate plates. The mistake about the second regnal year was probably caused by the word dvittyāyām referring to the tithi in 1.40. As regards Wilford's reading of the date, Cunningham has remarked, I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193 and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plates,' (C. A.S. I.R., Vol. IX, p. 82). Vijaya-kantaka is shown by Kielhorn to be a mistake for vijaya-kataka 'a victorious camp'. Finally, the misconception about Gängēyadēva's dying in a loathsome dungeon was probably caused by a wrong interpretation of v. 25. See, however, Kielhorn's remarks in Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 302, n. 38. ² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 297.

until he came to the middle of the second plate when he found that he had more than sufficient space at his disposal. He, therefore, left more space between his lines and wrote letters of a larger size especially in lines 38-40. The writing is in a state of good preservation.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some letters show considerable development, approximating to their forms in the modern Nagari alphabet, though they are still in the stage of transition. The initial $\tilde{\epsilon}$, for instance, shows, for the first time in the records edited here, its left curve separated from the right vertical in ēkasmini-, 1.28; elsewhere it is joined to the latter, see ēk-aika-, 1.11; kh has its left member fully developed, see khyāta-, 1.13, but notice Natt-ākhya-, 1.10 in which it shows the older form; ii appears with a dot for the first time in bhujangam=a-, 1.11 and bhrū-bhamnga-, 1.15, but without it in =jangamab, 1.31 and -Gāngēyadēvasya, 1.40. Similarly th has its upper loop open in Dāsarathir=, 1.15 and -nāthab, 1.23, but in other cases it shows its older form, see yasy=ārtha- and, -tathā, both in 1.8; ph has now a tail added to the loop on the right, see phalam, 1.45; s in -sārthi-, 1.31 has the same form as in the modern Nāgarī, but in other cases it has the older form. The subscript n has the same form as when it is independent, see Karnna and iv-avatirnnab, both in 1.29. Besides, owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver several letters appear in varying forms, see, for instance, bh in bhāva-, 1.1, and -prabham, 1.2; y in dharmmaya, 1.7 and Gangeya-, 1.28; g in yogaya, 1.7 and -gamanam=, 1.18 and r in kārunya-, 1.20 and param=, 1.32. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between bh and h as well as between v and dh.

The language is Sanskrit throughout, except in verse 12 which is in Prakrit. The first thirty-two lines which contain the eulogistic portion of the record are in verse, with the exception of the introductory om namah Sivaya, 1.1 and the words kim-v-aparena. 1.13. This part of the record is written in the usual kāvya style. The description in vv. 16 and 20, which is based on flesha or double entendre, is cleverly done. It is noteworthy that v. 18 is taken from the play Bālabhārata (called also Prachandapāndava) of Rājeśēkhara.1 The formal part of the grant begins in 1.32 and is followed by six benedictive and imprecatory verses. The last line contains the date expressed in numerical figures. The record is very carelessly written. See, for instance, the mistake of concord in yasy-ārtha-saktō matib, 1.8, the wrong form Trikaling y-ādhipati- for Trikaling-ādhipati-, 1.34, the use of the short for the long vowel in -bhupālē in 1.9 and vice versa in -dhanānūsanidhita=, 1.7, the use of ē for ī in prathēta-, 1.29 and the reverse of it in -sarthishv-, 1.31, the wrong elision of the final consonant in sthir-asi for sthir-asit and of visarga in Lakshmi for Lakshmib, both in 1.22. These and other mistakes, too many to be enumerated, make it very difficult to restore the original correct readings. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed: - s is used for f almost throughout except in the case of śri, see Sivāya for Sivāya, 1.1, =āslēsha for =āślēsha, 1.3 etc.; v is employed for b in sad-vrahmanē, 1.1, vavamāha, 1.4 and so forth; y takes the place of j in tasy=ānuyō for tasy= āmijo, 1.22, -yāyata for -jāyata, 1.23 and vice versa in dur-jjasab for dur-yyašab, 1.27; n stands for n in anrinya, 1.8 and parjjanaishit for paryyanaishit, 1.10; the anusvara is wrongly changed to m in kim=v=aparēna 1.13 and to n in -vansa, 1.6 and -vansē, 1.45; ksh is written for khy in saukshakrit, 1.7 and kshātam, 1.27 and ky for ksh in kaukyēyakō=, 1.26; the vowel ri is used for ri in nistrimsatā, l. 21 and Trikaling y-, l. 34; finally, the consonant following r is repeated in many cases, see Karttaviryah, 1.3, Karnnah, 1.29 etc.

The plates were issued by Karna of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, from his

¹ See Bālabhārata (Nirņayasāgara ed.), Act I, v. 62.

victorious camp at Prayāga. After the customary verse in praise of Brahman, commences the genealogy of the donor. From the famous king Kārtavīrya who subdued Rāvaṇa, were descended the Haihayas. An ornament of their family was Kōkkala who gave protection to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa. This Kōkkala is evidently identical with Kōkalla I mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription.¹ The first two kings mentioned here as having received help from him are also named in the Bilhāri inscription and are plainly identical with Bhōja I of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj and Kṛishṇa II of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family who, from Rāshṭrakūṭa records, is known to have married Kōkalla's daughter. Srī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa, is the well-known king of that name in the Chandēlla dynasty, whose kingdom included that hill fort. Finally, Saṅkaragaṇa is not Kōkalla's own son as was supposed by Dr. Kielhorn, but the first prince of that name, the father of Guṇāmbhōdhidēva, mentioned in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva.² As Guṇāmbhōdhidēva was a contemporary of Bhōja I, it is not unlikely that his father may have received some help from Kōkalla I in the early part of the latter's reign.

Verse 8 states that Kökalla married the princess Nattā of the Chandēlla family. By her he had a son named Prasiddhadhavala who is evidently identical with the Mugdhatunga of the Bilhāri inscription.³ A Prakrit verse introduced here states that he conquered the Pāli country to provide for the great princes who would be born thereafter in his family. As already shown, this statement is corroborated by the Bilhāri inscription which mentions that Mugdhatunga took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.

The record next mentions Prasiddhadhavala's son Bālaharsha who is described in general terms. His name is omitted in the Bilhāri inscription, either because his reign was short or because he was a collateral. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I who is said to have attained the position of Paramēšvara (Emperor), through his devotion to Siva. He was followed by his son Lakshmaṇarāja (II). As already observed, verse 18, which occurs in his description, is borrowed from the Bālabhārata, a Sanskrit play of Rājaśēkhara. Lakshmaṇarāja's son and successor was Śaṅkaragaṇa (III) who was followed by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II. The latter's son was Kōkalladēva II who was succeeded by his own son Gāṅgēyadēva. The record finally mentions Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor Karṇa who granted the present plates. The eulogy of these princes is merely conventional and contains no reference to historical events.

The present record gives Karna the Imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara. He is also called here the lord of Trikalinga and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva. Vāmadēva is clearly identical with Vāmarājadēva whose name is mentioned with the same Imperial titles in the Saugor stone inscription of the time of Sankaragaṇa I.4 Karṇa made the present grant at Prayāga after bathing in the Vēṇī and worshipping Siva on the occasion of the samvatsara-śrāddha of his father, Gāngēyadēva, which he performed at Prayāga. The object of the grant was the village Srusī situated in the bhūmi (sub-division) of Kāśī. The

¹ Above, No. 45, vv. 12 ff.

² Below, No. 74, v. 8.

³ Above, No. 45, v. 18.

⁴ Above, No. 35, L. 1.

⁵ Note ib aira in 1. 39 of the text.

^{*} See below, p. 244, n. 11.

donee was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa, son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana and great-grand son of Āmaha¹ who belonged to the Kauśika gōtra with the pravaras Auddā-laka,² Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra, who had emigrated from Vēsāla. The date of the śrāddha is given, in line 40, as Saturday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna and that of the charter, in the last line, as Monday, the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793. The latter tithi and the year are expressed in numerical figures only.

As Dr. Fleet has shown from his calculation of the date of Karna's Goharwa plates, this śrāddha was performed on the first anniversary of Gāngēyadēva's death and this view is also confirmed by the wording of the grant.3 From other Kalachuri records4 we know that Gangeya died at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayaga. Karna seems, therefore, to have especially gone to Prayaga to perform the first annual śrāddha of his father at the holy place where he had died. The dates mentioned in this inscription, like those in other Kalachuri records, must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. Though no year is mentioned in connection with the first date, it is probably identical with that of the second; for, it is not likely that the issuing of the plates was delayed by more than a few days or months at most. Of these two dates, the second is quite regular; for according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the ninth tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrņimānta Phālguna in the expired year 793 ended 18 hours after mean sunrise on Monday, the corresponding Christian date being the 18th January 1042 A.C. The date of the śrāddha, however, if it refers to the same Kalachuri year as it evidently does, is irregular; for the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the purnimanta Phalguna in that year commenced 5 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 10th January 1042 A.C.) and ended 7 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise next day.5 It was not, thus, connected with Saturday in any way. This date, therefore, appears to be irregular. Dr. Kielhorn, however, found by calculation that the same tithi of the previous month (viz., the pūrnimānta Māgha) was current at sunrise on Saturday, the 12th December 1041 A.C. He, therefore, supposed that the śrāddha was really performed on the second tithi of the dark half of Māgha, but 'the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in 1.40 the month in which he was writing the grant'. Such an explanation is not impossible and other cases of a similar type can easily be cited.6 But this involves the supposition that there was an interval of more than a month between the making of the grant and the recording of it. Some scholars have, therefore, attempted to explain away the irregularity of the present date in other ways.

Dr. Fleet thought that the mistake lay in the week-day (or else in the tithi) rather than in the month, but he offered no explanation of it. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, on the other hand, suggested that though Gāngēya died on the second tithi of the dark half of Phālguna, and hence the trāddha must be performed on that date, in the year 793 it fell on a Sunday, which is not an auspicious day for such ceremonies. It was, therefore, per-

¹ See below, p. 244, n. 14.

² See below, p. 249, n. 20.

^a The text mentions the samvatsara-śrāddba, which means the śrāddba on the first anniversary. The śrāddba on a later anniversary is called prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddba.

⁴ See, for instance, v. 12 of the Khairha plates of Yasahkarna (below, No. 56)

⁵ According to Kielhorn's calculations, the *tithi* commenced 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C., and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 300.

⁶ See, e.g., the date of the Pēṇḍrābandh plates (below, No. 101).

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 146, n. 7.

formed on the day before and while dvitīyā, the anniversary day, could not be changed, it had to be associated with the week-day on which the ceremonies actually took place. This explanation also does not appear to be convincing; because, there is no authority in the Dharmaśāstras for changing the tithi for the performance of a śrāddha, even if it falls on an inauspicious day. We must, therefore, seek some other explanation of this irregularity.

It seems to me that the date of the śrāddha was really the second tithi of the dark half of Phalguna. As shown by Dr. Kielhorn, in the Kalachuri year 793 it was connected with the sunrise of Monday, but as the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon for the performance of a srāddha2, Karna must have performed the srāddha of his father in the afternoon of the preceding day, i.e., Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C. when the second tithi was current. As we have seen before, this was the first anniversary of Gangeyadeva's death. The Smritis lay down two or three srāddhas which are to be performed before the śrāddha on the first anniversary of a relative's death.3 The ceremonies are, therefore, usually commenced one or two days before the day of the first anniversary. Karna also seems to have done the same. At the time of the unabdika śrāddha on the day preceding the annual śrāddha, i.e., on Saturday, the 9th January 1042 A.C. he seems to have made a sankalpa about the grant. On the next day he performed the first annual or samvatsara-śrāddha. The grant was thus made by Karna on Saturday in connection with the samvatsara-śrāddha, which fell on the second tithi of the dark half of Phālguna. The writer of the grant has, by mistake, coupled Saturday, when the grant was actually made, with the tithi of the first annual srāddha which was really performed the next day. The foregoing discussion will show that Gangeyadeva died on Phalguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Dr. Kielhorn at first identified the river Vēṇī in which Karṇa had bathed before making the grant with the Waingangā of Madhya Pradesh.⁴ Later on, however, he corrected himself and identified it with the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā with the subterranean Sarasvatī at Allahabad.⁵ The village Vēsāla, from which the donee hailed, is plainly Vaiśālī which figures prominently in Buddhist literature. Archæological excavation has identified it with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.⁶ Prayāga, where the *frāddha* was performed, is of course Allahabad. As for Srusī, it is probably identical with Sursi (long. 82° 52′, East and lat. 25° 12′, North) in the Mirzapur District, 9 miles north of Chunār.⁷ It is stated that the village was situated in the sub-division of Kāśī, modern Banaras, and it is noteworthy that Sursi is just outside the southern boundary of

¹ Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 206, n. 3. He has not cited any authority for his statement that Sunday is regarded as an inauspicious day for the performance of a *srāddba*.

तथा श्राद्धस्य पूर्वाह्मादपराह्मो विशिष्यते । Manusmriti, adhyāya III, v. 278. Compare also पूर्वाह्मिकास्तु तिययो देवकार्ये फलप्रदाः । अपराह्मिकास्तया ज्ञेयाः पित्रर्थे तु शुभावहाः ॥ Hemādri's Chaturvargachintāmaņi, Parišēsha khanda, (Bibl. Ind.), p. 283.

^a These are the ūnābdika, which according to some is performed one day before, and the sapindikarana and the ābdika (also called sanivatsara-vimōksba), which are performed on the anniversary day. Some authorities identify the sapindikarana and ābdika śrāddbas. See Hemādri's Chaturvargachintāmani, Parisēshakhanda, pp. 294 ff; Nirnayasindhu (Nirnayasāgar ed.), p. 427.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 299.

⁶ The Kamauli plates of Jayachchandra also mention Vini in this sense, ibid. Vol. IV, p. 122.

⁶ A. R. A. S. I., for 1903-4, pp. 81 f.

⁷ The identification was first suggested in my article in the Nagpur University Journal, No. 1, pp. 51 ff.

the Banaras District. It may also be noted that the plates were found at the bottom of a well in Banaras which shows that the donce was a resident of the place. Karna seems to have specially invited him to Prayaga for the performance of the śrāddha.

TEXT1

First Plate

- सिद्धिः [11*] ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ।। निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं (णम) । भावग्राहचं पर(रं) ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ [१॥ *] यद्वेच स्थितमव्य[यं] प-
- रमिप जो (ज्यो) तिस्चि (िव्च) दंस् (श्) प्रभं (भम्)। स्यांखा (स्य) स्य च [भा] स्वरप्रभतयो यस्य स्फुरंत्यूम्मंयः [1*] सर्व्वज्ञान[म*]यो व(ब)भूव [भ]गवांस्तस्मान्मनुम्मनिसो यस्मात्सव्टिर्भ-[दियं ग]-
- उ णवती स्त्रीप्त्रिमित्ता ततः ।⁷ [॥२॥*] देवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभव-द्रूषण(णं)
- भ्तघात्र्या हेलोत्विप्ताद्रिवि (वि) स्यत्तुहिन्।गिरिसुतास्ले (श्ले) पसन्तोषितेस (श)म् [।* दोईण्डा-काण्डसेत्प्रतिगमितमहापुररेवाप्रवाहव्याघौतत्य⁸ (त्र्य)क्षपजाग्रुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववम्ध⁹। [1३।।*]यस्य भूभ्र(भ)[ङ्ग*]भीता ददति न्पतयः विलष्ट-
- मावे प्रतिपं¹⁰ आ के (के) लास (सा) त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खात [सं] (श्ं) गाप्र [भि]त्तेः । आ चः प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिदत्लस्यलम्बतावलीकादम्भोधेईक्षिणाच्च स्फू-
- 6 रदतुलमणे: सेतुसीमन्त[भा]ज: [॥४॥*] तद्वन्स¹²प्रभवा नरी(रॅ)द्रपतय: है ह्यास्तेषामन् (न्व)यभूषणं 13 रिप्मनोविन्यस्ततापानलः। धर्मंध्यानध-
- सस्वत्सता14 सौक्ष (स्य)कृत्रियास (न्स) व्वंगुणाब्द्धितप्रभतया श्रीमान-नान् (न्)संधितस्खः भूकोक्कल्ल: 15। (11) 16[५11*] सम्यक्सा (क्शा)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदिनं धम्मीय योगाय च¹⁷ इच्छा-
- [पू] तंपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो (क्ता) मितः ।।(।) आनुन्या (ण्या) धिगमाय दानिनरितः सद्वंस (श)पृष्टेस्तथा ज्ञानाभ्यासवसा (ज्ञा)न्म (न्म्)मुक्ष (क्ष्)पदवीमंते च यः प्राप्तवान । [1६॥*] भोजे व-
- ल्ल[भ*]राजे 18 श्रीहर्ष (धें) चित्रक्टम् (भू)पाले। स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज*]नि यस्यासीदभयदः

¹ From the lithograph accompanying Kielhorn's article in the Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 297 ff.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read सदब्रह्मणे.

⁴ Metre: Anushtubh. ⁵ Perhaps यद्देश स्थित- is the intended reading.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

^{*} Kielhorn read this akshara as = , but see its form in 1. 3.

⁹ Read बबन्ध.

¹⁰ Read दघित नृपतयः विलष्टभावे प्रतिष्ठाम्.

¹¹ Read 7. Metre of VS 3, 4 snagdhers.

¹³ Kielhorn read भूषण, but the lithograph shows an anunvara on ज्.

¹⁴ Read शश्वत्सतां.

¹⁵ Read श्रीमानभूत्कोक्कल:. In v. 23 the metre requires the form कोकल्ल or कोक्कल.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdālavikrīdita.

¹⁷ The hiatus here is due to the exigencies of the metre.

¹⁸ I fail to see any letter inserted between eq and to as observed by Kielhorn. Tappears here with a loop.

पाणिः।1[1011*] सर्विमिवेन्द्र³ कमलामुपेन्दो³ (न्द्रो) नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः। चन्देल्ल-वसप्रभवा

ग्रिक्त नट्टास्यदेवी स तु पर्ज्जनैषित् वा [८।।*] उद्दामदर्प्पद्विषती जयन्तं कद (न्द) प्पमापि— (पी) नचनस्तनीनाम् । अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास (श) क्तिष[रं] कु—

मारम् । [॥९॥*] नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुष (व) नत्रयेषि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो धवलः स राजा । वोढु (ढुं) धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्कहार चकार ॥[१०॥*] एकैक (कं) ददता भुजङ्गमिन-

ग्रेट सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता भक्ष्यार्थं(थं) ग्रहडाय नागपितना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः। चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जलं सुरपितन्गं च्छन्न[ह*]ल्यामृतौ वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभूदौ—

13 चित्त (त्य) वृत्तेः प [द] (दम्)।। 7 [११॥*] किम्वापरेण । होहिन्ति एत्य वंसे पुरिसा पुहइयण-गारवमहन्या [।*] इअ भाविऊण जेणं पालीण परिग (म्ग)हो गहिओ।।10 [१२॥*] तत्सुनुः11 स्थात—

14 कम्मा दिगिभकरिनभाजानुवा(बा) हुर्मेहात्मा भूमेभ(भे)त्तांव(ब)भूवक्षतिरपुनृपतिर्व्वा(र्व्वा)लहें— पः (हर्षः)ः सु [ज*]न्मा । यं सदृतानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमामृ (श्वि)त्य जातस्त्य—

म् क्तान्योन्योपमईंस्थिरवसितरपास्तारिवर्गित्र (स्त्र)वर्गः ।¹³[११३॥*] । धन्योत्र दास(श)-रिथरेव रिपुईंसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवित्कमपरं समरोत्सवाय भ्रूभंङ्गा³[भ*]ग्नसकलिद्वयतो

16 धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति यः सुसोच¹⁵ ॥ १६ १४॥ भी सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुयः(जः) प्रयितवा(बा)हुव(ब)लो व(ब)भूव। दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-

17 न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः । [1१५॥*] भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्सित¹⁷प्र[ण*]यिनीमालम्व-(म्ब)मानस्तन(नुं) कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्विः(द्विषः)॥ (।) विख्या-

तां भृवि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैद्दंघद्वाही (हि) नीं यः साक्षात्परमेस्व (२व) र[:*] समभवत्स-म्यक्सि (क्शि) वाराधनात् ।।¹8[१६॥*] तस्मादभूल्लक्ष्मणराजदेवः पुण्यै¹९जंनाना (नां)

19 जनितव्यवस्थ:। आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्ममैमिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेमे जनता सुस्तानि ॥20/ती [१७॥*] यः सत्यस्य निधि: सि(श्रि)यां च सर्रणः साम्ना च घाम्ना [च*] यो यो दाता च दयाल-

¹ Metre: Āryā.

² Read शचीमिवेन्द्र:.

³ Kielhorn read मुपेन्द्रों, but the facsimile does not show any subscript r in this aksbara; see the form of द्र in नगेन्द्र—.

⁴ Read the second half of the verse as चन्देल्लवंशप्रभवां सुशीलां नट्टास्यदेवीं स तु पर्यगैषीत् ॥ ⁵ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Upajāti*.

⁶ Read ग्रुभारयक्तामन्यान्नपेन्द्रान्करदीचकार ॥

⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

^{*} Read कि वापरेण.

⁹ Kielhorn read this as πεξη, but the form of η, which occurs in this line and in 1. 28 are different.

¹⁰ Sanskrit—भविष्यन्त्यत्र वंशे पुरुषा पृथिव्यां गौरवमहार्घाः ।
इति भाविष्त्वा येन पालीनां परिग्रहो गृहीतः ।। Metre: Āryā.

¹¹ Read तत्स्न:.

¹² Kielhorn read - व्या (व्या) लहुए:, but the facsimile shows repha over ह.

¹³ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁴ The anurvara on w is clear and distinct. Read अभाइ-.

¹⁵ Read श्वोच.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilaka.

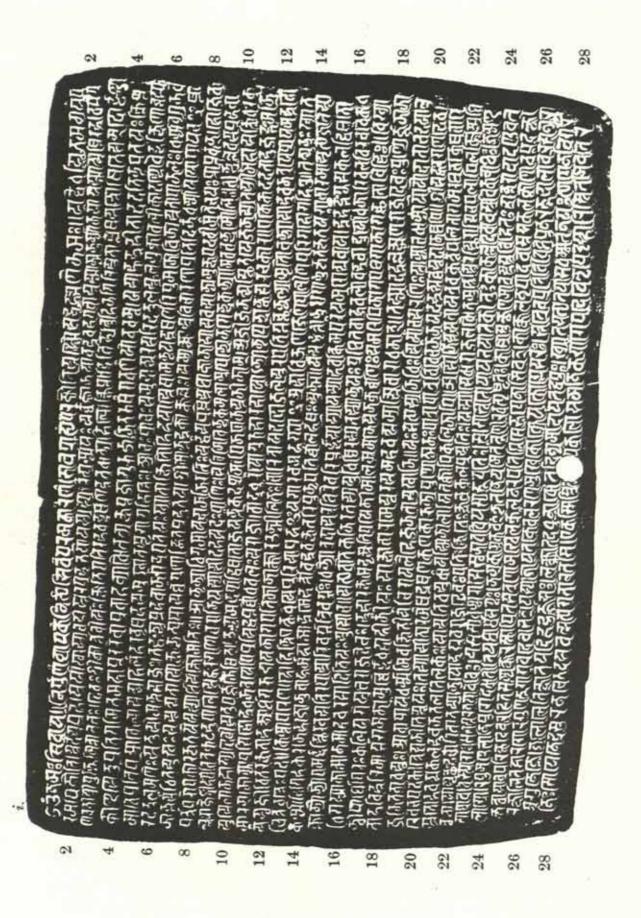
¹⁷ Read द्वश्रुति-.

¹⁸ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁹ The reading is clearly quit, and not quit as taken by Kielhorn.

²⁰ Metre: Upajāti.

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 793



- रेव च पदं कीत्तिंस्च (श्च) नीतेस्च (श्च) यः । तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[:*] कारुन्य (ण्य)-पुण्यात्मनः पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सर्व्वस्वदानेष्वपि ।।1[१८॥*] श्रीस (श)क्करगणदेव-
- 21 स्ततोभवत्सकलभ्वनतलितलकः। सा(शा)सित वसुधां यस्मिन्पलायित (तं) क्वापि नापि ॥ १९॥ असी निस्तृं (स्त्रं)स(श)ता यत्र वक्रत्वं पिलतागमें [। रथचकेष्(ष्) चारि-
- त्वं वायो(यौ) स्वच्छन्दचारिता³ [॥२०॥*] तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)द्युवराजदेवः पतिः क्षिते: क्षत्रकुलप्रमु (मू)ति: । यस्यासिधाराजलधौतम् (मू)त्तेंस्वि (श्वि)रं स्थिरासिवपलापि लक्ष्मि [॥२१॥*] अधि-
- सा[र्था]विधस्त्यागः से[सं] स्रतयाविधः 5। यस(श)[सां] धर्म्मरासे(शे)स्व(इच) नाविधर्यस्य भूपते: 16[1२२॥*] स्त्रीसास्वतोयायत यातकीर्तुः कोकल्लदेवो वस्वधिकनाथ: 7 । ज (य)
- लाग्रो रियुमण्डलानि पुरो दघातीति यथार्थस (श)व्द (ब्द): 18 [1२३।1*] नम्प्र कामुकवत् कृतं नियमितं तृणीरवत्पृष्ठतः। क्षणमात्रसस्त्रविहितः भ्यान्तरादादण्डवत्।*] काष्ठास
- कृत्वा साम्रपरिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्करे स्थापित सत्रणामखेल कुलथेनरपतिथि भ येनासिवत्¹⁰।11 25 [1२४॥*] काक्कलन्पादवास्तसकलक्वाणीवपदक्षी12_
- रक्षालितहारगो (गौ) रगुणभूर्गागवदेवाभत् 13। यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखं कौक्ये (क्षे) यकोग्रेसरः 26 1º स्तत्रेव प्रतिविवि[य] पुनरभृदालावरं सन्मुरा¹⁴ ॥ ¹⁵[२५॥ *]
- अगुनेज्ञो ज लोलेति क्षातं यदिह दुज्जंस:16। लक्ष्म्या तदघुना धौतं दिव्यमादाय तद्वपु: 1 17 [1२६॥*] रूपात[:*] सत्यतया स धर्मतनयः त्यागेन विरोर-
- नि:18 सोयेनेद्रसुर19 न चैतदभवत्सत्यं गता20 चेतिस । एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो (लौ) समनिकं21 28 गांगेयदेवे नृषे दृ[स्ता]रिस्वितमिव तेर-

नम्रं कार्म्कवत्कृतं नियमितं तृणीरवत्पृष्ठतः काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितभ्रान्तं च दोहंण्डवत । कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं शत्रुणामस्त्रिलं कुलं नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

¹ This verse is borrowed with a slight change from Rājašēkhara's Prachandapāndava (I, 62). The latter reads तस्येतस्य स एष in place of तस्यासीत्परमेषः Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Metre: Āryā.

³ Metre: Anusbrubb.

⁴ Read स्थिरासी=चपलापि लक्ष्मी: II Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Read शीर्य शरजयावधि.

⁴ Metre. Anushtubb.

Following Kielhorn, I read the line as श्रीमांस्ततोजायत जातकीतें कोकल्लदेवो वसुधैकनाथ:. The metre does not require कोकल्ल to be changed to कोक्कल्ल.

⁸ Metre: Upajāti.

⁹ This danda is superfluous.

¹⁰ Kielhorn has ingeniously restored this very corrupt stanza as follows:-

¹¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹² I propose to restore the first quarter as follows. श्रीकोकल्लनुपादवाप्तसकलक्षोणीपदः [श्रीयृत:*]. The last three aksharas which are wholly omitted in the text are supplied conjecturally.

¹⁸ Read -गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत

¹⁴ Read -सरस्तश्रेव प्रतिबिवितं पुनरभूदारालितं सन्मूखम् ॥

¹⁵ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁶ Read अगुणज्ञेति लोलेति स्यातं यदिह दुय्येश: 1 as in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁷ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁸ Read वैरोचनि:.

¹⁹ Read शीयणेन्द्रसतो.

²⁰ Read सता.

²¹ Read समधिकं.

Second Plate

29 वितयं पूर्व्व (व्वें) ये (य) योक्ता भृ (नृ)पाः ॥ १ (२०॥ *) तस्यात्मजः कण्णं इवावतीण्णंः कण्णं पृथिव्या (व्यां) प्रये (थि)तपृ (प्र)भावः। यस्याभिसे (षे)क[स्प्र] (अ)वणाद्वि (दृद्वि) प-

30 द्भिनंष्ट (ष्टं) प्रहृष्टं द्विजिमित्रवर्गोः ॥ [२८॥*] यत्कीत्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥ (॥) द्व (॥) ह्याण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥ [२९॥*] स्वय (यं) समु-

31 त्मृजन्नर्यानियसार्थिकविचिन्ततीन् । कोपे (प्ये)ष भूषण (णं) भूमेर्जेङ्गमः कल्म (ल्प) पादपः ॥ [३०॥*] स(श) क्तित्रमें (ये) कने (नि) लयस्य गुणाकरस्य घम्मा (मर्मा) त्मनः

32 स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि (कि)चित्। आसा (शा)स्यते परिमदं कृतिभिः सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते (तै)व मृ (भू)यात् ॥ [३१॥ *]तवे(दे)व(वं) गुणगणालंकृत-

स(श)रीरः स्व(प्र)यागसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयक[टा] (टका)त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजािधराज-परमेस्व (श्व) रश्रीवामद (दे) वपादान्ध्यान (त) परमभट्टा-

उक् रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(इव)रपरममाहेस्व(इव)रतृ(त्रि)कल्पिया(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कण्णदेव[:*] क्स(श)ली महादेवी महाराजपु[त्रा] महामं-

हिं त्रि[णो] महामात्या⁸ महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधम्मीधिकरणिका महाक्षपटिलका महाकरणिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामतो (न्तो)

36 महाप्रमातारो महास्व (इव)साघिनको महा[भा*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष एतानन्यांस्च (इच) कीर्तिताकीर्तिता (तां)स्च (इच) यथाहं (हैं) मानयित वो (वो)घयित समाज्ञापयित [।*] विदित—

37 मसु (स्तु) भवता (तां) यथाहपाथा¹०कासि¹¹[भूम्य]न्त•गंतस्रुसिग्रामः साव्र(म्य)मधूकः सगत्तंस्थ-लजलोषरः सर्व्वाकरख[नि*]श्रभृतिसमुत्प-

38 तिसमेतस्य (१व) तुराध (धा) टसीमापर्यन्तः ।¹² वेसालग्रामविनिग्गताय को (कौ) सि (धि) कगो-त्राय ।¹² ओदलदेवरात्रविस्वामित्र¹³त्रि-

39 प्रवराय वाजसनेयसाखाया¹⁴महप्रन(ण)त्रे वा[म]ननप्त्रे नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीविस्व(श्व)-रूपाय ।¹² इहेव पित्ः श्री-

40 मद्गा ङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे स्नाद्धे¹⁵ फाल्गुनव (व)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स (श)नैस्च (श्च)रवासरे वेण्यां स्नात्वा भगवंतं(वन्तं) देवं(व)देवं त्रिलोचन-

¹ Read दृष्ट्वा निश्चितमेव तैरवितयं.

² Metre: Sārdūlavīkrīdita.

³ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: Anusbtubb.

The lithograph clearly has affired. Read - HIZ safafafania.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ The Goharwa plates read महाराजपुत्रो.

^{*} As Kielhorn has observed, what was intended to be incised here was perhaps महामात्य। महासान्धि-विग्रहिक। etc. Or read महामात्यो, महासन्धिविग्रहिको etc. in conformity with महाप्रतीहारो etc.

⁸ This official is omitted in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁰ The three aksharas are superfluous.

¹¹ Read काशोभभूम्पन्तगंतल्ली—. Kielhorn admitted that he could not make out the proper reading of the name of the district in which the donated village was situated. He read the name of the village as सृति, but it is clearly mentioned as सृति in l. 42, below.

¹⁸ This danda is superfluous. ¹⁸ Read औद्दालकदेवरातविश्वामित्र-. ¹⁴ Kielhorn read -मालाय। मह-.

¹⁶ Read संवत्सरधाडे, as proposed by Kielhorn. Fleet later on remarked that the change was

- 41 मस (श)नस (सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचीयच (चा) र[प्र*]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यच्व्यासमस्र (अ)-द्ध्य (द्ध)या स्ना (आ) द्धं विश्वायोभयभोगेन सा (शा) स[न*]त्वेन यप्रदत्तः । अतः. श्रीमत्क-
- 42 ण्णंदेवपादा[:*] स्नुसीग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति [।*] विदितमस्तु भवता(तां) यथा ग्रामोयं स्माभिः³ सा (शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा—
- 43 भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासोत्मन्तिप्रभृति समस्तराजप्रत्यादाय (या) अस्योपन (ने) [त*] व्या इति [।*] तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न
- 44 गंत(गन्त)व्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥ सर्व्विनेता[न्*] भाविनो राजपुत्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योय (यं) धम्मैसेतुनृ (नृं)पाणा (णां) काले का-
- 45 ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । [।३२॥*] व (व)ह भिव (व) सुघा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् । [।३३॥*] अस्मिन्वन्से हिंदना—
- 46 पि⁸ यस्वा (इवा)न्यो नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा (शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[३४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैदा (दा)नानि धर्मार्थयस (श)स्करा [ण] ।
- 47 नृमाल्य⁹वा∠प्रतिमानि तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत।।¹º[३५।।*] अस्व(इव)मेघ-सहस्रोण राजस्(स्)यसहतेन¹¹ च [।*]गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिह-
- 48 र्त्ता नसु(शु)ध्यति (।।)12 [३६।।*] सुवर्ण्णमेक (कं) गामेका (कां) भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल[म्*]। हरन्न [रक?] माप्नोति यावदाभु(भू)तस(सं)प्लबं(वम्)।। [३७।।*] संवत् ७९३ फाल्गुन-वदि ९ सोमे [।।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) (and) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) That which, though highest and changeless, appears in two forms, 13—the light which has the refulgence of intelligence; from which in the form of the sun there shine forth waves such as the days 14,—from it there sprang forth the venerable mind-born

unnecessary. But this was the frāddha on the first anniversary of the death of Gāngēyadēva, which is called संवत्सरआद. Subsequent annual frāddhas are called प्रतिसांवत्सरिक्शादा.

¹ The aksharas here are quite clear. Perhaps the intended sense is -योदकसर्गेण, as suggested by Kielhorn.

^{*} Read संप्रदत्तः ।

³ Read ग्रामोयमस्माभिः

^{*}Kielhorn proposed to read दायाकरोत्पत्ति-.

⁵ Metre: Sālinī.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

⁷ Read - नवंशे.

⁸ Read द्विजध्नोपि.

B Read निर्माल्य-.

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹¹ Read राजसयशतेन च.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

¹³ These may be the male and the female. Compare द्विधा कृत्वात्मनी देहमर्थेन पुरुषोऽभवत् । अर्थेन नारी . . . ।। Manusmriti, ch. I, v. 32.

¹⁴ The Sabdakalpadruma gives bhāmara in the sense of 'a day' and cites the work Rājanirghanţa as its authority.

Manu, the repository of all knowledge, from whom proceeded this entire creation possessed of gunas¹ through male and female (creatures).

- (V. 3) There was the king, the divine and illustrious Kārtavīrya, the ornament of the earth,—who threw into bondage Rāvaṇa who had propitiated Iśa (Siva) by making the terrified daughter (Pārvatī) of the snow-mountain embrace him when he (Rāvaṇa) lifted up the mountain Kailāsa with ease, (and) who was greatly enraged when his offerings to the three-cycl (Siva) were washed away by the stream of the greatly flooded Rēvā which was turned back by the suddenly placed dam of his (i.e., Kārtavīrya's) mighty arms.²
- (V. 4) Being frightened by his frown, kings (of the countries) extending as far as Kailāsa, the slopes on the tops of whose summits are dug up by Siva's bull, and as far as the eastern ocean which has a string of matchless and large pearls in the form of the celestial river (i.e., the Gangā), (and) again as far as the southern ocean which has a shining peerless jewel³ and a parting line of hair, viz. the bridge (of Rāma), adhere steadfastly to affliction.
- (V. 5) The lords of kings, who were born in his race, became famous on the earth as the Haihayas. An ornament of their family was the illustrious Kōkalla (I)⁴ who kindled the fire of anguish in the minds of his enemies; whose pleasures were linked with the wealth of religious contemplation; who always made good people happy; (and) who was dear (to all) as his majesty was marked by all good qualities.
- (V. 6) Day by day he duly reflected on the *śāstras* for (the knowledge of) religion and union (with God),—(he) whose mind was fond of wealth (only) for religious and charitable works (and) for the benefit of others; who was devoted to charity to pay off the debt he owed for being brought up in a noble family; and who ultimately reached the path of beatitude through application to knowledge.
- (V. 7) His hand afforded protection to Bhōja, the king Vallabha, the illustrious Harsha who was the lord of Chittrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa.
- (V. 8) As Indra married Sachī, Upēndra (Vishņu) Kamalā (Lakshmī), the moon-crested god (Siva) the daughter of the mountain (i.e., Pārvatī), even so did he espouse the good-natured queen Naṭṭā, born in the Chandēlla family.
- (V. 9) For the establishment of good order among the people, he begat on her a prince endowed with great prowess, who vanquished (his) enemies, possessed of haughty arrogance, and who was the god of love to ladies of fully-developed and compact breasts.
- (V. 10) The king was well-known in all the three worlds by (his) name Dhavala with Prasiddha prefixed (to it),5—who, in order to bear the very heavy yoke (of governing the earth), made other kings lend their (helping) hands6 (i.e., exacted tribute from them).
- (V. 11) By making over constantly serpents one by one to the Eagle, (Sesha), the lord of serpents, caused (his own) humiliation. The lord of gods (i.e., Indra) lost his

For the story, see the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, Urtarakāṇḍa, Adhyāyas 32 and 33.

5 Le., the name was Prasiddhadhavala.

¹ Viz., sattva, rajas and tamas, which in different proportions constitute the nature of all beings.

² This is probably the island of Ceylon, which, being situated opposite Rāma's bridge, appears like a jewel worn by a woman at the parting line of her hair.

⁴ The name appears here as Kõkkala due to the exigency of metre.

⁶ There is a play on the verb karadi-chakāra. Prasiddhadhavala made kings pay taxes for carrying on the government of the earth, as he would have taken their help to bear a heavy yoke.

character by having intercourse with Ahalya in season. This king (on the other hand) became the resort of proper conduct, adorable in all the three worlds.

(V. 12) Why say (anything) else?

'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their greatness in

this world'-Thinking so, he took possession of (the country of) Pali'.1

(V. 13) His high-souled son, Bālaharsha of noble birth, whose deeds are well-known, and whose arms resembling the trunks of the quarter-elephants stretched to (his) knees, became the lord of the earth, having destroyed all hostile kings. By resorting to him, who followed the practices of the Krita age out of his love for good conduct, the three (purushārthas),2 giving up their mutual hostility and doing away with the host of their enemies (i.e., passions), found a stable resting place.

(V. 14) 'Blessed was here the son of Dasaratha (i.e., Rāma) alone, who had—what else?—an enemy in the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) for (enjoying) the festivity of fighting. Fie on us, who have routed all (our) enemies by a (mere) frown!'—Thus did he blame himself out of

love for fighting.

- (V. 15) Of him, who was Yudhishthira, being solely devoted to truth, there was a younger brother (named) Yuvarājadēva (I), endowed with well-known might of arms, a second Arjuna in the Kali age, the pre-eminent bow-man in exterminating warriors in the army of his invincible foes as Arjuna was in slaughtering those in the army of Duryodhana.³
- (V. 16) Having (acquired) knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of the earth, having a mind (lit., body) fond of the Vēdas, sending his advancing foes along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes, he, through his devotion to Siva, became actually an Emperor (or Siva incarnate, who is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth, who sends his foes along the path of heaven and bears on high the river Gaṅgā that flows in several streams⁵).

(V. 17) From him was (born) Lakshmanarajadeva (II) through the religious merit of the people,—(he) who established order (in this world), and in whom the people, having obtained a (righteous) king like Dharma, 6 became happy for a long time.

- (V. 18) He was a treasure of truth, the path for fortune (won) by conciliation and prowess,—who, liberal and kind as he was, obtained fame and political wisdom. Meritorious as he was by compassion, he had this slight blemish that he did not discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy even when he was giving away all his property.
- (V. 19) From him was born the illustrious Sankaraganadeva (III), the ornament of the expanse of the whole world. While he was ruling over the earth, even Kali fled away, one does not know where.
- (V. 20) (Under his rule) (only) the sword was nistrinisa (measuring more than thirty fingers) (none else being nistrinisa or devoid of compassion), (only) grey hair was curly (none else

3 There is a play on the word duryodhana here.

6 I.e., Yudhishthira who was noted for his benevolent rule.

¹ This verse is in Prakrit and is probably intended to represent what the people said about Prasiddha-dhavala.

[&]quot;These are dharma 'religious merit,' artha 'wealth' and kāma 'enjoyment of pleasures'.

⁴ The other meaning of Paramēśvara, viz., 'Śiva' is also intended; for, as shown below the adjectival expressions are so worded as to describe both an Emperor and Śiva. In the former alternative bhū-bhāra-kshama-drik is to be separated from fruti-praṇayinīm and construed with Paramēśvarah; in the latter drik-fruti means a serpent. There is also a play on the word vāhinī which means here (1) an army and (2) a river.

The Ganga is called tri-pathaga because it flows in heaven, on the earth and in the nether regions.

being crooked), and (only) the wheels of the chariot had aritva (i.e., had spokes) (there being aritva or hostility nowhere else), (and) (only) wind blew where it liked (but none else acted in a self-willed manner¹).

- (V. 21) His younger brother was Yuvarājadēva (II) the lord of the earth, born of a warlike race; being bathed with the water of the sharp edge² of whose sword, even the fickle goddess of fortune became steady.
- (V. 22) His charity was limited (only) by the multitude of his suppliants, and his prowess (only) by the victory over (his) brave (adversary); but to that king's fame and accumulation of religious merit there was no limit.
- (V. 23) From that famous (king) was born the illustrious Kökalladeva (II) the sole lord of the earth. His mandalāgra³ (sword) was rightly called so since it kept (in check) the mandalas (multitudes of enemies) in front of it.
- (V. 24) That foremost of kings made the entire host of his adversaries submissive even as he bent his bow, held it in check in the rear as he tied his quiver on (his) back, routed it in all directions the moment he cast an (angry) glance at it even as he whirled his arms whose revolutions in the different directions were noticed (anly) for a moment, and depriving it completely of its possessions, made it pay tribute even as he completely unsheathed his sword and grasped it with the hand.⁴
- (V. 25) Then there was the (illustrious) Gāṇgēyadēva who obtained the kingdom of the whole earth from the illustrious king Kōkalladēva (II), who was the abode of virtue as stainless as a pearl-necklace washed with milk; who was preceded in the forefront of the battlefield only by his sword,⁵ and whose beautiful face became crooked (only) when it was reflected in that very (sword).
- (V. 26) By resorting to his divine person, the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the scandal that she does not appreciate merit (and) is fickle.
- (V. 27) That (well-known) son of Dharma (i.e., Yudhishthira) was known for his truthfulness, the son of Virōchana (i.e., Bali) for his liberality, (and) the son of Indra (i.e., Arjuna) for his valour—this was not believed by the minds of the good. Seeing (however) that all the three (virtues) were present in (even) a greater measure in the king Gāngēyadēva, they concluded that the aforesaid kings were truly as described.
- (V. 28) His son is Karņa of well-known valour, who is as it were Karņa⁶ descended on the earth. Hearing of his coronation, his enemies disappeared, (while) hosts of Brāhmaņas and friends rejoiced.
- (V. 29) Extending far and wide, the creeper of his fame, day by day, reduces the empty space inside the pavillion of Brahma's egg.⁷
- (V. 30) Granting personally inconceivable objects to multitudes of supplicants, he is some strange moving wish-fulfilling tree, decorating the earth.

¹ There are puns on several words here nistrinisa (1) 'a sword' (lit., 'measuring more than thirty fingers') and (2) 'devoid of compassion'; aritva is to be understood as derived from (1) arin, 'a wheel' (containing spokes) and (2) ari 'an enemy'.

² Dhārā (a sharp edge) also means 'a shower.'

³ Mandalāgra means (1) 'a sword' and (2) 'that which has a host (mandala) (of enemies) in front of it.'
⁴ The description is so worded as to be applicable to the host of enemies on the one hand and to the king's bow, arms and sword on the other. As before, kara means (1) 'a tax' and (2) 'the hand'.

⁵ I.e., he needed none else to help him.

⁶ The well-known hero of the Bharata war.

⁷ Le., the universe.

(V. 31) Is there any (adequate) word of praise for him, the righteous-minded one, who is the sole abode of the three royal powers, 1 (and) a mine of virtues? This is, however, prayed for by wise persons—'May the earth have always a good king only because of you!'

(Line 32) From his glorious and victorious camp fixed at Prayāga,—the Paramabhaṭtāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Karṇadēva, the devout worshipper
of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga, whose person is adorned by the multitude of such
qualities,² who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious, Vāmadēva, being in good health, duly honours, informs and commands the following and other (officers) whether named or not, (viz.,) the Mahādēvī,³
the Mahārājaputra,⁴ the Mahāmantrins⁵ the Mahāmātya,⁵ the Māhāsāndhivigrahika,¹
the Mahādharmādhikaraṇika,² the Mahākshapaṭalika,² the Mahākaraṇika,¹
the Mahāsāmanta,¹
the Mahāsāmanta,¹
the Mahāpramātṛi,¹
the Mahāsvasādhanika,¹
the Mahābhāṇdāgārika,¹
(and) the Mahādhyaksha—¹
6

(L. 36) "Be it known to you that on Saturday, the second (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, on the occasion of the first annual śrāddha¹⁷ of our father, the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva at this very place. We, having bathed in the Vēṇī, having worshipped with great devotion and with the five kinds of offerings made with a collection of food and having performed the śrāddha with unequalled faith, have given as a grant with a libation of water, the village Srusī included in the bhūmi of Kāśī,—together with mango and madhūka trees, inclusive of pits, (cultivatable) land, water and waste land, together with the produce of mines, quarries and so forth, extending to the four boundaries and limits,—to the illustrious Paṇḍita Viśvarūpa, the son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana, (and) great grandson of Āmaha, of the Vājasanēya śākhā, the Kauśika gōtra (and) the three pravaras Auddālaka, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra, who has emigrated from the village Vaiśālī."

(L. 41) Wherefore, the illustrious and revered Karnadeva commands all people living in the village Srusi—"Be it known to you. Knowing that this village has been

¹ See above, p. 42, n. 9.

² Viz., those which are described in verses 28-31.

² The Great Queen, the Queen-consort.

⁴ The Great Prince, the heir-apparent to the throne.

^a The Chief counsellors. The word appears in the singular in other Kalachuri records.

^{*} The Chief Executive Officer.

⁷ The Chief Minister for Peace and War.

⁸ The Head of the Department of Religion.

The Chief Keeper of Records.

¹⁰ The Chief Secretary.

¹¹ The Chief Usher.

¹² The Chief Feudatory.

¹⁸ The Chief Surveyor. He was probably the Chief Revenue Officer.

¹⁴ The Great Equerry. For his duties, see the Arthasastra of Kautilya (II, 30). There the officer is called Aśvādbyaksha.

¹⁵ The Chancellor of the Exchequer, called Sannidhātri in the Arthafastra (II, 4).

¹⁶ The Great Superintendent, who probably exercised supervision over all departments. He is, however, omitted in the Gobarwa plates. The Khairhā plates of Yaśahkarna (No. 55, l. 26) mention him.

¹⁷ See above, p. 239 n. 3.

¹⁸ Bassia Latifolia from the blossoms and seeds of which liquor was distilled.

¹⁹ Kielhorn read this name as Maha, see above p. 244, n. 14.

²⁶ Kielhorn proposed to read the names of the pravarus as Audāla, Dēvarāta and Vaiśvāmitra, but the Götrapravaranibandhakadamba gives the pravaras as above.

given by us as a grant, (you) should pay all dues such as bhāga, bhōga, taxes, levy in gold, the produce of mines and so forth to this (grantee). Not even wind should blow in (the village) with a view to harm him!"

(The following is) the solicitation (of the grantor):— (Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(In) the year 793, on the 9th (lunar) day of the dark (fortnight) of Phalguna, on Monday.

No. 49; PLATE XXXIX

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Nagendranath Basu, and a transcript of it made by him and M. M. Haraprasād Sāstrī was first published without any facsimile in the Birbhūmabibaraṇa, Vol. II, p. 10. Its transcript was subsequently given together with a description and a photograph of the pillar on which it is engraved by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1921-22, pp. 78 ff. and pl. XXVIII (a). The inscription is edited here from a set of impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

'Paikore's is about three miles to the east of the Murarai Station on the Loop Line of the E.I. Railway. The name is supposed to be a corrupted form of Prāchīkōṭa or the Eastern Citadel' The most important antiquities of Paikore are the two inscribed pillars at Nārāyaņa-chatvara, lying on a masonry platform by the side of a tank, along with an image of Narasimha and several others. The inscriptions refer to the Chedi King Karna and King Vijayasēna. Both the pillars seem to have been crowned with images and the inscriptions engraved on them must have referred to the dedication of the images. The Vijayasēna pillar clearly exhibits the headless figure of the goddess Mānasā, while the Karnadēva pillar being broken off just at the commencement of the inscription shows no trace of the image. The pillars must have been sunk into the floor, as we see from the rough-hewn surface of the lowermost portion of the Karnadeva pillar, the square and octagonal sections of the shaft above being highly polished and decorated with beautiful tracery. The design on each side of the square is that of a vase (mangalakalasa), the top and bottom of which are covered with full-blown lotuses and foliage, while at the centre appears a kirtimukha, the necklaces of pearls issuing from which are held by bearded attendants.

'The inscription begins on the tapering circular portion of the shaft and is continued over the octagonal section.' It consists of six lines of unequal length, the first measuring only 1.5" and the last 9". It has suffered by exposure to weather especially in the first four lines. The characters belong to the proto-Bengali variety of the North Indian alphabets. The average size of the letters is .2". The forms of j, t, p and s are specially noteworthy. The letters were written in a hurried cursive hand and were incised very shallow. The reading is, therefore, doubtful in many cases. At the top of some letters such as d, p and y there appears a hook such as is noticeable in some places in the Bēlāva copper-plates of Bhōjavarman⁵ and the Deopārā stone inscription of Vijayasēna. R,

¹ Bhāga is a share of produce.

² Bhōga probably refers to some petty taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the Manusmriti, Adhyaya VII, vv. 130-132.

² Properly, Pāikēda, a corrupt form of Prācbīkēja.

⁴ A. R. A. S. I. for 1921-22, p. 79

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

which has the same form as eh, seems to be distinguished from it in some places by a dot in its triangle. As the first member of a conjunct, the letter appears generally above the line, but in Karnnadēvasya in line 5 it is written on the line as in the Deopārā stone inscription. The ligature nn has two different forms in Karnna and $dān-a(\bar{a})rnnava$, both in line 5. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarity it presents is the doubling of a consonant after r.

The inscription is one of the Kalachuri king Karna² who is styled here Mahārāja and the King of Chēdi. It is not dated. The object of it is evidently to record the dedication, by the king Karna, of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified.

TEXT

- अी⁴ श्रीगणपति [1*]
- 2 [तत्त्र]ति[पालित ?]5
- 3 सिद्धिः⁶[1*] दे⁷वद्विजगुर(रू)[न्*] [भज ?]न्ता (ता) [श्री चे][दि*] दव (देवे)न भ[वित]नात्र⁸
- 4 नेहयन्⁹ [श्रद्ध]या [त्म ?]न[:*]¹⁰कम्मंणा राजश्रीक[ण्णं]देव[स्य।]¹¹
- १ सिद्धि: 12 [18] स्वस्ति [श्री13] म[हा]राज14श्रीचेदि[रा] [ज*] स्य श्रीकण्णंदेवस्य दान (ना)— ण्णंवा (व?) 15कीर्तिप्र[ता] पांकन्या[ये] *--
- 6 षु (?) तन्मय¹⁷ विस्व (६व) कम्मी¹⁸र (च) रणप्रसादात (त्) देवीमूर्त्तिनृम्मिता¹⁹[स्ती]य-(यं) श्री[की²⁰]ति: ॥
- 1 Loc. cit., p. 305.
- 2 The name of the king occurs in two places at the end of line 4 and in the middle of line 5.
- ² From inked estampages.
- ⁴ The superscript i is imperfectly formed.
- ⁵ No transcript of this line is given by Haraprasad Sastrī and Dikshit. Almost all the akabaras except ti are doubtful.
 - 6 Expressed by a symbol.
- ⁷ Haraprasād Šāstrī read the line as देविहजगुरुभजन्तो देण्णवादयः स्वं भिनित्त दू * *, while Dikshit gave the transcript dēva-dvija-guru[b bajab]ntari The aksbaras between गुर(क) and द(दे)व(वे)न are extremely doubtful.
- 8 Read भनतवात्र. There is space for two more aksbaras at the end of this line if it was of the same length as the following one. But there are no clear traces of letters. Perhaps किञ्चित् is intended.
- ⁰ Haraprasad Śastri read निवेदयन्, but the impression shows only four, not five aksharas. I follow Dikshit's reading here,
- 10 Both Haraprasad Śastri and Dikshit read श्रद्धपास्मिन् करमंति, but I fail to see any trace of the supercript i of smi and ni. I therefore propose the reading given above, though with diffidence.
 - 11 The sense requires a form in the instrumental. Read नेहयता . . . क्यारियेन.
 - 12 Expressed by a symbol.
 - 13 The superscript I is imperfectly formed as in the case of the first Iri in l. 1.
- 14 Haraprasād Sāstrī read समृद्धराह and Dikshit समृद्धराज्य. The first aksbara appears like that in the beginning of l.1, which both of them read as औ, while the last aksbara appears to be clearly ja. It has a flourish at the bottom as in राजेन in the inscription of Vijayasēna on another pillar at Paikore. I therefore propose to read शीमहाराज, though I must confess that the aksbara bā is very doubtful.
 - 15 Haraprasad Sastri reads ध्वनन्ति वा and Dikshit ज्य नन्तरा, neither of which is satisfactory.
- ¹⁶ This word is read as प्रशस्ति by Haraprasād Śāstrī and as प्रसास्ति (?) by Dikshit. The last akshara is clearly q; in any case it shows no sign of the superscript i. The middle akshara is probably ta; see प्रसादात् in line 6. The left curve here is irregularly broken in two parts.
- ¹⁷ These four aksharas are omitted by Dikshit. Haraprasad Śastri read स्वहस्तिय which makes no sense. The sense seems to require a reading like तन्त्रयेन.
 - 18 Read विश्वकम्म-.
 - 10 Read मृत्तिनिमिता-
- ²⁰ This aksbara was read as का, but in view of the visarga which follows चि I think it is probably की, the superscript i being imperfectly formed. See औ in lines 1 and 5.

TRANSLATION

The holy Ganapati. Being protected(?) by him

(Line 3) Success! (This image has been set up) by the illustrious king Karṇadeva, the glorious lord of Chēdi, who honours gods, Brāhmaṇas and preceptors with devotion,.... desiring no (reward) for his faith and doings (?)1

(L. 5) Success! Hail! This is a famous glorious work,—the image of the goddess made, by the grace of the feet of Viśvakarman, (by an artist) who is absorbed in the glory (springing from) the ocean of liberality, prowess (and) justice.... of the Mahārāja, the glorious lord of Chēdi, the illustrious Karņa.

No. 50; PLATE XL

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNA

THESE plates were turned up by the plough of a Kewat in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahabad District. They were edited, with collotype plates, but without a translation, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI,

pp. 139 ff. They are edited here from the same plates.

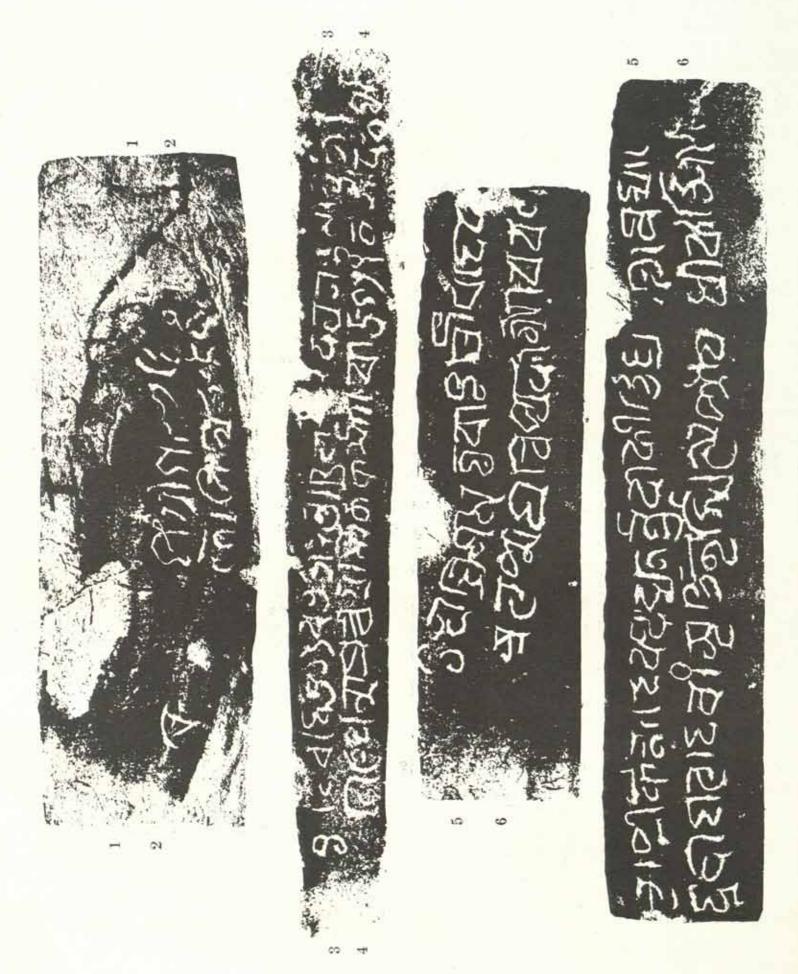
These are two copper-plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15\frac{3}{4} inches in length and about 11\frac{1}{4} inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about \frac{1}{4} inch.' The plough in turning up the plates broke the ring. The seal was thus detached from the plates. It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures \frac{1}{2} inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears in relief a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmi, facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates—Srimat-Karnnadēvaḥ.' The inscription is throughout in a state of excellent preservation.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and resemble those of the Banaras plates of the same king. There are, however, some minor differences. The letter *ii*, for instance, is everywhere without a dot; similarly the upper loop of *th* is closed in all cases. But in the case of the initial *i*, *th*, *ph*, *bh* and *s*, the present record invariably shows an advanced stage. The older form of the initial *i*, consisting of a comma below two dots, which is seen to continue even in the Banaras plates, is here replaced by a sign approximating to the modern form of the vowel, see *iti*, 1.3; *th* appears here for the first time with a vertical stroke over the loop, see *-pāda-pīṭhas=*, 1.8; the tailed curve to the right of the vertical of *ph* has now sunk lower down, see *phalam*, 1.46; the wedge on the left of *bh* has given place to a vertical which is joined to the right limb by means of a horizontal stroke, see *alabhata* and *-bhūshaṇam*-, both in 1.4; *s* has everywhere the modern Nāgarī form, see, e.g., *krama-vaṣāt=* 1.14; the peculiar form of the ligature *sr* is also approximated in this record, see *frīkanṭha-*, 1.6. Besides these, we may note that *n* is in many cases written without a loop,

¹ As the readings in this and the following lines are in many cases doubtful, I am not quite sure of the intended sense.

^{*} From the account given by Hultzsch, Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 139-40. I take the symbols neat the bull to be incense-pots, see above, p. 236, n. 1.

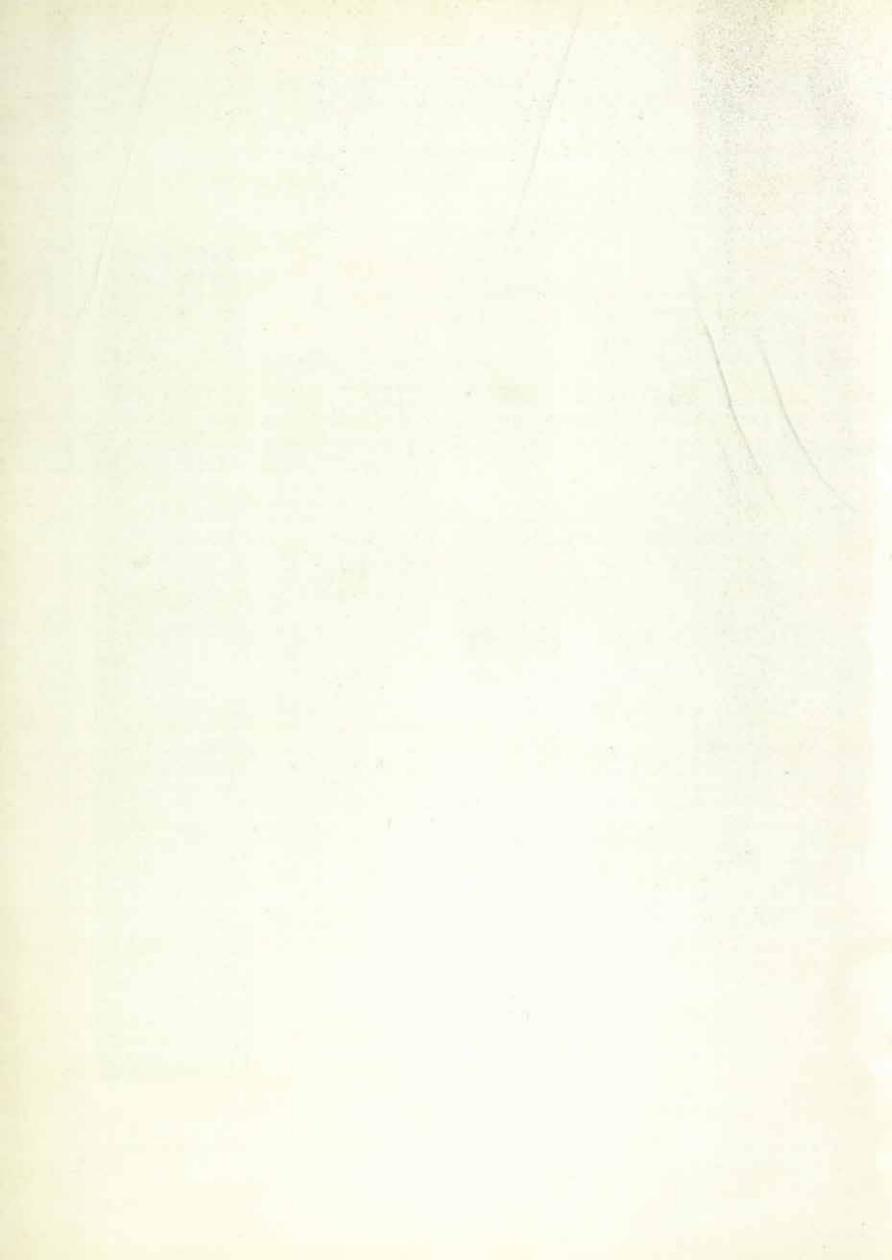
PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA



B. CH. CHHABRA. Rea. No. 3977 E' 35 -778 51.

(From photographs)

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



see, e.g., -abhāvan, 1.7, van-āsraya-, 1.30 and -charitam, 1.28; similarly those of p and y, see nityam, 1.1, -madhya-, 1.5 and ripu-, 1.20. The vertical dash is introduced here for the first time at the end of the lines 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47. The akshara chh with two upright strokes on either side is used to mark the end of a section in 11.33, 35 and 44.

The language is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines which contain the culogistic portion are in verse with the exception of the opening Svasti, õm Vra(Bra)hmanë namab. There are thirty verses in this portion of which three (viz., 1, 12 and 18) are common to the earlier Banaras inscription. It is noteworthy that one of them (viz., v. 12) occurs there in a different context. It praises there not Yuvarājadēva II as in the present record, but his grandfather of the same name, i.e., Yuvarājadēva I. The formal part of the grant which is in prose begins in line 33. Then come six benedictive and imprecatory verses, and finally the mention of the writer's and engraver's names and the customary manigalain mahā-šrīb. The record is carelessly written. Final consonants are not so indicated in many cases, which has resulted in the neglect of sandhi in -pranrityata vētālō, 11.26-27, -vašāta bhaikshāch=cha, 1.30 etc. Cases of wrong sandhī are seen in -vandyō Chēd-indra=, 1.11, -āśram-ēka-, 1.30 etc. The visarga is incorrectly omitted in some places (see -grāmaṇi, 1.6, ākrāmata, 1.25) and added in others (see -vihitaḥśrikantha, 1.6). In a few cases, consonants are seen wrongly omitted, added or substituted by others, see, e.g., -samārambhē for -sangam-ārambhē, 1.14, svam=indrajāl-ōpamani for svapn-ēndrajāl-ōpamani, 1.6. As regards orthography, we may notice that the sign for v is employed to denote b, see vrāhmī 1.2, Vudhab, 1.3 etc; s is used for s in -sruta, 1.26 and vice versa in bhrisam and āsā-, both in 1.15; the vowel ri is used for ri in tri-bhuvana-, 1.4, p for ph in putkara-, 11. 15 and 24, j for y in iyāja, 1.33, and sh for kh in -mayūsha-, 1.3; the anusvāra before s is incorrectly changed to n in yaśānsi, 1.32, while in -tāmvra-1.32, and t-āmvra-1.39, a superfluous v is inserted after m.

After two verses in praise of Brahman, begins the culogy of Karna of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty and his ancestors. Karna's pedigree is here traced back to the moon. The first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihava, is Lakshmanarāja (II), who is said to have won victories over the kings of Bangala Pandya, Lata, Gurjara and Kāśmīra. His son was Yuvarājadēva (II). The name of Yuvarājadēva's elder brother Sankaragana (III) is here omitted, probably because he was a collateral. Verse 12 states that he attained an Imperial position, but, as already pointed out, the verse was originally composed for his grandfather Yuvarājadēva I. Yuvarājadēva II was succeeded by his son Kōkalla (II), whose description given here is purely conventional. About his son and successor Gangeyadeva, however, the record gives more information. He is said to have thrown the king of Kira into prison, exacted a heavy tribute from the lord of Anga, vanquished the ruler of Kuntala, and raised his arm like a pillar of victory after defeating the prince of Utkala. He was followed by his son Karna who granted the present plates. Though the poet has devoted as many as eleven stanzas to his glorification, the description is entirely conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest.

The prose portion, which follows v. 30, gives the same description and mentions the same Imperial titles of Karna as the corresponding part of his Banaras plates. Besides these, there is one more title of Karna mentioned here, which is not noticed in the earlier record. He is said to have, by his arm, attained overlordship over the three kings, the lords of horses, elephants and men.

The present plates were granted by Karna at his victorious camp fixed at the Karnatīrtha which was probably a ghāṭ built by him at Allahabad.¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Chandapahā, situated in the Kauśāmbapattalā, which was made by Karna after bathing in the Gangā at the Arghatīrtha and worshipping the god Siva. The donee was the learned Śāntiśarman, the son of the Āvasathika Mālhū and grandson of the Upādhyāya Sīlū of the Vājasanēya śākhā and the Vidarbhī-Kaundinya gōtra,² with the three pravaras Āngirasa, Ambarīsha and Yauvanāśva. The grant was made on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika, in the seventh year of the administration renowned by the illustrious Karna.

Unlike the Banaras plates, the present inscription does not mention any year of the Kalachuri era. It gives however 'full titles of paramountcy' to Karna, which makes it plain that the seventh year mentioned here is of his own reign. We have seen above³ that the sainvatsara-śrāddha mentioned in the Banaras plates was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṇgēyadēva's death. Gāṇgēyadēva must have, therefore, died on Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792 corresponding to 22nd January 1041 A.C. As the Kalachuri year was Kārttikādi, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karṇa's reign fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793. The same month in his seventh year must, therefore, have fallen in the expired Kalachuri year 799 (1047-48 A.C.) The full-moon tithi of Kārttika in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise⁴ on Thursday, and was, therefore, civilly connected with that day. Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C. is thus the date of the present grant.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the śrāddha mentioned in the Banaras plates dated K. 793 was performed not on the first, but on some subsequent anniversary of Gangeya's death, Karna's accession will have to be dated before 1041 A.C. and his seventh regnal year will fall in some year before 1047 A.C. We know that Gangeyadeva was reigning in 1030 A.C.5 We have, therefore, to see in which of the years between 1036 A.C. and 1047 A.C. the full-moon tithi of Karttika was connected with Thursday. The only year which satisfies these requirements is 1044 A.C. In that year, the full moon tithi of Kārttika ended 20 h. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 8th November 1044 A.C. This would place Karna's accession in 1038 A.C. The date of Gangeya's death which occurred on Phalguna va. di. 2 will, on this supposition, be the 25th January 1038 A.C. This would suit somewhat better the Tibetan tradition, according to which Atisa intervened during an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by king Karna of the west before he started for Tibet in circa 1040 A.C. as shown by Prof. Levi. But it would make the coupling of Saturday with Phalguna va. di. 2 in the Kalachuri year 793 quite inexplicable.7 The selection of Prayaga for the performance of the śrāddha would, again, appear specially appropriate only on the supposition

¹ The grant was made after bathing in the Ganga and worshipping Siva, and the village was situated not very far from Allahabad. The ghat was, therefore, probably built at the holy place of Prayaga.

Hultzsch took the expression to mean 'of the Kaundinya götra residing at Vidabhi.' But it may be noted that a Brähmana Vidarbhi-Kaundinya is mentioned in the Brihadäranyaka Upanishad, II, 6,3, and IV, 6,3.

³ See above, pp. 239 f.

⁴ According to Fleet's calculations it ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 146.

⁶ Albērūņi, writing in 1030 A. C. mentions Gāngēyadēva as the king of Dāhala.

⁶ Le Nepal, Vol. II p. 189.

⁷ The apparent irregularity can be explained if the śrāddha was performed on the first anniversary of Gāngēya's death, see above, p. 240.

that it was performed on the first anniversary of his death which, as already stated, is known to have occurred at that holy place. The only way to reconcile the dates of the Banaras and Goharwa plates is, therefore, to place Gāṅgēya's death and Karṇa's accession in 1041 A.C.¹ As stated before, this makes the date of the present grant regularly correspond to Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Bangāla, Kāśmīra and Gurjara are too well-known to need identification. Lāṭa has already been identified. Anga comprised the country round modern Bhāgalpur and Kīra that near Baijnath in the Kangra valley. Kuntala was the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas and comprised parts of the Southern Maratha Country and the adjoining Kanarese districts. Utkala included much of the territory now comprised in the State of Orissa. Prof. Hultzsch has correctly identified Kōśamba with the modern Kōsam, 36 miles west of Allahabad. The donated village Chandapahā, which has remained unidentified, is Chanpahā, about three miles N. N. W. of Kōsam. The close similarity of its name to Chandapahā and its proximity to Kōsam (ancient Kauśāmbī), leave little doubt about the correctness of the proposed identification.

TEXT4

First Plate

- मावग्राह्मं परं द्यो (ज्यो) तिस्तस्मै सद्बंहाणे नमः ।। निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर [म]कारणं (णम्)। भावग्राह्मं परं द्यो (ज्यो) तिस्तस्मै सद्बंहाणे नमः ।। १ [१।। शुद्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्ली मिव रोपयन्ति
- यां मुनयः ॥ (।) मोक्षमहाफलजननी व्रा(व्रा)ह्मी सू[क्ष्मा]पि सा जयित ॥ श[२॥ *] क्षीरो-दघेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविवं (वं) भूव भवभूषणिमन्दुरेषः ।
- अस्मादजायत वु(बु)बः स किल क्षितीशमाद्य(द्यं) पुरूरवसमाप तनूजर[लं] (लम्)॥¹० [३॥*] इति महति सुवामयूव(ख)वंशे नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः॥(।)
- 4 अलभत भरतस्स चकवर्ती तृ(त्रि)भुवनभूषणं(ण)भूयमेकमेव ॥¹¹[४॥*]अत्रे(त्रो)दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीनामीशः कमादजनि हैंहयचकवर्त्ती [॥ य-
- इस्य प्रचण्डभुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती काराग्र (गृ)हे घृत इव प्रसभं दशास्यः ॥ [५॥ वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता (तो) भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतवा (वा)हुव (व) —
- 6 न्यविवुरो नक्तंचरप्रास(म)णी[:।*]हि (हे)लोल्लासितवा(बा)हुदण्डविहितः श्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धितः । प्राग्विकान्तमम्(म)न्यत स्वयमपि स्विमन्द्रजालोपमं (मम्) ।। [६।।*] यज्ञाग्नि—

¹ Tibetan tradition does not give a certain date for Atisa's departure to Nepal. If the event occurred before 1040 A. C., Karņa may have invaded Magadha during his father's lifetime.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 97.

³ I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 309 f.

⁴ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article in Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read ब्रह्मणे.

⁷ Read सदब्रह्मणे.

⁸ Metre: Anushinbb.

⁹ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁰ Metre. Vasantatilakā.

¹¹ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

¹² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹³ Read -विहितवीकण्ठशैलोद्धति:.

¹⁴ Read स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 6). Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

ग धूमै: परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूबन्व (न्ब) ह्वो नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम वृष्टिर्व्विपक्ष-नारीनयनान्व (म्बु) वाहै: ॥¹[७॥*] व (ब) ङ्गालभ ङ्गिनपुणः परि—

भूतपाण्यो (ण्डचो) लाटेशलुण्डनपटुज्जितगुज्जंरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाज्जितपादपीठस्तेषु

कमादर्जान लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥²[८॥*] आसीद्यद्वि-

जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूर³शिर:सिंदूरपूला (रा) रुणः त्वङ्गतु—
 (त्तु)ङ्गतु(त) रङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभू—

o दाम्भोनिधिः पूर्णो वैरिकठोरकंचदलनास्वसिद्धव्वपूरैरिव⁶ ॥⁶[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याण (ल)-

लनामुजङ्गो निःशेषवा(घा)त्रीघरणाय शेषः। ततः स

ा जज्ञे जगदैकवंद्यो⁷ चेदीन्द्रचद्रो (न्द्रो) युवराजदेवः ॥⁸ [१०॥*] यौवनेन तनौ यस्य प्रतापेनारि— म (म्)र्द्धेसु । कुलाद्रिकु [ङजे]ब्वरिभिस्वि (स्त्रि)भिस्तुल्यं पदं।⁹

 2 दधे 11^{10} [११ 11^{*}] भूभारक्षमधृकश्रुति 11 प्रणियनीमालंक्य (ब)मानस्तन् 12 कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि

नाकपथगानागच्छतो विद्विषां (पः) । विख्यातां भवि भूरिमार्गगं (ग)-

13 मनाभुव्वदेशद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेश्वरः समभवत्सम्यक्शिवाराधनात् ॥ १३ [१२॥ *] दिक्प-यंन्तनिखान (त) यूपनिचयः क्ष्मापालचुडामणेस्त-

14 स्मादद्भुतविकमः कमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्व[र्गा]ङ्गनास-

[ज्र*]मारम्भे मञ्जलतूर्यकार्यमहितक्षोणीप-

15 तीनां भृसं(शम्) । [१३॥*] आसा (शा) जये समदसिंबुरगंघरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकराः ककुमां करीन्द्राः । पू(कू)त्कारमार्त्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य चकुः

16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिनिराशाः॥ [१४॥ *] यस्मिन्सुक्षैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिधौ चेतसि वर्त्तमाने।

तत्वे (च्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगमाजां निता-

17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां । । 17 [१५ । 1*] आकामदूर्ढं (द्ध्वं) व्र (ब्र)ह्माण्डसंघट्टस्फुटित यशः। मन्ये यस्येन्द्रनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं (तम्) । । 18 [१६। 1*] कारापंजरव (ब) द्वकी—

18 रनृपतिदी (दीं) प्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयै: 19 तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना

¹ Metre: Upajāti.

² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Read —श्वेदोदयात्यूज्जेत्सैनिकगन्धसिषुर- as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 9).

⁴ Read -दंभोनिधिः

[ै] Read —कठोरकण्ठदलनास्विसन्यपूरेरिव as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, l. 7) and the British Museum plate (No. 54, ll. 9-10).

Metre: Särdülavikridita.

⁷ Read जगदेक-वंद्यश्चेदीन्द्र-.

⁸ Metre: Upajāti.

This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹¹ Read - इक्श्रति-.

¹² This danda is superfluous.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: Śārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁴ The Rewa stone inscription and the British Museum plate read रसन.

¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ Hultzsch proposes to read प्रजीना;, but as the impersonal construction is intended here, प्रजीनम् is required.

¹⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁸ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁹ Read -चयेस्तस्मा-.

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNA

First Plate

2 12 18 24 Seal



From a photograph.

14

16

18

20

22

- 19 निर्जित्योत्कलमविधिसीम्नि जयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥² [१७॥*] अगुणज्ञेति लोलेति स्यातं यदिह दुर्यशः । लक्ष्मास्तदधुना³ घौतं दिव्यमादाय—
 - 20 तहपुः॥ [१८॥*] अतिमनोरथमथिंजने घनं दिशति यत्तत्स कल्पतरुस्तरुः। रिपुयशःकुसुदाकर -भास्करः सुतमसूत स कर्ण्णनराधि-
 - 21 पम् ॥ [१९॥ *] आकान्तदृष्तसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरणौ रणशौण्डस्य सोध्माणौ यस्य रेजतु: ॥ [२०॥ *] स्फुरद्भयां वक्जचकाभ्यामेक [ब्या]जे[न] ह-
- 22 स्तयोः । व(व)भार यः श्रियं सा[क्षा]दिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविज्ञं (जृं)भिनीं (णीम्) ॥ [२१॥*] सूर्द्वोद्धृत%— घराभारदिक्कुंजरकराय[तौ] । आनद्यतां भूजौ यस्य हेलोद्धता वस—
 - 23 न्धरौ ॥ [२२॥*] त्याग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुलं शंखयोद्वंयं (यम्) । निघानं विधिना मन्ये द्विगुणीकृतमर्पितं (तम्) ॥ [२३॥*] उद्दण्डसुण्डाग्रविमि[स्नि]ते-
 - 24 न¹² पू(फू)स्कारचूर्णीकृतशीकरेण । मुक्तातपत्रायितमम्ब (म्ब)रार्डे यस्य प्रयाणे पृतनागजा-नाम् ॥ 13 [२४॥ *] नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवस-

Second Plate

- 25 तिर्ने [त्य]क्तपूर्व्वस्थितिर्यस्यास्यातुमितीव चेदिर्दिनपतेर्द्दिकक्रमाकामत¹⁴ ॥ (।) प्रान्तः श्रान्त-¹⁵ वरूथिनीकरिकरास्फाला—
- वहेलोल्लासितकल्लोलाविल्विंह¹⁶च (द)ण्डमुदिघश्चऋंद सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥¹⁷ [२५॥*] यत्कुन्त-प्रोतशत्रुश्रुत¹⁸रुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता—
- 27 लोत्ताल प्वभरितककु [प्च] ऋपर्यान्तसीम्नि अन्योन्यालक्ष श्वाचां समिति सु (स) रभसं दत्तहस्तादिसं काव्यापारेणामराणां वररम—
- 28 णविधिः कुप्त²²मासीन्मुहूर्त्तं (त्त्रम्)॥²³[२६॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकीण्णंः²⁴ संग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात(त्) । वीरस्य वीरचरितं ननृवे(ते) कवं(वं)-

¹ Read - त्कलमब्धिसीम्नि विजयस्तम्भ: as in the Rewa stone inscription.

Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

³ Read लक्ष्म्या तदधना.

⁴ Metre: Anusbjubb.

^{*} Read यत्र स.

⁶ Read रिपुयश:कुमुदाकर-.

⁷ Metre: Drutavilambita.

^{*} Metre of this and the following three verses: Anushtubb.

Read palan-

¹⁰ Hultzsch proposes to read आनंदातां, but the sense requires a form like आनंदतां.

¹¹ Read हेलोड्त-.

¹² Read -शुण्डाग्रविनि:सतेन.

¹³ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁴ Read चेदिन्पतेर्दिक्चकमाकामतः.

¹⁵ Read प्रान्तश्रान्त-.

¹⁸ Read -स्फालावहेलोल्लसत्कल्लोलावलिबाहु-,

¹⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁸ Read — सत-. The visarga after शत्र् is struck out.

¹⁹ Read -प्रनृत्यद्वेतालोत्ताल-.

²⁰ Read -पर्यन्त-.

²¹ Read अन्योन्यालक्य-,

²² Read कष्टमासी- as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 20.

³ Metre: Sragdbarā.

²⁴ The engraver at first incised —रमुमानो, but afterwards cancelled the second vertical stroke of मा. Read —रमुमानोवकीणंसंग्राम—.

- 29 घैर्लंक्ष्मीहठप्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२७॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना प्रागु (ग्व्र)ह्मचारि-वृतं ² सार्द्धं व (व) न्युतया गृहस्थपदवीं कारागृहस्थापनात् [।*] वा—
- 30 नप्रस्थपदं [व]नाश्रयवशात (द्) भैक्षाच्च ति (भि)क्षोः स्थितिः । येनेव्वं चतुराश्रमेकगुकता स्पष्टा कृता शत्रुषु ॥ [२८॥ *] यस्यार्थिवजवां छिताधिकफल-
- 31 प्राप्त्यै निसन्य भूः प्राकप्रत्यग्रधरणीधरान्तरस्य परतस्फुरद्धोषणाः । एते निर्मितमाः पुरा परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन कथ (थं) सम्मास्य-
 - 32 न्ति यशान्सि चेदिदिनपतेराकुलो¹¹भूच्चिरं (रम्)॥¹²[२९॥*] कि तस्य कर्ण्णनृपतेर्व्वं (व्वं)त वर्ण्यामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनता[म्ब](म्ब्र)पट्टैः। उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि(वि)—
 - 33 डाक्षरचक्रवालवचालितैर्व (र्व) घिरभावामियाज (य) विश्वं (श्वम्) ॥¹³[३०॥*] छ॥ स प(ए)ष परमभट्टारकमहाराजाघिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादान् 14—
- 34 व्यात । 15 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरपतित्रिकिळङ्गाधिपति श्रीमत्कणाँदेव 16 निजभुजोपाजितास्व (स्व)पतिगजप-
 - 35 तिनरपितराजत्रयाधिपितः श्रीमत्कर्णादेवः कुझली ॥छ ॥ जयस्कन्धावार श्रीमत्कर्णातीर्थाधि-वासिते महादेवी महाराजपुत्रो महाम-
 - 36 न्त्री महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधम्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो महाक्षपटिलको महा-भाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-
 - 37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिक: 19 एतानन्यांश्च (श्चा) कीत्तिंतान (न्) यथास्थानियुक्तराजपुरुपा— (धा)न्यथा प्रतिस्थान 20 कोशम्बपत्तलायं 21। चन्दपहाग्राम—
 - 38 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहै मानयति वोधयति²² समाजा(ज्ञा)पयति [1*] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराधाटविश्दः सजल-
 - 39 स्थलः साम्ब्र²³मधूक[:*] सगतींषरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीर्मा(मा)पर्यन्त[:*] सवनत्णयूति-गोचरपर्यन्तः।²⁴ विदभी(भी)कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्किरसाम्ब(म्ब)-

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹ The Rewa stone inscription (No. 45, below) has द्वास्त्र(स्त्र)हानारिततं.

³ Read स्थिति. The following danda is superfluous.

⁴ Read येनैवं.

⁵ Read चतुराश्रमैकग्रुता.

Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁷ Read निशम्यात्मभ्:.

^{*}Hultzsch proposed to emend this as —घरणीघरान्तरसापारात्, but the correct reading is प्रावप्रत्यस्य रणीघरान्तरचरस्पारस्युरद्घोषणा:. See the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 31.

º Read एतन्.

¹⁰ Read परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्.

¹¹ Read यशांसि चेदिन्पतेरित्याकलो-.

¹² Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā. This verse with a slight change occurs in the Chandravatī plates dated V. 1050 of the Gāhadavāla Chandradēva, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 195.

¹⁴ There is a vertical dash at the end of Il. 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47.

¹⁶ This danda is superfluous.

¹⁶ The aksbaras श्रीमत्करणीदेव are superfluous here.

¹⁷ Read -राजत्रवाधिपत्य:.

¹⁸ Read जयस्कन्धावारे.

¹⁹ Here and in some places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

²⁰ Read यथास्थान.

²¹ Read कोशाम्बीपत्तलायां. The following dandas are superfluous.

²² Read बोधयति.

था Read साम्र−.

²⁴ Read -पर्यन्तो. The following danda is superfluous.

- 4० रीषयौवनास्पत्रिःप्रवराय¹ वाजसनेयसा (शा) खिने उपाध्यायसील्पौत्राय आवसधिकमाल्ह्-पुत्राय पण्डितश्रीशान्तिसम्मंणे वा (बा)ह्मणाय
 - ग्रामोयं एतेषां प(ए)वं कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे कार्तिके मासि सु(शु)-वलपक्षकात्तिंकीपीण्णंमास्यां तिथी गुरुदि-
 - ने एवं संवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमत अर्घतीथे⁵ गंगायां स्नात्वा भगवन्तं शिव-भट्टारकं समभ्यच्च्यं मातापित्रोरा-
 - त्मनरच पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रावर्ककितिपर्यन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोग-हिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्र-
 - त्यादायाः एतस्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपचिकीर्पया न केनापि न गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोकाः ।
 - सर्विनेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्वान भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [।*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुन्(नृं)-पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३१॥*] व (व)-
 - हिभिवंसुधा भुक्ता राजित (भि): सगरादिभि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्)॥ [३२॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा (हणा)ति यश्च भूमि प्रयछ (च्छ)ति ।
 - 47 उभी तौ पुण्यक (क) मीणौ नियतं स्वर्गगातिनौ ।। [३३॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्त्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-
 - सेत (त्)।। [३४।।*] अस्मिन्वंसे (शे) द्विजध्नोपि यद्यान्यो नृपतिभ वेत (त्)। तस्यापि करलग्नोहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत (त्) ॥ [३५॥*] सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्ये-
 - 49 कमङ्गुलं (लम्) । हरन्तरकमाप्नोति यावदाहू (भू)तसंप्लवं (वम्)॥ [३६॥*] लिखितं चेदं करणिकश्पी (श्री) सर्व्वानन्देन । उत्कीण्णितं च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Om! Adoration to Brahman!

- (Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe), (and) supreme light conceivable by the mind!
- (V. 2) Glorious is that Brāhmī, 10 which sages plant like a creeper in the pure field of their heart, and which, though subtile, bears the great fruit of final emancipation.
- (V. 3) From the milk-ocean there came out this moon, the store of immeasurable nectar, (who is) an ornament of Siva. From him was born Budha. He, they say, obtained a jewel-like son, (namely) the primeval king Purūravas.
 - (V. 4) In that great family of the nectar-rayed (moon), there was born a king

¹ Read -योवनाश्वित्रप्रवराय.

² Read -श्रमणे.

³ Read श्रीमदर्घतीयें.

⁴ This word is superfluous. The Banaras plates (No. 48, 1. 43) read तदपचिकीपंया मध्ये वातेनापि न गन्तव्यम् ।

[·] Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्.

⁶ Metre: Sālinī.

⁷ Metre of this and all the following verses: Anushtubb.

^{*} Read स्वर्गगामिनी

⁹ Read उत्कीण्णं.

¹⁰ I. e., the knowledge of Brahman, the ultimate reality.

who appeared (bright) like a pearl. He, the universal sovereign Bharata, obtained (the distinction of) being1 the sole ornament of the three worlds.

(V. 5) In this very illustrious family of kings there was born, in course of time, the lord Haihaya, the universal sovereign; being caught in the midst of whose cage-like mighty arms, the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) was, as it were, confined in a prison.

- (V. 6) Finding himself (quite) helpless in the bondage of the marvellous arms of (that) crest-jewel of kings (i.e., Haihaya), who being thousand-armed routed his enemies even as the thousand-rayed (sun) dispels darkness, the leader of demons (i.e., Rāvaṇa), who had lifted up the mountain of Srikaṇṭha (Kailasa) with his sportfully waved arms, himself thought that his previous valiant deed was like a dream and an illusion.
- (V. 7) From him were descended many kings who pleased Indra with the smoke of their sacrificial fires; in whose kingdom there never ceased showers from the clouds

which were the eyes of their enemies' wives.

- (V. 8) Among them was born in course of time Lakshmanarajadeva (II) who was clever in routing the king of Bangala; who defeated the Pandya (king); who was adept in plundering the king of Lata; who vanquished the Gurjara king; and whose footstool was honoured by the crowns of the heroes of Kasmīra.
- (V. 9) The ocean, which became red, being flooded with (the streams of) vermilion from the heads of the huge scent-elephants in (his) army through exertion caused by his victorious marches, and which dashed against huge mountains with its dancing high waves, appeared to be filled as it were with the flooding streams of blood from the cut-off stiff necks of his enemies.
- (V. 10) From him was born that Yuvarājadēva (II), the moon-like lord of Chēdi, the sole object of veneration to the (whole) world, who was fond of literature as a lover is of his beloved, and who, like the serpent Sēsha, supported the whole world.
- (V. 11) Three things found a footing simultaneously, (viz.) youth in his body, (his) valour on the heads of (his) enemies, and (his) enemies in the thickets on the principal mountains.²
- (V. 12) Through his devotion to Siva he became actually an Emperor (or, Siva incarnate), having acquired knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of (i.e., governing) the earth, being fond of the Vēdas (as Siva is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth), sending (like Siva) his adversaries along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes (as Siva bears on high the river Gangā flowing in several streams).

(V. 13) From that crest-jewel of kings, there was (born) in course of time, (a king) named Kōkalla (II), possessed of marvellous prowess, who planted a number of sacrificial posts in the farthest regions, and the drum, (beaten) at whose victorious march, served exceedingly well as an auspicious musical instrument at the commencement of the

union of hostile kings with celestial damsels.

(V. 14) On the occasion of his conquest of the quarters, the lordly elephants (stationed) in the quarters, which raised their long trunks in rage on (smelling) the fragrance of his rutting elephants, despaired (of defeating them), (and) gave out, as it were, a distressing cry to the lord of celestial beings (i.e., of Indra) through the hum of bees (hovering) over their temples.

¹ For the form bbiya used in the sense of bhava, see Pāṇini, III, 1, 107.

² I. e., when he attained youth, his power was felt by his enemies, who leaving their kingdoms sought shelter in the thickets on mountains.

(V. 15) While he, who was a store of valour and the sole source of (their) happiness, dwelt in the mind of (his) subjects, their inward distress completely disappeared even as the ignorance of the yogins does when the highest principle (Brahman), which is the repository of lustre and the unique source of bliss, shines in their minds.

(V. 16) His glory, rising high and breaking (to pieces) owing to its collision with (the upper shell of) Brahma's egg, has, I fancy, taken the forms of the moon, constella-

tions, stars and so forth.

(V. 17) From him was (born) Gāngēyadēva, who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra, who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (the king of) Anga who was fond of defeating (the king of) Kuntala in a (clever) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of splitting open the temples of lordly elephants, made his (own) arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (eastern) ocean, after vanquishing (the king of) Utkala.

(V. 18) By resorting to his divine person the goddess of fortune has now got rid

of the infamy that she does not appreciate merit and is fickle.

(V. 19) Where he bestowed more wealth on suppliants than they desired, the wish-fulfilling tree was (no better than) an ordinary tree.² He, who was to the enemies' fame what the sun is to an assemblage of night-lotuses,³ begat the king Karna.

(V. 20) The feet of him (i.e., Karna) who was skilled in war, appeared lovely, being warm as if because they had trampled over the spreading valour of the neighbouring

haughty princes.

(V. 21) Under the sole guise of (the symbols of) the thunderbolt and the discus on his hands, he bore (with himself) the goddess of fortune herself, who (usually) shines with Indra and Upendra.

(V. 22) His arms, which were long like the trunks of the elephants of the quarters, which have lifted up the earth with their heads, were delighted to rescue the earth with

case.

(V. 23) The two large (symbols of) conches on (his) hands were, I imagine, the treasure (of Kubēra) which the Creator offered after doubling to him who was intently attached to charity.

(V. 24) At his march, the spray of water, which issued from the tips of the formidable trunks of the elephants in (his army) and which was turned to particles by their

puffing, appeared like an umbrella in the sky.

- (V. 25) 'I do not harbour, O Lord! the families of (your) enemies; nor have I transgressed the past limits."—In order as it were, to say this to the King of Chēdi, who was over-running the circuit of regions, the ocean roared in a deep sound, throwing about his arms of waves to scoff at the movements of the trunks of elephants in the army which, being fatigued, (had encamped) in its vicinity.
- (V. 26) In his war, when the farthest confines of the circuit of regions were filled with the noise of the loud clapping of the goblins who were dancing in intoxication caused by drinking the liquor-like blood flowing from (the bodies of his) enemies wounded by his

¹ There is a play on the word kira, meaning (i) a country of that name and (ii) a parrot. The king was thrown into prison as a parrot is caged.

² For the celestial tree yielded only what was desired by the suppliants. ³ I. e., the enemies' fame contracted like night-lotuses during day-time.

⁴ There is a play on the word pratapa which means (i) valour and (ii) heat.

⁵ Sankha is one of the treasures of Kubëra. As Karna had the symbol of sankha (conch) on both the hands, the poet imagines that he had double the treasure of Kubëra.

⁶ This is supposed to be said by the ocean,

arrrows, the ceremony of choosing (their) husbands in an assembly was, for a short time, performed with difficulty by the immortal (i.e., celestial) damsels, who could not hear one another's words, by means of the hasty signs such as those of their hands.

(V. 27) On the stage of battle-field which was strewn with flowers scattered by the gods who were stupefied with joy, the heroic deeds of the valiant (Karna), whose arms were merciless in forcibly dragging the (enmy's) fortune, were represented in dancing

by headless trunks in the presence of kings.

(V. 28) He thus showed himself to be a unique teacher of the four āśramas to his enemies,—who were, first, taught the vow of the Brahmachárin¹ by being separated from (their) wives, (then) the order of the house-holder by being imprisoned together with their kinsmen, (then) that of the forest-dwelling hermit by (being forced to seek) shelter in the woods, and that of the religious mendicant by (being made to live on) alms.

(V. 29) Having heard the loud proclamations, resounding in the land extending from the eastern to the western mountain, that the hosts of suppliants (coming) to him would obtain gifts exceeding their desires, the self-existent (Brahmā) was long perplexed with the thought, 'Alas! this brahmānḍa has already been created so limited in expanse!

How will the glory of the King of Chedi be contained in it?'

(V. 30) What can we describe of that king Karna by whose copper-charters, (given) to Brāhmaṇas,—which made a loud noise as multitudes of closely packed letters

were being incised on them,-the (whole) universe is deafened.

(Line 33) This Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Karnadēva, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga,—who has by his arm acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (and) the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva,—being in good health duly honours, informs and issues the (following) command at his victorious camp fixed at the famous Karnatīrtha, to the following, (viz.) the Mahādēvī, the Mahārājaputra, the Mahāmantrin, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika, the Mahāmātya, the Mahādharmādhikaranika, the Mahāpratīhāra, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika, the Mahābhāndāgārika, the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahāpramattavāra,² the Mahāśvasādhanika and other unnamed officers appointed to their respective posts as well as all people residing in their respective places the village Chandapahā in the pattalā³ of Kauśāmbī:—

(L. 38) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) parents and Ourself, We, having bathed at the glorious Arghatīrtha here and having worshipped the divine (god) Siva today, Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika in the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by (us) the illustrious Karna,—in the aforesaid year, month, fortnight, tithi and day respectively, have given as a grant, with the words 'this village is his,' this village,—with its four boundaries well-determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and madhūka trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with mines of iron and salt, extending to its boundaries and together with woods, meadows and pasture-lands, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa the illustrious Pandita Sāntiśarman, the son of Āvasathika Mālhū and grandson of the Upādhyāya Sīlū, of the Vājasanēya śākhā, the Vidarbhī-Kaundinya gōtra* and the three pravaras Āngirasa, Ambarīsha, and Yauvanāśva. Knowing this

1 Viz., celibacy. Compare Manumriti, II, 177.

² This is a technical official title meaning probably 'the Chief Commander of the elephant force'. Compare Afravara, a horseman.

^a Pattalā is a territorial division corresponding to the modern tabsil.

⁴ The sage Vidarbhi-Kaundinya is mentioned in Br. Up. II, 63; and IV, 6, 3.

and submitting to him by listening to his commands, you should pay all royal dues such as bhāga, bhōga, gold and others to him as you paid them (to us in the past). None should trespass with a view to harm him." In this matter there occur the (following) holy verses:—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 49) This has been written by the Karanika, the illustrious Sarvananda and engraved by Vidyananda. (May there be) bliss and good fortune!

No. 51; PLATE XLI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 800

This inscription was discovered by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, at Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewa. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the Zenānā Mahāl of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. The inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. It is edited here from two excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7' 2" broad and 3' 13" high. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Siva and seems to have been brought over to Rewa from somewhere else.1 The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 23-31, in which, in some places, only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the mātrās, the anusvāra, the sign for the superscript r on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of sh have, in many cases, disappeared. The inscription consists of thirtyone lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in line 19. Except for the obeisance to Siva with which it seems to have opened, and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karna and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-two2 of these occur in the Goharwa plates of that king.3 In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the Kayastha caste as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karna, who founded the temple of Siva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted, as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have, consequently, lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A.C. about the caste of the Kāyasthas. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

¹ In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that 'the slab might have been brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now lying in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace.' A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, p. 89.

^{*} Viz., verses 4, 6-18, 20-22, 24, 26, 30-32.

³ Above, No. 50.

The characters belong to the Nagari alphabet. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by prishthamātrās. Kh has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see -nikhāta-, 1.8, but n is still without its dot, see Vangāla-bhanga-, 1.6; th has developed a vertical at the top, see luthantu 1.3 and -pītha-, 1.6; the upper loop of th is closed, see -pāthō-mashī-, 1.16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see -sthale, 1.15; the left portion of dh is still undeveloped; the letter is, therefore, distinguished from v which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top, and in the case of dha by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see -avaidhavya-vidhāna-, 1.15; the right-hand curve of ph is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in -phala-, 1.3, or a little lower down as in -āsphāl-, 1.13, the curve of i is joined to its vertical on the right, see -iāsana-, 1.18; the letter can in many cases be distinguished from s only by its round top. Finally, h shows no tail, see mahati, 1.4.

The language is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Of these, thirty-three fall in the first, and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part the present inscription has as many as twenty-two verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karna, there being only slight variations in their readings here and here as pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. In two cases (verses 20 and 26), the order of verses in this inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records;1 but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following r is doubled in many cases; see, e.g., Sambhōr=jjaṭā-, 1.2; b is throughout denoted by the sign for v, see -vaddh-ō-, 1.1; mvra is used for mra in -tāmvra-pattaib, 1.18; similarly n is wrongly substituted for anusvāra in -pānsu-, 1.21. In surā-pāṇa, 1.11, we have the change of n to n in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karna of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. The object of it appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Siva by a minister of Karna, who belonged to the Kayastha caste.2 The record is dated. at the end, in the year 800 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, the cyclic year being Khara.3 The date must obviously be referred to the Kalachuri era. As an expired year, it corresponds to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding cyclic year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. This is the only date in the records of the Kalachuris, in which a cyclic year has been mentioned.4 In the absence of the necessary details the date does not admit of further verification.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Siva. This is followed by three mangala-ślokas in praise of Siva, the last of which describes his Ardha-nārīśvara form.

An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse Bbū-bbāra-kshama-drik, etc., employed to describe Yuvarājadēva II in the present plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather Yuvarājadēva I in the Banaras plates of Karņa. See above, p. 242.

^{*} His name is lost in the lower mutilated portion. He was mentioned in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, below, l. 30), but there too, his name is lost.

³ This name of the cyclic year had escaped my notice when I edited this inscription in the Ep. Ind. After Kācharasya in 1.31 there is room for only two aksharas, of which one is clearly ra. There is, therefore, no doubt that the intended name of the year is Khara. This corroborates my reading of the figures of the date, one of which was somewhat doubtful.

⁴ Another instance in which a cyclic year is coupled with a Kalachuri date occurs in the Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (K. 966), No. 117, below,

After two more verses,—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech,—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karna. As in the Goharwa plates, his pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya is Lakshmanarāja who is evidently identical with the homonymous prince mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karna. The description of this king and of his successors down to Gāṅgēyadēva is, in the main, given as in the Goharwa plates. In connection with Gāṅgēyadēva, however, the draft used here slightly differs from that of the Goharwa plates. Of the four verses devoted to his description, three (viz., vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the latter record, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karna. Verse 19, which is not known to occur anywhere else, describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

Gāngēyadēva's son and successor Karņa is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (viz., 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) occur in the Gobarwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (i.e., Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karṇa achieved a victory over the king of the Eastern Country, who lost his life in the encounter. This probably refers to the overthrow of the contemporary Chandra king, after which Karṇa seems to have placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory.

Verse 25 refers to Karna's conquests in the south. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kānchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman, he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing.' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's penchant for double entendre. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra and is taken by some scholars to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the south. In later times, poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the Saduktikarnāmṛita of Sridharadāsa. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in verse 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. But Karṇa's conflicts with the contemporary Chōla king, who is probably meant here as the ruler of Kānchī, and the Chālukya king of Kuntala at least are substantiated by other evidence.²

Verse 27 states that 'when Karna approached (the Gurjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and

¹ It may be noted in this connection that verse 12 of the Bhērāghāţ inscription mentions that when Karņa gave full play to his heroism the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga. The contemporary Chandra king is evidently referred to as the Vaṅga here; for the Chandras were ruling over Vaṅga, or Eastern Bengal.

^{*}See verse 21 of the Karanbël inscription of Jayasimhadëva, below, Appendix, No. 3 and VDC. Canto I, śl. 102-3.

colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the Gurjara king, but unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karna's relations with the contemporary Gurjara king were already strained as early as 1048-49 A.C.

The second part of the record commences with verse 34, which states that the twiceborn caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the mantra-śakti (power of good counsel) of kings who were possessed of the other two powers, viz., the utsāha-šakti (personal energy) and prabhu-śakti (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (mun-indra) named Kāchara who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Siva. He made the town Kulāñchā an ornament of the three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (turiya-janman) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (i.e., Gangā). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage, apparently to the Sūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (i.e., Brāhmaṇas), would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (i.e., Brihaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of Kāyastha, since he had innumerable merits in his kāya (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Sūdra), from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats who gave security from fear to all beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion.1 Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name, again, is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmanaraja as Vishnu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of verse 46 states that Somesvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse sems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From line 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have, consequently, lost even the names of the descendants of Somesvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karna. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in verse 54, that it was, as it were, due to the laughter of Siva, who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Siva, at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the opening verses which eulogize Siva, as well as from the statement in v. 58 that the person who caused the temple of the enemy of Smara (i.e., Siva) to be constructed himself composed the present prasasti.

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Käyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Käyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries earlier.² The fanciful derivation of the caste-name Käyastha given

¹ His name ended in kara and may have been Prabhākara,

² In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmanas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (Ind. Ant., Vol. LXI, p. 48) D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha I (871 A. C.) and the Gurmhā plates of Jayādityadēva II (870 A. C.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

here occurs also in the Naishadhiyacharita (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchara.

The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages; but the name of Kāchara as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature.¹ It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A.C.² From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, viz., v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in verse 36 to a Sūdra (turīya-janman) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste, and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (i.e., Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription, it is now impossible to say how the Sūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇhood which seems to have been made in verse 34.³

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Someśvara. This latter is eulogized in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmanaraja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Someśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmanaraja as stated in the Karitalai stone inscription.4 A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Someśvara of the Kārītalāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhatta therein⁵ and is said to have belonged to the Bharadvāja gōtra.6 From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms.7 Someśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha, distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmanaraja himself, but of his successor; for, from verses 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmanaraja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Someśvara of the Kārītalāi inscription.

Most of the geographical names occurring in the present record find mention

¹ In the Ajayagadh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavarman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, p. 882).

² Is kāchara, like khachara (Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 31), identical with Khazar?

³ It is, of course, possible to take turīya-janmā in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as turīyārtham (yajñārtham) janma yasya saḥ, i.e., one who is born for (the performance of) a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the St. Petersberg Lexicon and the Vāchar patyam give this sense of turīya, citing the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, IX, 2, 3, 11 etc., in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced, since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives turīya-varṇa in the sense of a Sūdra. Note also agrajanman (first-born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression yō bhūmi-dēva-pada-pānšu-pavitra-maulib in l. 21 suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of the earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

See verses 7-17 of No. 42, above.

^{\$} Ibid., v. 9.

⁶ Ibid., v. 2.

⁷ It must, however, be stated that verse 16 of the inscription mentions that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by bards in the fore-front of the battlefield.

in the Goharwa plates also. Their identification has, therefore, been already discussed. Kulānchā, the town founded by the sage Kāchara, is evidently identical with Kōlāncha, Krōḍānchi or Krōḍānja met with in epigraphic records ranging in date from the tenth to the twelfth century A.C., which have been discovered in the modern States of Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Bharat.¹ From the statements in these records the place seems to have been a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāṇḍilya gōtra, most of whom belonged to the Śāmavēda. According to the tradition recorded in the Kulapañjikās of the Rāḍhī and Vārēndrī Brāhamaṇas, five ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal from Kōlāncha at the invitation of the king Ādiśūra for the performance of a Vedic sacrifice. The present inscription shows that the place was also the home of the Kāyasthas. In a copper-plate inscription from Assam the village is said to have been situated in Srāvastī.² Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit identifies it with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal.³

TEXT 4

- ग्राहिक स्थापित कराजूटकूटोदयाद्रौ । देयादुष्णीयव (व) द्वोरग [म]णि[किरण*]श्रेणिशोणा सुघां— शोलेंबालक्ष्मीव्चिरं वस्तिमिरमविलितोदीयमानेव [शम्भो:] । [१॥*] य— - वनमन्दरोदरच— लत्युत्कार — - - -,
- - 4 [रेषः । अस्मादजायत वु(बु)धः स किल क्षितीश*]माद्यं पुरूरवसमाप तनूजरत्नम्¹²॥[६॥*]

¹ Mr. J. C. Ghosh mentions six such charters, *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, pp. 358-59. To them I add the Kahla copper-plate grant of the Kalachuri Sõḍhadēva, below, No. 74,. I have shown that in l. 44 of that inscription the correct reading is Kulāñchīya (i.e., of Kulāñcha). It is note worthy that the Brāhmaṇa Jālu, mentioned therein as hailing from Kulāñcha, belonged, like other Brāhmaṇas of that place, to the Śāṇ-dilya gōtra and the Sāmavēda.

² Padmanatha Bhattacharya, Kāmarūpa-fāsanāvali, p. 155. This Śrāvasti was probably situated in Bengal, for the family, to which the minister of Karņa belonged, is called Ganda in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (below, No. 77).

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 103.

From inked estampages.

⁸ The inscription seems to have opened with आँ नम: शिवाय, for the temple where it was put up was dedicated to Siva. See above, p. 266.

⁶ Metre. Sragdbarā.

⁷ Restore यच्चडावन-.

^{*} Metre: of this and the following verse: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁹ Metre: Aryā.

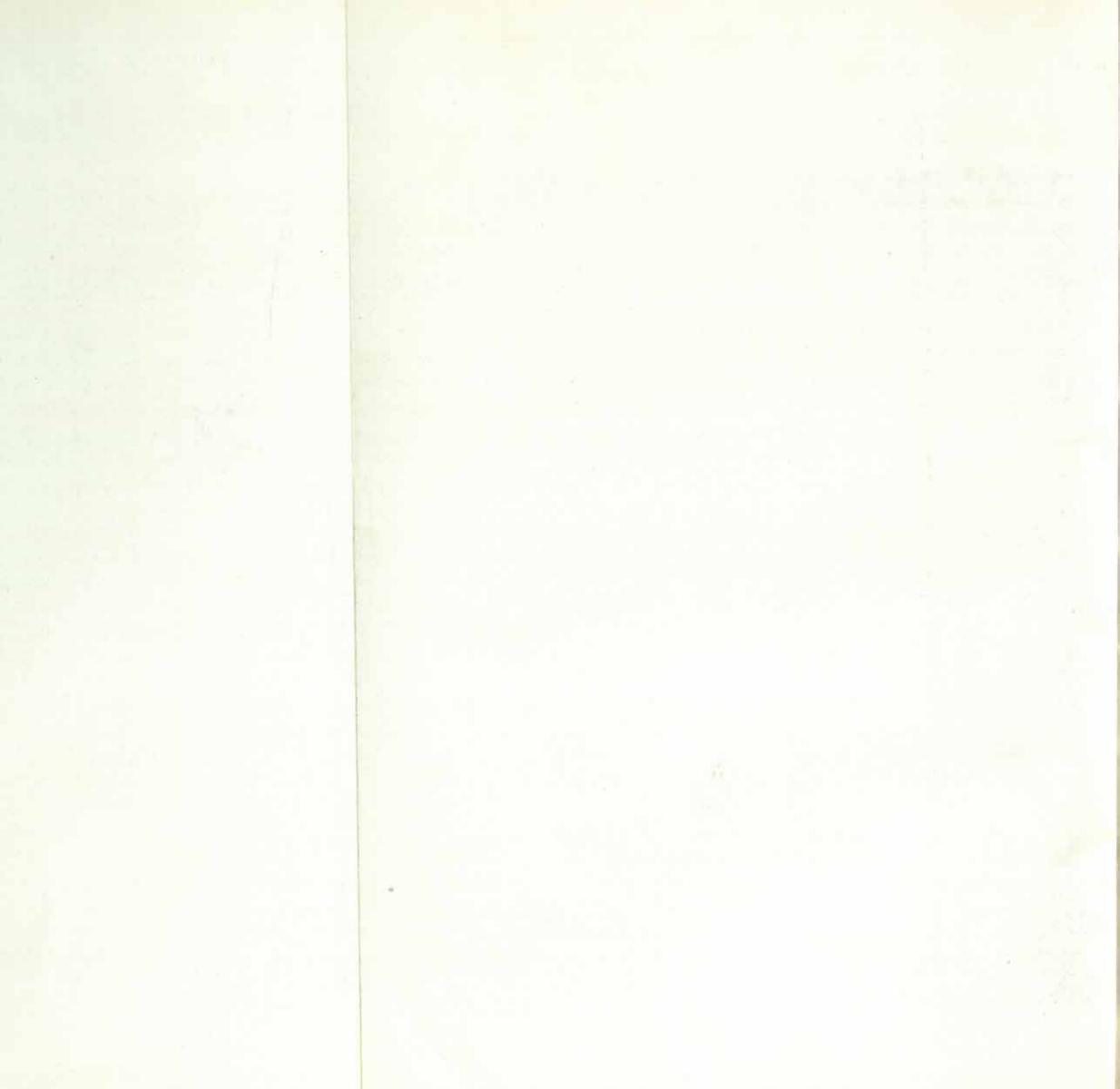
¹⁰ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹¹ The starred aksharas in rectangular brackets in lines 3-18 are supplied from the Goharwa plates of Karna (above, No. 50).

¹² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 800

	्राहरिका मिल्यामालावन्त्री है। इस्ति विकास किर्माहरिका है। इस्ति विकास मिल्यामालावन विश्व मिल्यामालावन विकास म हे कि	
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	ार्क के किन्द्र में देव पित्र के बिन के बन के ब	8
	ाष्ट्राहासाम्याहरू हेन सिर्माणा विकास सिर्माणा विकास सिर्माणा विकास सिर्माण का सिर्माण के अने का सिर्माण के सिर्माण के अने	
1	क्रिकी विशेष में	10
	विवधानिक विविधानिक विविधान	
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	क्षिक विश्व विश्व विश्व विश्व विश्व के बिवान माने माने विश्व के बिवान के बि	
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	कर्षा विभिन्न महामार ति ग्रेक्स मार ति ग्रेक्स मार विश्व मार्ग मार्ग नाम नाम नाम विश्व मार्ग मान्न नाम नाम नाम नाम नाम नाम नाम नाम नाम ना	
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	कर्षा विश्व के विश्व के विश्व के विश्व के विश्व के बार के बार के बार के बार के विश्व के बार के विश्व के बार के विश्व के बार के विश्व के बार क	
-1	्रिक्त विश्वास विश्व में	18
	ार के अपने क्षेत्र विकास के बार का किस के बार के किस के बार के किस के इस के अपने किस के बार के ब	
2	्र प्राप्त के ते ते विश्व राज्य में	20
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2	विकास के जिल्ला के जान के जान के जान के जान है। जिल्ला के जान कि जान के	30
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इति महित सुधामयूख[वं]शे नृपितरजायत [मौ] वितकायमानः । अलभत भरतः स चक्रवर्ती विभुवन[भूष]णभूयमेक एव¹॥[७॥*] त[त्रो]दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीना[मी]शः [क्रमा]दजिन [हैहयचक][वर्ती ।*] यस्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्जर*]-

- 5 [मध्यवर्ती कारागृहे धृत इव प्र*]स[मं] दशास्यः ॥[८॥*] वैरिध्वान्तिभिदः सहस्रकरतो भूपालचूडामणे[यं]स्मादद्भुतवा(बा)हुव(ब)न्धविधुरो न[क्तं]चरग्रामणीः । हेलोल्लासितवा(बा) हुदण्डविहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्ध(द्वृ)ति[:*] प्राग्वित्रान्तममन्यत स्वय[मिप स्विमन्द्रजालोपमम्]॥ [९॥*] यज्ञा[ग्नि][धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मा*]—
- 6 [दभूवन्व(न्व)हवो नरेन्द्राः ।*] रा[ज्ये न] ये[षां] विरराम वृ[ष्टिवि]पक्षनारीनयनाम्बृ[म्बृ]—
 वा[है]ः । (१०॥*) व(ब) ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपाण्डचा(ण्डचो) लाटेशलुण्टनपटुजित—
 गुज्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाच्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजिन लक्ष्मण[राजदेवः] ॥ [११॥*]
 आसीद्यद्विजयप्रयाण[जिनित][ब्यायामखेदोदयोन्मज्ज*]—
- 7 [त्सैनिकगात्रसिन्धुरिशरः*][सिन्दूरपूरा]रुणः । त्वङ्गतुङ्गतरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभृदम्भोनिधिः पूर्णो [वै]रिकठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिविधा [१२॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभृजङ्गो निःशेष-धात्रीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यश्चेदी[न्द्र]च[न्द्रो] युवराजदेवः । [१३॥*] [यौ]वनेन त[नौ] य[स्य प्र]-
- 8 [तापेनारिमूढँसु । कुला*][द्रिकुञ्जे]ध्वरिभिस्त्रिभिस्तु[ल्यं] प[दं] दघे ⁸ ॥ [१४॥*] दिवपर्यन्तिनिखातयूपिनचयः क्ष्मापालचूडामणिश्स्तस्मादद्भृतिविक्रमः कमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे य[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणवः स्वम्गाङ्गनासङ्गमारम्भे मङ्गलत्[यं]का[यं]महितक्षोणीपती[नां] रसन्¹⁰ ॥[१५॥*] य[स्मिन्सुखँकप्र]-
- 9 [भवे प्रजानां*] [तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[त्तं]माने । तत्वे (रवे) परिस्मन्निव योगभा[जां] नितान्त-मन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्¹¹ ॥[१६॥*] आक्रमादू[द्ध्वं] व्र(व्र)ह्माण्डसंघट्टस्फुटि[तं] यशः । धत्ते यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमम्ब (म्ब)रे¹²॥ [१७॥*] कारापञ्जररुद्धकीरनृपति[दीं]प्तोङ्गलक्ष्मी— चयैस्तस्मात्कृत्तलभङ्गभङ्किर[सि]को गाङ्कि]य—
- 10 [दे*][वो]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना नि[जि]त्योत्कलमव्धि(व्धि)— सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुज[ः]¹³॥[१८॥*] यत्सेनाचरचक्रवालदिलतक्ष्मापालदन्तावल— श्रेणीशोणित[पं]िकले][प्] परितः प्रान्ते[प्] पाथोनिधः । दृष्यद्वारणदारणोद्धतम[दैर्लीनं] सल— [ज्जै]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक]—

Metre: Pushpitāgrā.
 Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here, but the metre is defective. Read —स्वप्तेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in line 6 of the British Museum plate of Karna, below, No. 14.

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

^{*} Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīdīta.

⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

⁸ Metre: Anusbtubb.

⁹ The Goharwa plates read इमापालच्डामणे-. The aksharas here are quite clear.

¹⁰ The Goharwa plates have मुसं (ज्ञम्). Metre: Sārdūlavkrīdita.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹³ The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्ये यस्येन्द्रनक्षत्रताराचाकारतां गतम्. Metre: Anushtubh.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

मा न्दरोदरदरी[छिद्रेषु कष्ठीरवै:] ॥[१९॥*] यत्कुन्तप्रोतश[त्रुसु]तरुधिरसुरापाणमत्तप्रनृ— त्यद्वेतालोत्तालतालारवभरितककुष्वत्रपर्यन्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्ष (क्ष्य)वाचां सिमि[ति] सरभसं दत्तहस्तादि[सं]ज्ञाव्यापारेणामरी[णां] वरवरणविधिः कृष्टि]क्मासीन्मुहू [त्तं]म (म्) ॥[२०॥*] अतिमनो[रथ]म[थि]जने

12 [धनं दिशति] यत्र स कल्पतरुस्तरः । रिपुयशःकुमुदाकरभास्करः सुतमसूत स क[ण्णं]नराधिप-म् ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनःसुमनोवकीण्णं[सं]ग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमिभृ[तां] पुरस्तात् । वीरस्य वीरचरि[तं] ननृतं कव(व)न्धैर्लंक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२२॥*] दर्णंकद्-

[र्वा]तरयेण नुन्नो गजाद्रि-

13 —— v⁶[वि]दीण्णंसित्धः । अन्त[यं]दीयस्य व (व)लाम्बु (म्बु) राशे[मं]मञ्ज पूर्व्वावितराज— पोतः⁷ ॥[२३॥*] ना[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसित[नं] स्यक्तपूर्व्वस्थितियंस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिनृपतेदिवचक्रमाकामतः । प्रान्तभ्रान्त⁸वरूथिनीकरिकरास्फालावहेलोल्लसत्कल्लोलाविलवा(बा)— हृदण्डमृदिधश्य—

4 [क्रन्द सान्द्रस्वनैः ।।*]º [२४।।*] हठप्रहान्दोलितकुन्तलधी[वि]खण्डचमानाधरपल्लवा च । आक्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेण येन दिग्दक्षिणा संवु (वु)भुजे प्रकासम्¹⁰ ॥[२५॥*] आक्षाजये समद— सिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा[ः] ककु[भां] करीन्द्राः । पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य

च[कः] कपोल-

15 [मध्पध्वनिभिनिं]राशा[:]¹¹ ॥ [२६॥*] यिस्मन्समासीदित गूर्ज्यरी[णां] गण्डस्थले साञ्जनवा(वा)ध्यलेशाः । भालादवैषव्यविद्यानवर्णाः पर्यन्तभाजां स्वलिता इवासन् ¹²॥ [२७॥*] हरिभिरनिधग[म्यं] यत्सटालीजटालै[यं]दप[रिमि]तल[इगं] वारणैर्द्दारुणं यत् । विपिनिमव यदीयो दावव[ल्लिस्तदृच्चै]रदह—

16 000--- कमेक[:] प्रताप[:]¹³ ॥[२८॥*] भूर्ज्जत्वचः सङ्कलितेभदानपाथोमधीव[णाँ]--विशेषभाजः । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपत्राण्यभवत्रृपा[णां](णाम्) 14 ॥[२९॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राग्व (ग्व)ह्मचारित्र [तं] सा[ढंं] व (व)न्धृतया गृहस्थपद[वीं] कारागृह[स्थापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं

[वनाश्रयवशाद्भैक्षाच्च*] भिक्षो[ः] स्थि[ति] येनैवं चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु¹ऽ॥
 [३०॥*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभूः प्राक्प्रत्यन्घरणीधरान्तरचरस्फार—

¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाय विपक्षगोत्रवसति: (v. 24 below), and therefore describes Karna.

² The Goharwa plates have कुलमासीत्- which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to क्लूप्त आसी-.
Here the aksharas are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript sh has been obliterated.

³ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁴ Metre: Drutavilambita.

^a Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ The missing aksbaras were probably क्टेप.

⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

^{*} The Goharwa plates have श्रान्त.

⁹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁰ Metre: Upajāti.

¹¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed after यहिमन्तुखन्त्रभव etc., (verse 16 above) and is therefore intended to describe Kőkalladéva (II). Metre: Vasantatilakã.

¹² Metre: Indravajrā.

¹³ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdālavikrīdīta.

स्फुरद्घोषणाः । एतन्निर्मितमा[ः] पुरा परिमि[तं] न्न (त्र) ह्याण्डम[स्मिन्कथं संमास्यन्ति] य-शान्सि¹ [चे]-

- 18 [दिनृप]ते[रित्याक्]लो[भूच्चि]रं(रम्) ॥ [३१॥*] [कि] तस्य क[ण्णं]नृपत(ते)व्वं(व्वं)त व-ण्णंयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्त्रपट्टैः । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि(वि)डाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैर्व्वं (व्वं)धिरभाविमयाय विश्वम् ॥[३२॥*] यावद्भचन्द्र चन्द्रो [रि]पुतिमिरभिदा [शू]र शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] — 4 [रिचकक्रपदहन दह]नो या[व]—
 - 19 -- u-- । --- यावदिष्ध (विध) [मं] स्दिधपसमस्कन्ध यावन्मरु[त्वां]स्तावत्त्रायस्य धात्रीमिति पदमजिन व (व) ह्याणामाशि [षां] यः ॥ [३३॥*] । उत्साहशिक्तप्रभुशिक्तभा [जां]
 प्रवर्द्धनायाखिलमन्त्रश[क्तेः] । द्विजातिरे [षा] पृथि [वीपतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य] व (व) भूव
 [हेतुः] । [३४॥*] रा-

 - 21 ०-००-[न्धयस्य कृत्वा] भविष्यति दिवस्पतिमन्त्रिकल्पः। यो भूमिदेवपदपान्शु⁸पवित्र[मौ]लि-[स्तं] स्यातपुण्यचरितं सुतमाप्नुहीति⁹ ॥ [३७॥*] संस्थामतीत्यं काय[स्थ]स्तवं यसमाद्गुणो-[त्क]रः।अत[ः] काय[स्थ इ]त्या[स्थां] जाति[मात्माभि]-००¹⁰॥[३८॥*]०-० -- ए०-०--कुले ०--प्रथि-
 - 22 त --1 [अ]जीजनत्पुत्रमनन्तकी[तिं] कायस्थवंशः प्रससार तस्मात् 11 ॥[३९॥*] तस्यान्वये नयविदः सुधियः कृतज्ञाः सत्यव्रताः सुकृतिनो गुणिनः क्रमेण । प्रादु[वं (वं)]भ्वुरसमाश्चिर[भी]— तसत्त्वदत्ताभयाः कमल ७ र v –

 - 24 [त्रिभुवनस्य] । श्रीवत्स[भूष]ण इव श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवस्य¹⁶ ॥ [४३॥*] [नत्वा] सूतक-दीन्द्रा[णां] वन्द्रभिन्द्रपति [सदा?] । समास्क-दति यत्कीर्तिः कार्त्तिकीं [चं]द्र[चं]द्रि [कां(काम्)]¹⁷॥[४४॥*] [कमल?]किसलया जनानुरा[गे] कृतमू[ल?] -- 18॥ मा - - - -

¹ Read यशांसि.

^{*} Read ताम्रपट्टै:

³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁴ The missing aksharas may have been gon-.

⁵ This akshara is superfluous.

a Metre: Sragdbarā.

⁷ Metre of verses 34-36: Upajāti.

⁸ Read पांच्.

⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ The missing aksharas may have been - цецба. Меtre: Anushtubh.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

¹³ The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर.

¹⁴ Restore प्रस्तरान्.

¹⁵ Metre: Ruchirā.

¹⁰ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁸ Perhaps कृतमूलबन्धाः.

v v - v - -, प - v [कलंकितकोटिकूटे ?]¹ ॥[४५॥*]

- 26 प्रप्रप्र — प्रप्रप्र प्र । प्रप्रप्र प — प्र , जगतीपाल प्र अ ॥ [४८॥*] प्रप्र प्र यत्र ध्वान्ते प्रथ भूमिपं (पम्) । [यो] व (व) भूव गृणिग्रा[मैग्री]मणीलोकवा [न्धवः] ॥ [४९॥*] र[ज्ञा]त इव जातः । धम्मावतारसचिव स्तस्मा [द्वारिभवः?] . .
- 28 ००-०-।--०-०००-०-०-,--०-०००-० ०-०-। [५२॥*]
 करटेन्दुशेंबरस्य ॥[५३॥*]
 लक्ष्म्येव स्फाटि[काद्रे]स्तदविगुणतयालिङ्ग[नैः] स्वैरद[त्तैः] स्थानप्राप्त्या प्र[मोदं] [दघत इव
 भवस्याट्टहासावदातैः]। की[तिं] द[त्त्वो?]त्पत[न्त्याः] पदमिव ०
- 29 ०--०--०--,---०-०००००० --०--० ॥ [५४॥*] ४-०-००-० [कंठे] वि[राज]ते पाण्डर[वै]जयन्ती । कपर्दपिङ्गो[च्च]जटाकला[पे] ४-०⁸ [ग ङ्गा] ००- स्फुरन्ती ॥[५५॥*] [कृती कारितवान्किञ्च काञ्चनेनायकं?] मठः¹⁰ । ५ ५ ५ जनता कान्तवैकुण्ठ] ४०
- 31 ०००-००-०----०-०००-००-प्रकाण्डा[त्।*] त्रैविक[मं?]०००-००-०--,--०-रिह महाकवि[किंकरस्य]¹⁴ [॥५९॥*] [स*]र[नाम्ना¹⁵ महामङ्गलसंवत्सरे] ॥८००॥

¹ I am not certain about the metre of this verse. If it is *Upajāti*, some *aksbaras* have been dropped before 事刊可.

² Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā,

³ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

Metre: Aryā.

⁵ Metre of this and the next verse: Vasantatilakā.

[&]quot;The metre of this verse may be Arya.

⁷ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁸ These three aksharas may have been ज़िव्ह्य.

⁹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Its seems better to read чон.

¹¹ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹² This verse which is completely lost, may also have been in the Anushtubb metre.

¹³ Metre: Upajāti

¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁵ Read -- नाम्न.

TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May the beauty of the digit of the moon, which, rising straight as it were on the orient mount, namely the high coil of the twisted hair of Siva, overspread with the dark colour of his throat, is reddened by the mass of the rays of jewels (in the hoods) of serpents which coil (themselves) like a turban (round his head). . . . remove your ignorance for long!

(V. 2) Glorious is the coil of Sambhu's matted hair, which,—being overspread with the flames of the wild fire (issuing) from his (third) eye (fanned) by that fierce wind, (and) surrounded by serpents...hissing and moving inside the Mandara (mountain),

(namely), the mass of hair..., -appears akin to (Mēru) the golden mountain!

(V. 3) [May] the body (of Siva), one half of which is covered over with serpents, (while) the other half has a gracefully shining eye !

(For a translation of v. 4, see that of v. 2, above, p. 259.)

(V. 5) May the sweet words of poets, full of the nectar of sentiments, which are the resort of virtues, roll in the throats of learned men and their far-spread fame in (their) ears!

(For a translation of vv. 6-18, see that of vv. 3-11, 15, 13, 16 and 17 on pp. 259-61.)

(V. 19) When the regions round the ocean became full of mud through the blood of the arrays of elephants of (hostile) kings killed by hosts of his soldiers, the lions, proud as they had become by the destruction of infuriated elephants, crouched, as if through shame, in the clefts of caves in the interior of the defiles of the snow-mountain.

(For a translation of vv. 20-22, see that of vv. 26, 19 and 27 on pp. 261-2.)

(V. 23) In the ocean of his forces there was submerged the ship, (namely) the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants.

(For a translation of v. 24, see that of v. 25 on p. 261.)

(V. 25) Over-running the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed (as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure, and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing).

(For a translation of v. 26, see that of v. 14 on p. 260.)

- (V. 27) When he approached, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood, and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from (their) foreheads.²
- (V. 28) His unique valour consumed [the hostile army] which was inaccessible on account of horses with twisted manes, which contained an unlimited number of swords (and) appeared dreadful through elephants, even as wild fire consumes a forest which is impenetrable on account of lions with twisted manes, which contains an unlimited number of rhinoceroses and is dreadful through elephants.

¹ There is a play on the words kāñchī, kuntala, adhara and pallava, in consequence of which the verse conveys a double meaning.

² This foreboded the destruction of their husbands in the impending war with Karņa,

³ The word denoting this is lost in the original, but there can be no doubt about the intended meaning.

The record consists of fourteen lines. The average size of the letters is .7". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. They resemble, in a general way, those of the other inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Karṇa. As regards individual letters we may notice that \vec{n} is written without a dot see -saṅghasya, 1.7, -gaṇ-ālaṅkrit-, 1.11; th has no vertical or even a horizontal line at the top, see pāṭha-, 1.12; the upper loop of th is closed in -Manōratha-, 1.8; the left limb of dh is seen fully developed in two cases, see Dhamēsva[raḥ*], 1.9 and vādhakaṁ 1.13, but in others the old form is met with; the letters r and g are not clearly distinguished, see -pār-aika-gantāḥ, 1.2; so also m and a or a; see -mahā-, 1.7; and Asvina, 1.6; finally, the medial dipthongs are indicated by fully drawn prishṭhamātrās.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit. Notice, for instance, the wrong forms guṇa-rāsī for guṇa-rāsī for guṇa-rāsī for guṇa-rāsī and pār-aika-gantā for pār-aika-gantā, both in 1.2, Mahājānānujāina for Mahājā (yà) yinī, 1.10 and the incorrect sandhi in -bhūto pitribhib, 1.14. Except for the opening verse in praise of the Buddha and the usual imprecation at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of rī for rī in Triga(ka)[lingā-*],1.4, the repetition of a consonant after r as in -sarvv-āndhakā-rab, 1.1, the substitution of j for y in Mahājānanujāina and, bhārjā, both in 1.10 and the use of the sign for v to denote b, see -Vuddha-, 1.11, -nivandhanā-, 1.12 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karņa, of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the same titles as in the Goharwa plates, and is said to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva who is also named with Imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record that a female devout worshipper named Māmakā who was a follower of the Mahāyāna and the wife of Dhamēsvara¹ (Dharmēśvara) who also was a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the Ashṭasāhasrikāprajñā to be written and made some donation to the Order of Venerable Monks dwelling in the monastery called Srī-sad-dharma-chakra-pravartana-Mahābādhi-Mahāvihāra, for the recitation of the book. Two monks who were evidently heads of the institution are named in the present record. One of them was Manōrathagupta. The name of the other, which is partially lost, ended in pātṛika.

The inscription is dated on Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright half of Aśvina in the year [8]10.2 No era is specified, but there can be little doubt that the date is in the Kalachuri era. It is quite regular; for, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Aśvina in the current³ Kalachuri year 810 ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the corresponding Christian date being the 4th October, 1058 A.C. This is one of the few Kalachuri dates in current years.

As pointed out by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Konow, the Saddharmachakrapravarttana-Mahābödhi-Mahāvihāra was the Great Monastery at Sārnāth which was erected at the place where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

² The first figure of the year is lost, but that it could not have been anything but 8 is shown by the known dates of Karna, which range from K. 793 to K. 812.

¹ See below, p. 278, n.1.

^a The date would be in the expired year according to Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year was Asvinādi. The dates of Nos. 63 and 94 however clearly show that the year began in some month later than Asvina. I have given elsewhere reasons which make it probable that it began on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttika.

TEXT1

- मिद्धिः [।*] जयतु स (स्व)गतभा[सा] [ध्व*]³स्तसर्व्वान्धकार[ः] । ००००००---० --०--[।*]
- विरुपमगुणरासी क्रो⁴[य*]पारैकगन्ताः भुवन[भ?] ००---०-- [॥१॥*]⁵
- उपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा[घ]राजपरमेस्व (क्व) रस्त्री (श्री)वाम[देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टा*]-
- 4 रकमहारा[जा]धिराजप[र]मेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रतृ(त्रि)ग(क)[लिंगाधिपतिनिजभुजो*] -
- 5 पाजितास्व (श्व)पितगजपित[न*]रपितराजत्रयाधिपिति स्त्री (श्री)मत्क[ण्णं] दिवप्रवर्धमानकल्या*]-8
- 6 णविजयराज्ये सम्व[त्सरे*] [८*]१०॥ [अ]स्विन [सु] दि¹⁰१५ रवौ ॥ अ[द्येह श्रीसद्धर्मं*]-
- ७ चत्रप्रवर्त्तनमहावो(बो)[धि*]महाविहारे¹¹ [आ]र्थ्यभिक्षसङघस्य स्थ[विर....*]-
- 8 पातृकमनोरथगु[प्त*]:12 आसी(शी)वा(वी)[द*][प]द(दं) समादापितौ [।*] महाजा(या)— [नानुजा(या)यी*]
- 9 परमोपासकः धमेस्व[र:*]13 दमनेम(न) [संज(य)]मेन रागादिम[ल]प्रक्ष्या(क्षा)[लनपर:*]
- 10 तस्य भार्जा(र्या) महाजा(या)ना[नु]जा(या)इन (यिनी)पर[मो][पा*]सिका मा[मका] या अने[कगुण*]-
- 11 गणाल[ङक्]त्सरीरा¹⁴ तया लिखापिता¹⁵यं[भिक्षुङघाय द*][त्ता ?] सर्व्वंवु (बु)द्वज[न][पूजार्थं*]-
- 12 मष्टस (सा)हस्त्रिकाप्रज्ञा [।*] पाठनिव (व)न्थना[थैं]....[द*]त्तं (त्त) आचन्द्रार्कं[मे][दि*]-
 - 13 नी¹⁶ यावत् आर्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य समिपतः [।*] עעעעע - י, עעע वा (बा) घकं י ¹⁷
 - 14 u [1*] स पि(वि)ष्टायां कृमिभू(भूँ)तो(तः) पि[तृ]भिः सह प[च्यते ॥२॥*]18

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May [the Buddha], who has dispelled all darkness by his splendour, who has a multitude of matchless virtues, (and) who alone has thoroughly understood (all) knowable (things)...of the world, become victorious!

¹ From inked estampages kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator, Lucknow Museum.
² Expressed by a symbol.

^a The starred aksharas in rectangular brackets are supplied conjecturally and in some cases with the help of other Kalachuri records.

⁴ Read -गणराशिजीयपारैकगन्ता.

Metre: Malini.

⁶ Read - जयाधिपत्यः

⁷ Only the repha of this akshara is lost.

⁸ Marshall and Konow supply देवकल्या-, but the spacing shows that eight or nine aksbaras have been lost.

P Read -संवत्सरे.

¹⁰ Read आदिवन श दि.

[ा] Read महाविहार आयां-. In some places below also, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

¹² Read —गुप्तावाशीवाद-.

¹³ Marshall and Konow read धनेस्वर:, but the second letter is clearly भे.

¹⁴ Read -गणाल इकृतशरीरा.

¹⁵ Read लेखिता-

¹⁶ Read आ वन्द्राकंमेदिनि omitting यावत् or चन्द्राकंमेदिनीर्यावत् omitting आ.

¹⁷ Marshall and Konow read कर after this, but I fail to see the aksbaras in the estampages supplied to me. The usual first half of this verse is स्वरता परदता वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । It seems to be different here.

18 Metre: Anushtubh.

- (Line 3) During the [increasingly victorious and beneficent] reign of the [Parama-bhaṭṭāraka], Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Karṇadēva, [the lord of Trikaliṅga, who by his own arm] has acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (viz.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, [who meditates on the feet of] the Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara the illustrious Vāmadēva, in the year [8]10, on Sunday, the fifteenth (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvina, today here in the Great Monastery (called) the famous Saddharmachakrapravarttana-Mahābōdhi, the monks ...pātṛika and Manōrathagupta of the Order of Venerable Monks were caused to give their blessings.

(L. 13) [He who will cause] obstruction [in the enjoyment of the gift] will become a worm in excrement (and) will rot (there) together with his ancestors.

No. 53; PLATE XLIII A

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. R.D. Banerji, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who found it in the Secretary's office in Rewa town.² It is not known where it was first discovered. Mr. Banerji first gave an account of its contents in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, p. 53, and subsequently published its text with a translation, but without a facsimile, in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*,³ pp. 130 ff. The inscription is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sand-stone, the left half of which is missing.⁴ There are in all twenty-three lines. The lost portion must have contained twenty-three or twenty-four aksharas in each of the lines 1-21. Even in the extant portion, some letters here and there, especially on the left side, have been damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some of the letters contain a wedge or an inverted triangle at the top as in the Makundpur stone inscription of Gāngēyadēva.⁵ The mātrās on the letters in the first line have ornamental additions. The letters are not well-formed, the record being, on the whole, carelessly written. As regards

¹ This is how the name is written in the text. It may correspond to Sanskrit Dharmēivara. Marshall and Konow read Dhanësvara evidently taking the akshara which clearly appears like mē to be a mistake for nē.

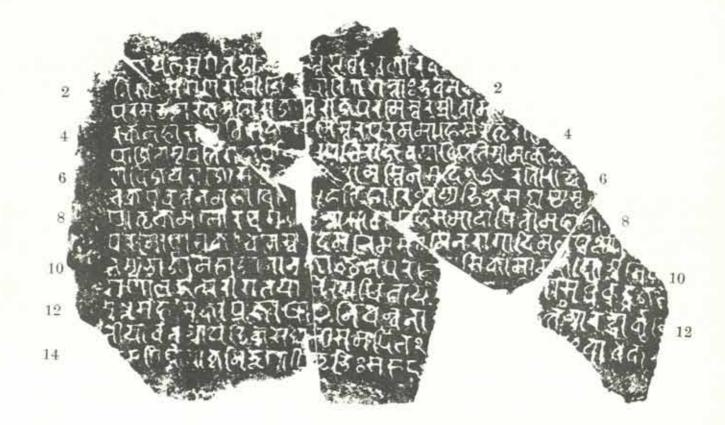
² P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1920-21, p. 53.

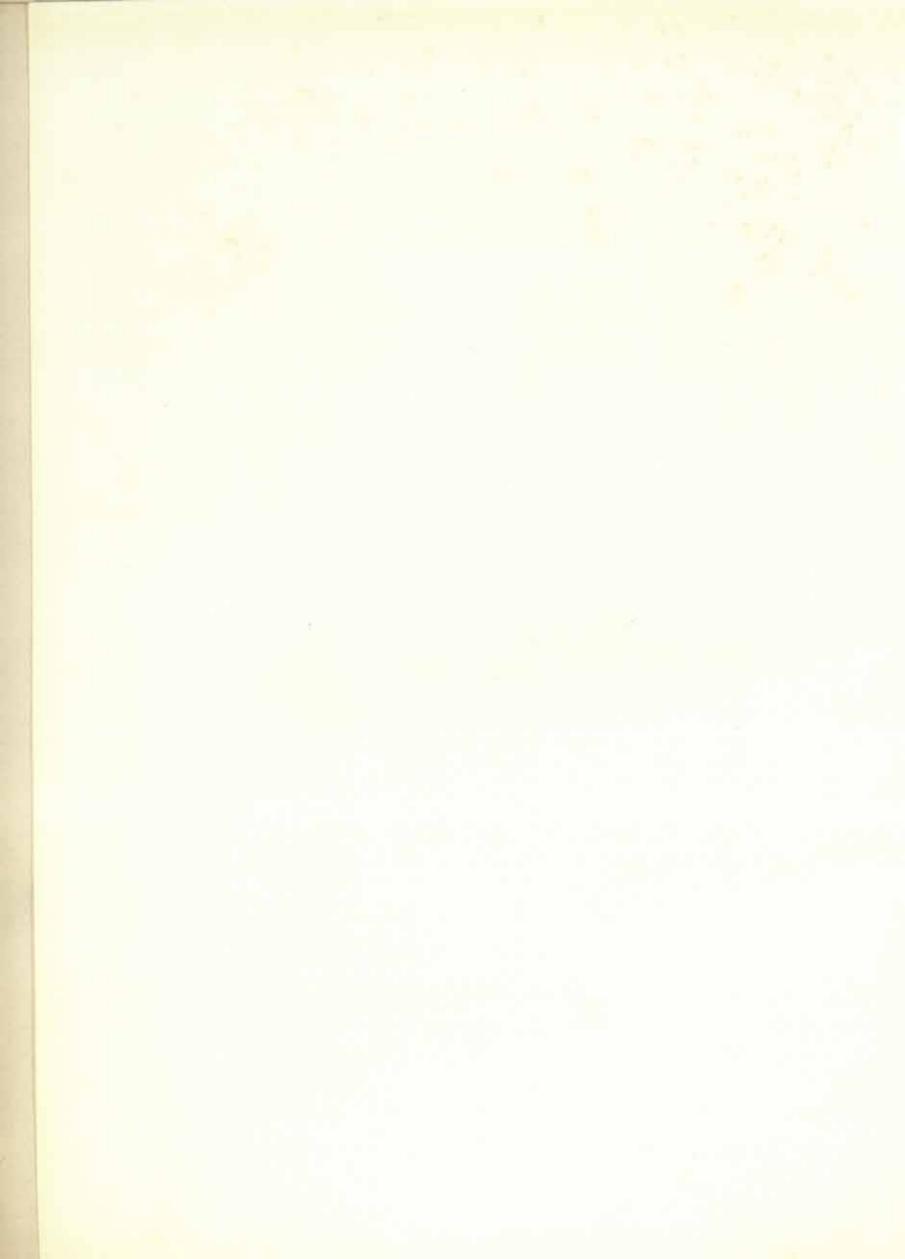
³ M. A. S. I., No. 23.

⁴ Loc cit.

⁵ Above, No. 47.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 810





individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of initial i used in iti, 1.16 and isānē, 1.14; ii without dot in lingaii, 1.13; the tailless left member of kh in vikhyātā, 1.19; and n without a loop which is met with in several places. The letters n, bh and r occur each in two forms; compare n in -varānām=, 1.4 and karmmani, 1.17; bh in bhavēt-, 1.17 and bhaktyā, 1.18 and r in Vapulēśvara, 1.16 and -vyavaharanayā, 1.20.

The language is Sanskrit. The first nineteen lines are in verse and the remaining four in prose. The prasasti, as the composition is called in verse 18, has been carelessly composed. Notice, for instance, the curious mixture of Indravajrā and Vasantatilakā metres in verse 24. The name Vappulla, required by the metres of verses 5 and 8, is written as Vapulla. Verse 4 contains a clumsy metaphor describing Karņa as a lion. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of the consonant after r, the substitution of v for b and of s for s as well as the use of m for an anusvāra before v (see -samvatsara, 1.20).

As nearly half the portion of the prasasti is lost, it is not possible to give a complete account of its contents. As usual, the record opens with a verse invoking the blessings of some deity, probably Siva.1 It then refers to a king whose name is lost, but who, we are told, was born from Kōkalla. From him was the illustrious Karṇadēva who is described as an impending universal destruction and as one who had planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of eminent kings. This Karna is evidently the wellknown Kalachuri Emperor of that name who was a terror to contemporary rulers. The first two princes mentioned in verse 2 were plainly his father Gangeyadeva and grandfather Kökalla II. Verse 5 introduces Vappulla2 who is described as devoted to Karna's lotus-like feet. The following verses give his pedigree. From some distinguished person whose name is lost, was born Vijjalarāṇaka.3 His younger brother was Vigraharāja who, it seems, was the father of Vappulla (v. 8). The next two verses (9 and 10) are devoted to the description of the battles fought by Vappulla. Two of these are named in the extant portion viz., the ghotaka-vigraha or the Battle of Horses (v.9) and the Battle of the Yellow Mountain in which Vappulla, having defeated the forces of Trilochana, equalled in glory Arjuna, who had overcome the prowess of the three-eyed god Siva (v.10). We are next told that Vappulla erected a temple of Siva in the village Kādambarī in which he caused a linga under the name of Vappulēśvara to be installed by sages. Another temple dedicated to Srivatsa (Vishnu) was surrounded by four small shrines of other deities, the name of one of whom, Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, occurs in the preserved portion. The temple had in front of it a large orchard of mango and other trees. The prasasti was composed by Vijhūka4, the son of Hrishīkēśa (v. 18).

The scribe seems to have discovered after writing v. 13 that he had omitted two verses. These he added below. The first of them is almost completely broken away; the

¹ No deity is named in the extant portion, but v. 11, which speaks of a temple of Sankara erected by Vappulla, suggests that the inscription was originally put up at it. It, therefore, probably opened with a verse in praise of Siva.

² Banerji read this name as Vapullaka, but in two places (vv. 5 and 8) where it occurs in the extant portion, the metre requires the readings Vappulla and Vappullaka respectively. The deity named after him was called Vappulešvara. I have, therefore, taken the name to be Vappulla.

⁸ Banerji at first mentioned this person's name as Lakshmana, but that was plainly due to a mislection in 1.7 (viz., Lakshmana for lakshana³). He has given the correct reading in H. T. M., p. 130.

⁴ Banerji read the name as Virūka. For the form of jb used here, see nirjjbara in line 9 of the Kairā plates (K. 380) of Dadda II (above, No. 16). See also the form of the letter in the Chandella grants of the age, I. P., Table V, 18, XIV.

second mentions that the wife of some person (perhaps of Vappulla himself) named Naya-

nāvalī1 caused an image of Umā-Mahēśvara to be made.

The inscription is dated on Thursday, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 812 which was the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karna,2 The tithi and the year of the date are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era and regularly corresponds, for the expired year 812, to Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A.C. The tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Magha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on that day. As the expired year 812 is here said to be the ninth regnal year, Karna seems to have been crowned in the expired Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.).

This was evidently his second coronation. For, we have already seen from the Banaras plates that his father Gāngēyadēva died in the month of Phālguna in the expired Kalachuri year 792. The month of Māgha in Karņa's first regnal year, therefore, fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793.3 The same month in this ninth regnal year should fall in the expired Kalachuri year 801 and not in 812 as stated in the present record.4 Even supposing that the mistake lies in the numerical figures denoting the year, we find that the tithi in the expired Kalachuri year 801 fell on Friday, the 5th January 1050 A.C., and not on Thursday as required. The date would, therefore, appear to be irregular. On the other hand, if we suppose that Karna was crowned a second time in the expired Kalachuri year 804, the date would be quite regular as shown above. This second coronation in 1052-53 A.C. must have been celebrated when he was at the height of his power after

annexing the Chandella and Pratihara kingdoms.

The present inscription mentions two battles fought by Vappulla. The first of these, called the Battle of Horses, cannot be definitely located. The second was fought with a prince named Trilochana at the foot of the Yellow Mountain. Mr. Banerjis identified this prince with Trilochanapāla, a descendant of Bārappa of the Chālukya dynasty who was ruling over Lata (Central and Southern Gujarat) in 1051 A.C.6 I do not know, however, of any Yellow Mountain in Gujoerat. Two other references to this mountain are known to occur in inscriptions found at Ajayagadh. One of them which is incised on a rock near the Tirhawan gate of the fort describes the Chandella Kirtivarman as the crest-jewel of kings in the districts of the Yellow Mountain.7 The other inscription which is also engraved on a rock near a gate of the same fort mentions the Yellow Mountain as the place of residence of Kirtivarman.8 As the mountain was thus situated in Bundelkhand, Trilochana whose forces Vappulla is said to have defeated may be identified with the prince Trilochanapala who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty.9 We know

¹ Banerji took Pravarā to be her proper name and Nayanāvalī as her second name. But pravarā is only an adjective meaning, 'distinguished' or 'excellent'.

Because, as shown also, the Kalachuri year was Kārttikādi.

A similar expression 'srīmat-Karnna-prakāša-vyavahanē' occurs in the Goharwa plates 1.41. In the present record in the introduction Karna appears to have been described as meditating on the feet of Vāmadēva.

^{*}D.R. Bhandarkar thinks that the ninth year is a mistake for the nineteenth year (see his List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 164, n. 7). But the regnal year is given in words (not figures) where such a mistake is unlikely.

⁵ H.T.M., p. 24.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 201,

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 355.

⁸ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, p. 92.

Banerji makes the novel suggestion that Kirtivarman may have gone to Sindh in the train of Karna! See H.T.M., p. 24, n. 1,

that the Kalachuris wrested the Doab from the Pratihāras, but we do not know how long Trilochanapāla continued to rule after 1027 A.C., the date of his Jhūsī plates.¹ If the Mahārājādhirāja Yaśaḥpāla who made the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba-maṇdala in 1037, A.C.² belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Trilochanapāla could not have been a contemporary of Karṇa. It is not, however, unlikely that Yaśaḥpāla was a prince of the Pāla dynasty who, taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in the Pratihāra kingdom due to Muhammadan invasions, established himself for a short while in the country round Allahabad. In that case Trilochanapāla may have continued to rule at Bāri for a few years after 1027, and may have therefore suffered a defeat at the hands of Karṇa's general Vappulla.

The village Kādambarī, where the temple of Siva was erected, I am unable to identify.3

TEXT4

- 1 [1*] ---- ० ० ० ० ० ० ० -- ० -- [सदाना] चद्दृष्ट्वापि स्ववेद्यं स्[म]तिष् मृनयोपीक्षते नोपदेष्टुं (ष्टुम्) । त्रैक्षा (का) ल्यज्ञा
- 2 ए - ए ए ए ए ए - ए - ए - ए तः [स]क[ल]सुकृतिनां स्वस्तये वस्तदस्तु⁷ ॥[१॥*] प्रालेयाचलसागरान्तरघरान्कृत्वा व (व) लाद्योव (व) लान् ॥⁸ कारागार -
- उ ० ० ० ० ० - ० ० [1] - ० ० प्रमेय⁰चरितात्कोकल्लदेवादभूत्तस्माद्वा रिचिवारितावनिपतिः श्रीकण्णदेवोभवत् ॥¹०[२॥*] यो मित्र[सं] -
- 4 ०००-० ०-०-, --०-० ०००-००- [सु?]: ॥(।) आसन्नसर्व्वं [व]ल[य]: क्षितिभृद्धराणामत्युच्चमस्तककृतात्मपदप्रतिष्ठः ॥ $^{11}[311*]$ धम्म(म्मं)ज्ञेण 12 नखः पुराणचरणः
- ५ --०-०, --०००-०-०००---[स*]टाभासुरः ॥ (।) वेदव्यात्तमुखः
 स्नीतिनयनो होमस्फ्रत्केसरो जीया[द्व]ः कलिकुंजरज्वरकरः स्त्री(श्री)कर्ण्णं-
- 7 v -- v [॥५॥*] -- v v v v - v वल्लक्ष्म्या लक्षितलक्षणः क्षिति[त] ले लक्षे (क्ष्मै) कनामाभवत् ॥(॥) तस्माद्विज्जलराणकोरिगहनप्रोद्दामदावान -

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 34 f.

^{*} J. R. A. S. (1927), pp. 693 ff.

³ Banerji's statements (P. R. A. S. W. C. 1920-21, p. 53) that line 12 mentions a village named Tarmma which is said to be well-known in the Kādambarī and that the scribe was an inhabitant of the village of Tarmma (l. 18) are clearly due to mislections of nirmma[lo*] in l. 12 and tammim (for tasmin) in l. 18.

⁴ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

⁵ As the temple where the inscription was put up was dedicated to Siva, the present record may have opened with ओं नम: शिनाय.

e Read -पीशते.

⁷ Metre: Sragdharā.

[&]quot; These dandas are superfluous.

[&]quot;The sense requires a reading like अवभेय-.

¹⁰ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹³ Read –ज्ञान-.

¹³ These four aksharas may be conjecturally restored as -निहो नप:.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: Śārdūlavikrīdita.

8	[ल:*]००-०-००००-[॥६॥*] [त*]स्यानुजो निजगुणाजित-
	साधुस (श)व्दो (ब्दो) वीरो व (व) भूव भृति विग्रहराजनामा [।*] येनाहवे निहतवैरिविला-
	सिनीभिः [स्मृ]-
9	
	[च्च] स वीरलक्ष्म्याः । वपु (प्पु)ल्लकेति च कृतं निजनाम पित्रा यः पूर्व्ववीरसमतामनय-
10	$v = -[C ^*] = v = v = v = - v = z \ddot{a}^2$ आरुह्योर ततः सु $[\ddot{c}]^3 = v = - z \ddot{a}$
	सम्चितान्सन्दर्शयन्वेष्टितान । लोके घोटकविग्रहेति वि-
11	u
	पर्व्वततला (ले) समरे धृतासिज्जित्वा चित्रलोचनव (व)लं तुलि[ता]र्ज्ज[न]श्री: [1*] आवस्तको-
12	०००-००-०,०-०००-०० 7[11१०।1*] स क्षितिमलंकरिष्णुः
	ससीव ⁸ गुणिकरणिनम्मैं[लो*] ग्रामे । कादंव (ब)र्या (यै) भिधाने अकारयच्छंकरायतनं (नम्)।।
	[8811*]10
-	एतं मुनिभिर्यथोक्तविधिना लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठा-
13	
	पितं (तम्) । यत्प्रारंभदिनादनु प्रतिदिनं श्रीः पुत्रपौत्रानुगा जाता चं-
14	u u - u - u u u u - [11१२11*]11 u u - [क्ष]ण: सि(शि)वकृते
	श्रीवत्सनामा कृतः । 12 पास्वें (१वें) देवकुलीचतुष्ट[य*]युतस्तासु कमाद्देवताः । ईसाने 13
15	00-0-0000
	तस्यानेकस (श) ताम्रां व (व) हुविधविटपां च वाटिकां पुरतः । सज-
-/-	
16	[ল*]
	सांतः(सान्त):पुरे ससुतभृत्ययुते प्रसन्नः। भूयाच्च कल्पान्तमनल्पपूज[:*] श्रीवपु(प्पु)लेश्वर
	इति प्रथित[:*] सि(शि)वो-
17	and the same of th
-	हिता16 [॥१६॥*] यद्यत्र कर्म्मणि सि(शि) वाय निवेद्यमाने लग्नं भवेत्नवचन किचन कांचनं
	the lutter I as a man in half and making a a contract for a

मे [1*] पुण्येन तेन ज-

18 0-00-0-,--0-000-00-0-[112911*]17 0-0--00-0-,0

¹ Metre: of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

² The sandbi is avoided here due to the exigency of the metre.

³ The word सूर does not suit the metre here. Read स्वर्ग.

⁴ Read -समुचितान्सन्दर्शयश्चेण्टितान्. चेण्टित, however, is neuter in gender.

Metre: Särdülavikrīdita.

[®] Banerji read मृतिविज्ञलञ्ची:, but the first two aksbaras are clearly तुलि, the third though somewhat indistinct can be read as ता; the following aksbara is evidently उर्जु which leaves little doubt about the rest. Besides, the reading given above makes the double entendre on त्रिलोचन possible. See below, p. 284, n. 1.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Read शशीव.

⁹ The hiatus here is due to the exigency of the metre.

¹⁰ Metre: Āryā.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹² This danda is superfluous.

¹³ Read ऐशान्यां.

¹⁴ Metre: Āryā or Giti.

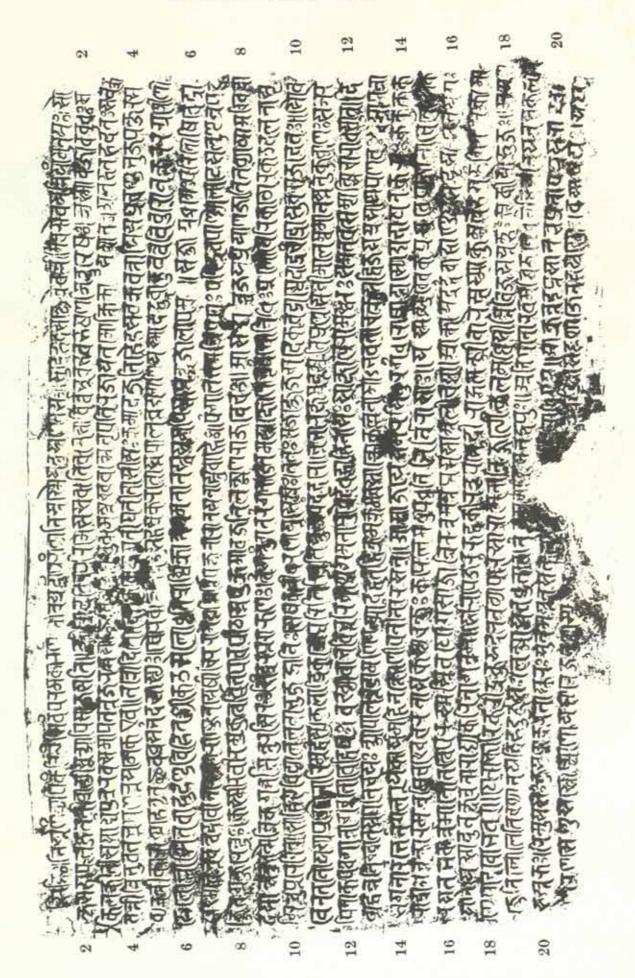
¹⁵ The metre seems here to be a combination of Indravajrā and Vasantatilakā.

One verse is almost completely lost here; the cadence of the last three aksharas which are preserved suggests that the metre was Aryā or Giti.

¹⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

A .- REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

		THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF TH	
		ास है गाय है शापिष वे संस्थानिय में नी नी ने नी परे जा ने परे	
	2	न्त्र अधिन विभिन्न स्रियं प्रवास से संग्राम निया स्वर्ता के त्र वस्ता विश्व वस्ता विश्व स्वर्ता के त्र वस्ता विश्व वस्ता विश्व से स्वर्ता के त्र वस्ता विश्व वस्ता विश्व से स्वर्ता के त्र वस्ता विश्व वस्ता विश्व के त्र वस्ता विश्व वस्ता वस्त	2
	90	ामन्त्रीतान्त्रितान्त्रत्वारमहत्त्वारान्त्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्र	
	4	शामार्ये रमत्री ते दक्षित हराति नुस्देन लन्ति मापद्निकश्यकाद्वात्रस्था विद्रापति ।	4
	900	प्रातिम् रः गर्दान् तम् यः यनीतिन्यने गरामस्य प्रेन्स्ये न्या प्रारक्षिति वैभितन्यका विभीति।	
	6	रिवेशाधमासारिका तिराधक्र मुख्यातिसारी अस्ति वेदिनिवेदिति विश्वतिमालिती में भूवी विद्वासार के उत्पादका	6
		गुक्षरज्ञत्वित्रद्वेष्णप्रभूक्षतत्त्रद्वेत्रभूममुद्रवत्यातम् (हेशनगर्णाः विद्युद्धनापाद्यम् तारावः ।	
	8	्राब्दातिक गणा अनमावस्थिति विदेशी है। इस माना भागवाहर्वे विदेति है। भागवाहर्वे विदेति है।	8
	1	शास्त्राभाविष्या द्रशेषलस्या शबस्त्रात् व वृत्ति व वृत्ति व वृत्ति व वृत्ति व वृत्ति व विष्या मान्या व	
	10	विश्वास्तिकतः सङ्गं अहिना राष्ट्रियामा एत्रातीली हिए हो दे हिता होति ।	10
		ल्बर्डिनेनेशियानपन्ति वालस्र रितासिकेरराः वास्त्र । निर्मानिकेररा विकास	
	12	ूरे जिति ने के स्मान अपिक्रिया। तथे जी मिक्रिया के विक्रियों के राज्य के	12
		रेसिनिजियामालीविक्षिप्रतिम्यारेषापिनायस्यारेभारतार्वप्रतिस्वर्गात्राः विकास निवस्	
	14	द्वारा है के विकास स्वास के विकास स्वास के प्राप्त के लिए हैं कि लिए हैं कि क	14
		TELENTOTES THE STATE OF THE PART OF THE PART OF THE PERTON OF THE PART OF THE	
	16	कराम गर्द नेमम् रहीत्यान प्रमान । प्रयासकाता न प्रसान प्राप्त के एते व्यवश्री प्राप्ति के ति है। इस प्राप्त कर्ता कि विस्तान विस्तान विस्तान के सम्बद्धित के स्वतान के सम्बद्धित के स्वतान के स्वतान के स्वतान	16
	18	ं देन स्वर्धिक प्रिया प्रशिक्ष का प्रशिक्ष का स्वर्धिक स्वर्ध के स्वर्य के स्वर्य के स्वर्ध के	18
		र्भ ने मान गर्धनी प्रवेशना शानियना वर्ना अविस्थानम् सार्य यसने तरमे माने सर्वे हिन्दी हैं।	10
50	20	The state of the s	20
		A CONTROL DE LA	22
- 440	22	TATAL TO STATE OF THE PARTY OF	
		THE OWNER WAS AND AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PROP	



	-स्य पंचायतनं सि(शि)वस्य । तरिमन्ह्¹षीकेशसुतेन भक्त्या विझूकनाम्ना रचिता प्रस(श)- स्तिः ॥² [१८॥*]
19	[।।१९।।*] ³ तस्य च पत्नी प्रवरा नाम्ना नयनावलीति विख्याता [।*] साकारयन्मनोज्ञा (ज्ञां)
	सोमां माहेश्वरीं प्रतिमां(माम्) ॥ [२०॥ *]
20	[वाम ?] ⁵ [दे]वपादा[नु]ध्यात ⁶ —
	संवत्सत (र) ८१२ श्रीमत्कण्णेप्रकास (श)व्यवहरणया नवमसम्वत्सर' माघसाद १० गु रा
21	в लिखापिता ⁹ प्रस(श)-
	स्तिः ॥ कल्पस्थायिनी भवत (तु) [।*) मगल महाश्रीः ॥०॥
22	ओं नमो भगवते वासु-
	देवाय । ओ(ओं) नमो गणपतये ॥11
23	ओं नम[:।*]
- 2	TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May that [form of Siva], which, an object of their knowledge, even the sages who know what happens in the three times (i.e., in the past, present and future) are unable to describe, though they have seen it, to (persons of) good minds of all virtuous persons, lead to your well-being.

(V. 2) There was (born) from Kökalladeva (II) of incomprehensible actions, [Gangeyadeva] who, having with his might rendered powerless the lords of the earth extending from the snow-mountain to the ocean, [threw them] into prison..... From him was (born) the illustrious Karnadeva, the lord of the earth surrounded by the ocean.

(V. 3) Who [made over] to his friends....; (who was) the impending universal destruction; (and) who planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of the foremost

among kings.12

(V. 4) May the king, [a lion in the form of] the illustrious Karna, be triumphant !-(he) whose nails are the knowledge of the sacred law; whose legs are the Puranas; who appears dreadful with his mane of ...; whose open mouth is the Vēdas; whose eyes are good policy; whose shining hair is the sacrifice; (and) who causes fever to the elephant that is the Kali age.

(V. 5) While (Karna), the foremost (lit., crest-jewel) of the kings of Chēdi, is ruling the earth, the wise (man) named Vappulla, who is firmly attached to the worship of his lotus-like feet, having subdued those who had previously attained fame in three

worlds,

2 Metre: Upajātī.

* Read -संवत्सर.

¹ Read तस्मिन्ह्यीकेश-.

³ One verse in Aryā or Gīti is almost completely lost here.

⁸ The words in the beginning of L 20 may be conjecturally supplied as श्रीपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरश्री-.

⁶ This expression should precede श्रीमत्कण्णं-.

⁸ I am unable to suggest any restoration of the aksharas lost in the beginning of this line.

⁵ Read लेखिता.

¹⁰ Read मंगलं.

¹¹ This and the following line are incised in the right-hand corner.

¹² There may be a play on the word kshitibbrit. The description in that case would equally apply to the sun at the time of world-destruction,

- (V. 6) was born—(he) whose good qualities were marked by the goddess of fortune, (and) whose name alone was noteworthy on the surface of the earth. From him (was born) Vijjalarāṇaka, the raging wild fire to the forests which were his enemies.
- (V. 7) His younger brother Vigraharāja, a warrior, who earned praise by his excellences, was (born) on the earth; the wives of the enemies killed by whom, having remembered.
- (V. 8) In battle he became the resting place of the goddess of heroism,—(he) who made his name Vappullaka, given to him by his father equal (in fame) to (those of) the heroes of old.
- (V. 9) Having mounted the two mighty....and exhibiting deeds worthy of a god.........[fought the battle known] as the Battle of Horses.....
- (V. 10) He, sword in hand, having defeated at the foot of the Yellow Mountain, the army of Trilochana equalled the glory of Arjuna¹ (who overpowered the might of the three-eyed god Siva).....
- (V. 11) Gracing the earth like the moon, he, being stainless with his excellences, as the moon is with her rays, caused a temple of Sankara to be constructed in the village called Kādambarī.
- (V. 12) [Where] (this) linga was installed by sages according to the rite laid down (in the sacred texts); since the day of whose installation the goddess of fortune has day after day attended the sons and grandsons.......
- (V. 13) [In the temple].....was installed (the image?) named Śrīvatsa, being surrounded by four small shrines; in them (were installed) the (following) deities in order—on the north-eastern (side)......(and) Lakshmī together with Nārāyaṇa.
- (V. 14) In front of it (i.e., the temple) [he planted] a garden containing hundreds of mango trees and various (other) kinds of trees..... [with a well full of] water.
- (V. 15) May Siva who is known as the holy Vappulēśvara receive (here) abundant worship to the end of the world and be gracious to [Vappulla] together with (the inmates of) his inner appartment, his sons and servants.
 - (V. 16) together with
- (V. 17) By the religious merit [which I may have acquired] by what gold of mine has been spent on this work which is dedicated to Siva.....
- (V. 18) [He built] a five-shrined temple of Siva. In it the son of Hṛishīkēśa named Vijhūka has, with devotion, composed this praśasti.
 - (V. 19) of the Brāhmaṇas
- (V. 20) His distinguished wife is known by the name of Nayanāvalī. She caused a beautiful image of Mahēśvara together with Umā to be made.
- (Line 20) (This) Prašasti [was caused to be written] on Thursday, the 10th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha in the year 812 in the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrations Karņa who meditates on the feet of [the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious] Vāmadēva. May it last to the end of the world! May there be bliss and great prosperity! Ōm! Obeisance to the divine Vāsudēva! Ōm! Obeisance to Gaṇapati. Ōm! Obeisance!

¹ There is a play on the word Trilöchana meaning (1) a king of that name and (2) the god Siva. For Arjuna's fight with Siva see the Mahäbbärata, Vanaparvan, adhyāya 167, vv. 9 ff.

No. 54; PLATE XLIII B

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA

This is a single copper-plate which, together with its ring and seal, was presented by Sir A. W. Franks to the British Museum, London, and is now preserved in that Museum. It seems to have been discovered somewhere in the Uttar Pradesh, but its exact find-spot is not known. It is edited here for the first time from excellent photostat copies kindly supplied by the Director of the Museum.

This is the first of the two copper-plates forming a set, which recorded the grant of some Kalachuri king of Tripuri, probably Karna, the son of Gāngēyadēva. It measures 1' 5½" broad and 12½" high. It has a ring and a large seal 3½" in diameter. The weight of the plate is 10 lbs. and that of the ring and seal 6 lbs. and 1 oz. The writing on it is in a state of excellent preservation.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It has a hole I" in diameter at the bottom of the inscribed side for the ring which must have originally held together the two plates of the set. The plate contains twenty-one lines of writing. The average size of the letters is .4". The seal, though it resembles that of the Goharwa plates in the disposition of the figures, symbols and legend on it, was evidently cast from a different mould. The figures of Lakshmi and the elephants are much better executed here than on the seal of the Goharwa plates.1

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, and generally resemble those of the Goharwa plates. Some of the individual letters like *i* and *bh* are, however, shaped as in the Banaras plates; the upper loop of *th* is slightly open in -pathagān=, l.12 and the sign of avagraha occurs once only in l.13. The record is very carelessly written. The writer has confused *y*, *s* and *bh*, as well as t and *bh*. In one case he has not even incised an akshara completely. See tū in -tūrya=, l.14. In a few places the record is so corrupt, that it would have been well-nigh impossible to restore the correct text without the help of the Goharwa plates. But strange as it might appear, the present record has helped in the restoration of verse 9 which though it occurs in both the Goharwa plates and the Rewa stone inscription² is incorrectly written in the former and is partly mutilated in the latter.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the word *siddhib* in the beginning, the extant portion is wholly in verse. There are, in all, twenty-one verses, of which the first twenty are completely written. The record breaks off after the first two *aksharas* of the second half of the twenty-first verse. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarties of the substitution of v for b and s for s, the reduplication of a consonant after r and so forth.

The record, so far as it goes, is identical with the Goharwa plates. The genealogy of the donor is traced from the moon down to Karņa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. On the present plate the inscription ends abruptly in the middle of the description of Karṇa and before the commencement of the formal part of the grant. It is not, therefore, possible to say definitely who actually made the grant. But, as the draft of the eulogistic portion of the Goharwa plates, which is used here, is not known to have been adopted by any successors of Karṇa, the present grant was probably made by Karṇa himself. As the second plate is not forthcoming, all details such as the object, occasion and date of the grant are lost.

¹ Above, No. 50.

² Above, No. 51.

TEXT1

- क्षस(म)हाफलजननी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा ज[य]ति ॥ [२॥ *] क्षीरोदघेरपरिमेस(य)स-(स्) धानिधानसा(मा)विर्व्व (र्व्व) भूव भवभ (भू) षणिमन्दुरेषः । अस्मा[द]जाव दु (बु)धः स
- किल क्षी(क्षि)तीस(श)या(मा)द्यं पुरूरवसमाप तनूजरत्नस(म्)॥ [३॥ *] इति [महति] सुधामयू-खवन्से नृपतिरजायत मो(मौ) क्तिकायमानः । अल[भ]त [भ]द(र)तः स व(च)क-
- 4 वत्ती (र्त्ती) त्रिभुवत (न) भूषणभूयमेक एव ॥ [४॥ *] तत्रोदितोदितकू (कृ) ले जगतीपतीनासी (मी) सः (शः) कमादजनि हैहयचकवत्ता (र्त्ती) । यस (स्य) प्रचण्डभुजप [ञ्ज]रस (म) –
- ्र ध्यवत्ती (त्तों) कारागृहे वृ(घृ)त इव व्र(प्र)समं दसा(शा)स्यः ॥ 9 [५॥ *] [वै] 10 रे (रि)धा— (ध्वा)[न्तमिदः] सहस्रकरतो सू(भू)पालचूडाग(म)णि(णे)यंस्मादद्भुत 11 वा(बा)हुव(ब)न्ध— विघुरो नक्त(क्तं)र(च)रग्रामी(म)णीः [। *]
- 6 हेलोल्लासितवा(बा)हृदण्डविहितश्रीक (कं)ठसे (शैं)लोधृ (ढृ) ति[:*] प्रार्गिव (ग्वि)कान्तस (म) मता (न्य)त स्वयमि स्वप्नेन्द्रजाला (लो) प[म*]म् ॥ 12 [६॥ *] स (य) ज्ञाग्न (ग्नि) धूमैः परितोषिवेद्रा 13 —
- 7 [त्त]स्मादभूवन्व(न्ब)[ह]वो नरे(रें)द्राः। राष्ट्रे न येषां चि(वि)रराम यृ(वृ)ष्टिर्विवपक्षनारा(री)— नयनास्तु(म्बु)वाहैः ॥ पं(बं)गाल[भङ्ग]नि[पु]पः(णः) परिभू[त]पाण्डचो लाटेस(श)लुण्टनपटु—
- 8 जिजतगूज्ज (ज्जं) रेन्द्रः । कस्मीरवीरमुकुर्त्वाच्चत्र वि पाव (द) पीठस्तेषु कमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदे— [व]: ।।¹६[८।।*] आस (सी) द्यन्व (द्वि) जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामखे¹वदो—
- दयात्यूज्जेत्सैनिकगन्धसिन्धुरसि (शि) रःसिंदूरपूरारुणः । त्वंगत्ंगतरंगताडे (डि)तमहाक्षोणीभृ—
 दमोनिधः पूर्णो वैरिकठोरकंठदलनासृ—
- 10 विसन्धुपूरे (रै)रिव¹⁸॥[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गा (ङ्गो) निःसे(शे)पधात्रीघरणाय से(शे)-

¹ From photostats kindly supplied by the Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London.

^{*} Read -दब्रहाणे.

³ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre: Aryā.

a Read - जायत.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

र Read -वंशे.

⁸ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ The engraver first incised \$\dagger\$ and afterwards changed it to \$\dagger\$.

¹¹ a, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīdita.

¹³ Read परितोषितेन्द्रा--

¹⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁵ Read काश्मीरवीरमुकुटान्चित-.

¹⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁷ ज़ि, which was first incised, is altered to खे.

¹⁸ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita .

षः । ततः स जज्ञे जगदेकवं [च]ग्वे (रुचे)दां (दीं)द्रचंद्रो सु(य)वराजदेवः ॥ १०॥ ग्रीव-

- वं (ने)न तनौ यस्य प्रतापि]नाविमुद्धं (ई)स् । क्लाद्रिक (कं) जेप्व (घ्व) रिति (भि) स्त्रिति— (भि)स्तु[ल्यं] पदं दरे(घे) ॥²[११॥*] भूभारक्षमदृक्सु(क्श्रु) तिप्रणियनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मा-नस्तनं क्वा(व्वा)णः समरे-
- 12 पि नाकपथगानाग[च्छ]तो वे(वि)द्विष:। वस्यावा भ(भू)वि भूरिमार्गगमनामुरुचैर्दंधद्वाहि-ना (नीं) यः साक्षात्परम (मे)स्व (श्व) रः समत (भ)वत्सम्यक्स (क्श)चा (वा) राधसा (ना)-त(त्) ।4[1१२॥*] दि-
- व्यद्धन्त⁵निखातयूपनिचयः क्ष्मापालकः (चू)डामणि यस्मा⁶दद् (द्भु)तद्विक्रम[:*] क्रमवसा (शा)त्को-कल्लनामाऽभवता (त्।) चक्र (के) यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गागना-
- 14 संगना (π) रंभे नं (π) गल $[\pi]$ π श्वामहित $[\pi]$ शीपतीनां रसन् $[\pi]$ आसा $[\pi]$ आसा $[\pi]$ जये समरºसिंघुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदाय[त]कराः कक्[क] (भां) क-
- रा(री)द्राः । तु(फू)त्कारमत्रमिव10 खेचरनायकस्य चत्रः कपे(पो)लमध्यध्वनिभिनिरासाः(शाः) ।।11[१४।।*] यस्म (स्मि)न्सुखैकप्रसर्वे प्रजाना (नां) चेतोसिके12
- 16 वसत¹³भ (?) वर्त्तमाने । तत्वे (त्त्वे) परस्म (स्मि) सि (न्नि) व योगसा (भा) जा (जां) नि¹⁴तन्तम-स्तप्तससा मूलीच[म्।]15 [१५॥*] आ[काम]दूढं(दृध्वं) वा(ब्र)हा(ह्या)ण्ड[सं]सद्रसातेतं यग:16
- 17 या(म)न्ये यस्य(स्यें) दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकरिता गतम¹⁷ ॥ १६[१६॥*] हा(का)रापंजररुद्धकीरनुप-सेदीराङ्गलक्ष्मीवारे 19स्तस्मात्कुम्त (न्त)लभ (भं) गर्भगिर [स]का (को) मा (गां) -
- गेयदेवोभव[त्] ॥ (।) येनाकारि करींद्रक् (क्ं)भदलनव्यापारं (र)सारात्मना निज्जं (जिज) -त्योत्कलमन्धि (व्यि)सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भूजः ॥20[१७॥*] अगुण-
- ज्ञेति लोलेति स्यातं यदिह दुर्ज्जं(य्यं)सः(शः)। लक्ष्मा(क्ष्म्या)स्तधुना घो(घौ)तं द(दि)[व्य]मादाय तद्वपु: ॥ १८॥ *] अति[म]नोर[घ] (घ) मर्थिजने धनं दिस (श) ति यत्र स कल्पत-
- 20 [ह]स्तरः । रिमु(पु)यसः(शः)कुसु(मु)दाकरता(भा)स्करः सुतमसूत स क[ण्णं][न]रा-विप[म्] ।।22[१९।।*] आक (का) न्तदप्तसात (म) न्तप्रतापप्रसराद (दि) व । [चर*]-

¹ Metre: Upajāti.

² Metre: Anushtubh.

³ Read faszini.

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: Sardūlavikrīdita.

⁵ Read दिवपर्यन्त-. Read चडामणेयंस्मा-

⁷ The curve on the left of the vertical of this akshara has not been incised.

⁸ The Goharwa plates read भूसं (अम्) here. The Rewa stone inscription has the same reading as here. ^в The Goharwa plates read समद-.

¹⁰ Read - मार्त-.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹² Read तेजोनिधी.

¹³ Read चेतसि.

¹⁴ Read नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्.

¹⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁶ Read -संघट्टस्फटितं यशः.

¹⁷ Read -ताराधाकारतां गतम्.

¹⁸ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹⁹ Read -कीरन्पतिर्दीप्तोङ्गलक्मीचयै- as in the Goharwa plates.

²⁰ Metre: Särdülavikrīdita.

²¹ Metre: Anushtubh.

²² Metre: Drutavilambita.

21 णे(णौ) रणसे(शौ)ण्डस(स्य) सोष्माणा(णौ) यस्य रेजतुः ॥ [२०॥*] [स्फु]र[द्भयां] [वज्जचक्राभ्यां] सङ्ग्र अथाजेन हस्तयोः । व(ब)सा(भा)[र] यः ॥ सय⁵

(The second plate is not forthcoming.) Seal श्रीमत्कण्णेदेव: ।।

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of vv. 1-21, see above, pp. 259-61.)

Seal

The illustrious Karnadeva.

No. 55; PLATE XLIV

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

The stone bearing this inscription is fixed upside down into the plinth of a pavilion at Simrā, a village about to miles north-west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā tahsil of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. It was first referred to by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the Jubbulpore District Gazetteer, p. 185, and subsequently in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar. It is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription which is in a state of good preservation, contains four lines. The writing covers a space measuring 3' 5" broad by 11" high. The average size of the letters is 1.8". The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 11th century A.C. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is very carelessly written. As regards orthography the vowel i is used for yī in vījaī, l.1, naya is written several times for the conjunct nya, rī for the vowel ji in krītan, l.4, and l for r in Lāutī in l.3.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign? of the *Bhatṭārakaprabha*, the illustrious Karṇa, who, judging by the characters and provenance of the present inscription, seems to be identical with the well-known Kalachuri king of that name. The object of the inscription appears to be to record the death of some persons who are said to have gone to the holy world. It is not stated on what occasion they lost their lives.8 The record ends with the statement that the commemorative stone was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

As stated above, the stone is built upside down into the plinth of a pavilion, which shows that it is not in its original position.

¹ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

The letters in the brackets are not clear.

³ Perhaps — लिङ्गच्याजेन is intended. The Goharwa plates have एकच्याजेन which is not quite satisfactory.

⁴ This danda is superfluous.

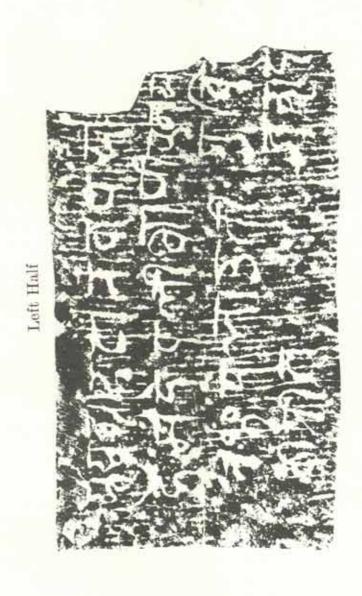
Read य: श्रियं. The Goharwa plates complete the verse as—साक्षादिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविज्ञं (जें) भिनीं (नीम) ॥

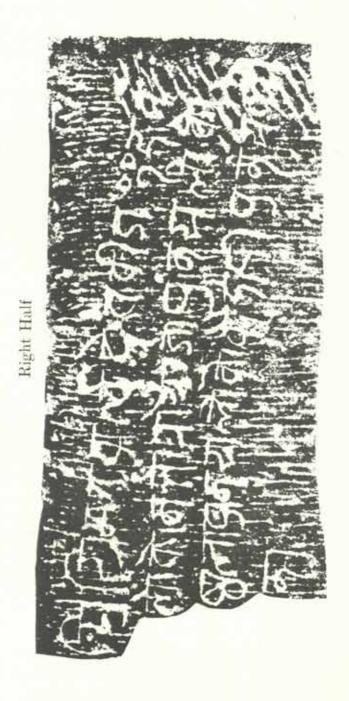
⁶ First ed., p. 40; second ed. p., 43. Cunningham, who visited Simrā in 1883-84, does not appear to have noticed this inscription.

⁷ Instead of the usual expression pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājyē, we have here vijai(yī)bhaṇa[ti*].

⁸ Since the name of Karna is mentioned in the beginning, it may be conjectured that they met with death in some battle of that king.

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA







TEXT1

- ा स्वस्त (स्ति) [1*] श्रीभटा (ट्टा) रकप (प्र) भिक्ष श्रि (श्री) मत् [क] ण्णेदेव बीजइ भव³
- वेमदोपली गोपी पुनयलोके⁴ । मलोरा[ग्रा]जा[जः?] पुनयलोके⁴।
- अत्यक्षाउती⁵ शु(?)विष्ठला(लः) [पु]नयलोके⁴। [कै]देही पुनयलो—
 - 4 की [1*][की]तं जनादेन ।

TRANSLATION

Hail! During the victorious reign of the Bhoṭṭārakaprabha, the illustrious Karṇa, Hēmadōpalī Gōpī (has gone) to the holy world, Malōrāgrāja (has gone) to the holy world, the Rāut Taīpa Suvashṭhala (has gone) to the holy world, (and) Kaidēhī (has gone) to the holy world. (This record) was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

No. 56; PLATE XLV

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

THESE plates were found enclosed in a large stone chest at Khairhā,8 a village in Vindhya Pradesh, about eight miles south-west of the Burhar railway station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. They were published, with a lithograph and a translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff. They are edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1' 6.8" in breadth and 1' 1.5" in height. They were held together by a stout ring, passing through a hole about .8" in diameter at the top of each plate. Its ends were not originally soldered. To the ring is attached a bell-shaped seal, on the counter-sunk circular surface of which appears in relief a rudely executed figure of Lakshmi attended by an elephant on either side, pouring water on her head. Below this is the legend Srimad-Yasahkarnnadēvah in a single line across the diameter. At the bottom of all is the figure of the couchant Nandi facing proper right, with an incense-pot on either side. The total weight of the plates and the seal is 14 seers and 25 tolas.

The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. There are forty-four lines in all, of which twenty-one are written on the inner side of the first plate, and the remaining twenty-three on that of the second. The average size of the letters is '5". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of the initial i—the older one in Chhītapaī-, l.30 and the later one in iva, l.6, the sign of the rare fi which appears as a subscript letter in -kfipta-, l.16, and the medial n which is added to the left limb of j in jugupsatē, l.8 and to the right side of the vertical of y in -nāmany=udgamam, l.16. The sign of avagraha occurs in ll.11, 15 and 39, and a vertical dash at the end of l.27. In other respects the characters resemble those of the Goharwa plates of Karna.

¹ From inked estampages.

^{*}This aksbara is superfluous.

Read कर्णदेवे विजयीभवति.

⁴ Read पृण्यलोके.

⁶ Perhaps तइप राउत: was intended.

⁶ Read कतं.

⁹ Perhaps जनार्यनेन was intended.

⁶The place is named Khairā in the Degree Map 64 E.

The language is Sanskrit. The first twenty-two lines contain twenty-four verses composed in the kāvya style, eulogising the donor and his ancestors. They are followed by a prose portion (ll.22-31), containing the formal part of the grant and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses (ll.31-44). The record ends with the mention of the writer's name and the customary blessing, manigalam mahā-3rīḥ. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed:—the palatal f is generally written as the dental s (see, e.g., -rāsi- and -sat-ōpabhōg yā-, both in l.3), while the reverse also occurs in two places, -bhāsi, l.19 and salila-, l.38; the sign for v is everywhere employed to denote b, see Vrahmanē, l.1 and -avdhi-, l.2; the consonant following r is often reduplicated, see chamdr-ārkka-, l.14, svarggē, l.36; finally, the anusvāra before the dental s is wrongly changed to n in -vansa-, l.6.

The plates were issued by Yaśaḥkarṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. His pedigree is traced to Vishṇu. After the mythological and legendary ancestors Brahmā, Atri, the moon, Purūravas, Bharata and Kārtavīrya, the first historical personage mentioned here is Yuvarājadēva, who is identical with the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karṇa. His son Kōkalla (II) is said to have been placed on the throne by the chief ministers of the realm. Kōkalla's son was Gāṇgēyadēva who became famous as Vikramāditya. In the course of his description we are told that wishing to run away from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. Gāṇgēya died with his hundred wives at the foot of the banyan tree at Prayāga. His son and successor was Karṇadēva who constructed at Banaras a high temple which he named Karṇamēru² after himself. He also established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called Karṇāvatī. He married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvī. From her he had a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa whom he himself crowned king. Yaśaḥkarṇa routed the Andhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmēśvara near the Gōdāvarī.

The present plates were granted at Banaras³ by Yaśahkarna who is described in the formal portion exactly like his father Karna in the Goharwa plates. They record the royal donation of the village Deulā-Pañchēla situated in the pattalā of Dēvagrāma in the uddēśa (district?) of Vāsudēva. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṅgādhara, the son of Chhītapaï and grandson of Siā, who belonged to the Kāṇva gōtra with three pravaras,⁴ and was a student of the Rigvēda. The grant was made on the occasion of a saṅkrānti on Sunday, the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era. The record was written by Vāchchhūka, the writer of religious documents.

The date of the present grant must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out correctly. The fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 823, if we take it to be expired as usual, fell on the 6th March 1072 A.C., when the week-day was Tuesday, not Sunday as required. Besides, the Mīna-sankrānti did not fall on that day but had taken place on the 22nd of February of that year, which was a Wednesday. Taking the year as current, we find that the aforementioned tithi fell on Wednesday (the 16th February 1071 A.C.), and not on Sunday,

¹ Hiralal took the sentence yasmād.... va(ba)bbāra to mean that Gāṅgēyadēva restored Kuntala to its king (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 207). But this interpretation is wrong, see below p. 297, n. 4. The king of Kuntala defeated by Gāṅgēyadēva was probably Jayasiṁha-Jagadēkamaila, who ruled from about 1015 to 1042 A. C. and was thus a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva.

² See below, p. 297, n. 5.

³ See the words 'here in Kāsī' in verse 13 of the text.

Only two of these are named in ll.29-30, viz., Apla(na)va(vā)na and Jāmadagni(gnya). The third was probably Aurva. See below, p. 295, n. 6.

while the Mina-sankrānti took place five days later on Monday, the 21st February. In 1073 A.C., though it would not suit the epoch of the era (viz., 247-48 A.C.) as finally determined by Dr. Kielhorn, the tithi according to Mr. Sewell's calculations fell on Sunday (the 24th February 1073 A.C.), but the Mina-sankrānti had taken place three days earlier, on the 21st February. None of these dates would, therefore, suit; but Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first edited the present plates, preferred the last of them on the ground that in that case, the tithi at least is found to agree with the week-day. As for the discrepancy of the sankrānti he conjectured that the record was possibly dated on the day on which it was actually handed over to the donee, though the grant was made on the auspicious sankrānti day². The statement in the original plates is, however, quite clear. It couples the sankrānti with the tithi and the week-day. Besides, the date in 1073 A.C. would not, as already remarked, suit Kielhorn's epoch of the Kalachuri era, the reliability of which in regard to the later dates of the era is now beyond question. The mistake, therefore, must lie somewhere else.

The only year in the period from 1060 A.C. to 1100 A.C., in which the Mina-sań-kranti, the tithi and the week-day came close together is 1076 A.C. In that year the four-teenth tithi of the bright half of Phalguna ended 17 h. 20 m. after mean suntise on Sunday, the 21st February and, therefore, gave its number to that day. The Mina-sańkranti also took place 1 h. 15 m. after sunrise on the following day3. The year 1076 A.C. would not, however, correspond to the Kalachuri year 823. There appears to be some mistake in the last numeral of the date. The Kalachuri year, if expired, must have been 827. The date of the Christian era, corresponding to the sańkranti, is, therefore, Monday, the 22nd February 1076 A.C.

The present grant refers to Yasahkarana's victory over an Andhra king. The latter was probably Vijayāditya VII who ruled from circa 1061 to 1076 A.C.4 After vanquishing him, Yasahkarna is said to have worshipped Bhimēsvara with jewellery. From the description given here, this temple of Bhimeśvara seems to have been situated near the Godavari. There are several temples of Bhimesvara in the Godavari District, but from the description given here, the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram tālukā seems to be intended. 'The real centre of religious interest at Drākshārām is the temple of Bhīmēśvarasvāmī. It contains a particularly big lingam, some fourteen or fifteen feet high. This is supposed to be a part of a lingam, which broke into five pieces and fell at five holy places, namely at Bhīmavaram or Bhīmarāma in Cocanada, Pālakollu or Kshīrarāma in Krishna, Amaravati or Amararāma in the Guntur District, and Kumārarāma which is not identified. It is supposed to have been erected by the sun and worshipped by the seven sages who made the seven mouths of the Gödavari. The seven sages are supposed to have each brought water from their respective rivers under-ground to the tank at Drākshārāmam which is called the Sapta-Gōdāvarī, seven Gōdāvarīs. There is a sacred bathing ghat, which confers in a condensed form all the sanctity which is to be obtained by separate baths in each of the seven rivers.... The temple is a rather handsome twostoreyed building. Its erection is ascribed by popular tradition to an unknown Chöla

¹ According to S.K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* current at sunrise on Sunday was the paurnimā.
² Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 206.

^a There is thus a discrepancy of one day. For a somewhat analogous case, see the date of the Basāhi plates of Gövindachandradēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 363. The sankrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day occurred together on the 22nd February 1103 A. C., but it is very doubtful if Yasahkarna had retained his hold over Banaras at that time, as implied in verse 13 of the present inscription.

⁴ Several inscriptions of the reign of this prince are found at Draksharama. See Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II, p. 724.

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king." The earliest inscription at Drākshārām is that of the time of Rājarāja, dated 1055 A.C. The foregoing account will show that the temple is not on the bank of the Gödavari as intimated in the present inscription; for the river flows about fourteen miles away from it, but the description given here can be understood, as has already been suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, to refer to the tank at Drākshārām, which is popularly believed to contain the seven streams of the Godavari.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Tripuri has already been shown to be Tewar, a village about 6 miles from Jabalpur. Karnavatī has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with the deserted village Karanbel which lies about a mile from Tripuri2. The name has 'a double signification, retaining the memory of the founder in the first half and giving the distinguishing mark of the site in the second, there being a jungle of bel trees to supply leaves to the numerous Siva lingus once enshrined there's. Kuntala has been already shown to be the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāni. As regards Deulā-Pañchēla it appears to be a joint place-name. The first part of it is probably represented by Deori, now a deserted village 10 miles north by west of Khairha, and the second by Pachri which lies only two miles to the north of Deori. Dēvagrāma, the headquarters of the sub-division (pattalā) in which the donated village was situated, was identified by R.B. Hiralal with Deogavan close to Khairha 'where there are a number of very old wells and water-reservoirs together with the remains of old buildings24. The word Vāsudēv-oddēšē, which precedes Dēvagrāma-pattalāyām in lines 27-28 of the present grant was taken by R.B. Hiralal to mean 'in honour of Vāsudēva'. From the context, however, it seems to denote a territorial division. Besides Yasahkarna was a devotee of Mahēśvara (Siva), not of Vāsudēva. If the grant was made in honour of any deity it must have been Siva. I am, therefore, inclined to take Vāsudēv-oddēše of the text to mean 'in the district of Vasudeva'. An analogous expression Vasudevakhanda-vishayē, which undoubtedly denotes a territorial division, occurs in the Ganjām plates of Ranabhañjadeva,5 edited by R.B. Hiralal himself. There are several places6 named after Vishnu in the surrounding territory of Vindhya Pradesh.

TEXT?

- वों नमो व (क्र)ह्मणे: ॥ जयित जलजभा (ना) भस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयित जयित तस्माज्जा— तवानव्ज (ब्ज) सुतिः । अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमित्रस्तदक्षणप्त (स्त) दन् जयति जन्म प्रा-
- व्यानिव्ध (व्यि)व (व)न्यु: ।।⁹[१।।*] अय वो (वो) धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमञ्ज (व्ज) वा(वा) [न्ध]वस्य । तनय(यं) जनयांवभूव गण्यां गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ।11[1२॥*] पुत्रं पुरु(ह)रवस-

¹ The Godavari District Gazetteer, pp. 250 ff.

² It may be noted in this connection that Karnapura is also the name of a ridge near Kārītalāi.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 209. The expression 'the crown of the heavenly river' used in describing the settlement in v. 14 seems, however to suggest that the settlement was on the bank of the Ganga. Hall supposed that the epithet, though usually appropriated to the Ganga was here applied to the Narmada, J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 115, n. 4.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 293.

⁶ One place named Rāmpur, for instance, lies only about 16 miles north by east of Khairhā.

⁷ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

^{*} This visarga is superfluous.

⁹ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁰ Read जनयाम्बभव.

¹¹ Metre: Aupachebbandarika.

- अभेग्या यस्योर्व्वसी (शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्च (वं)रा च ॥ [३॥ *] अत्र (त्रा) न्वये
- 4 किल स(श)ताधिकसप्तिने(मे)धयूपोप[रु] इयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । सप्ताव्धि (व्य)रत्नर-स(श)नाभरण(णा)भिरामविस्वं (क्वं)भरासु (शु)भरतो भरतो व (व)भ्व ॥ [४॥*] हेलागृही-
- 5 [त] अत्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्वं प्रिता प्राचित नाम [श]शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ।[।५।।*] स हिमाच-
- 6 ल इव रु(क)लचू(चु)रिवन्स मसूत क्षमान्द (भृ)तां भत्तां। मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीपितिभिः ॥ [६॥ *] तत्रान्वये नयवता (तां) प्रवरो न (नृ)पेन्द्र[ः] [पौ]रंदरीगि (मि)व पूरीं
 - ७ त्रिपुरां(रीं)पुनानः ॥(।) आसीन्नातन्ध⁵नृपगन्धगज(जा)धिराजनिमा(र्मा)थ(थि)केसरियुवा युव— राजदेवः ॥ [७॥*] सिंहासने नृपतिसिंहममुख्य सूनुमारूरुपन्नवनिभर्तुर[मा]त्यमुख्याः ॥(।)
 - 8 कोकल्लमण्णंवचनु (तु)ष्टयवीचिरां (सं) घस (सं) घट्टरुढचतुरंगचमूप्रचारम् ॥[८॥*] इंदुप्रभां नि— दित हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती । र(य)त्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रति—
 - 9 भाति कीतिः ।⁸[।९॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टभौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिधदैर्घी (ध्यै) लंबयन्दोर्द्धं— येन ॥(।) शिरिस कुलि[स](श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्को—
 - 10 यदेवः ।⁹[११०॥*] स वीरसिंहासनमौलिरत्नं स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्मादकस्माद-पयानमिच्च (च्छ)न्न कुन्तलः 10 कुन्तलतां व (व) भार ॥ 11 [११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवट्ट (ट) मूलनि-वेस (श)वन्धो 12
 - ग सार्ढं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति(नितम्)।।(।) पुत्रे(त्रो)ऽस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द(न्द्र)-कुम्भमुक्ताफतेः(लैः) स्म ककुभोच्चंति [क]ण्णंदेवः।।¹³[१२।।*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजय-न्तीसमीर-
 - 12 ग्लिपितगगनस्रोलन्से (त्से) चरी चक्रसेदः ॥(।) किमपरिमह कास्यां (इयां) यस्य दुग्वाव्यि (व्यि) वीचीवलयव (व) हलकीत्तें: कीर्त्तं क [ण्णै] 14 मेरु [:*] । 15 [1१३॥ *] अर्थं घाम श्रेयसो वेद — विद्याव —
 - 13 ल्लीकन्दः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं(टम्) [।*] व (ब)ह्यस्तंभो¹⁶ येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्यष्ठापि क्मा-तलव (ब)ह्मला (लो)कः ।।¹⁷[१४।।*] चा (अ)जिन कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजल-निधि [ल]क्ष्मा (क्ष्म्यां) श्रीमदा-

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses: Vasantatilakā.

^{*} The engraver first incised at, but later on cancelled the second vertical stroke.

a Read -शस्त्रो.

⁴ Read -वंश-.

⁵ Metre: Aryā.

a Read जासीन्मदान्ध-.

Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

^{*} Metre: Upajāti.

⁹ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁰ Hiralal read -त्रकृतलः

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti,

¹² Read - बन्धो.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ The superscript # is not completely incised.

¹⁵ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁶ Read —स्तंबो. Compare व(व)हास्तंब(व)स्थान in l.2. of the Bargaon temple inscription of Sabara (No. 43, above).

¹⁷ Metre: Sālinī.

- 14 वण्ण (ल्ल) देव्यां (व्याम्) । शशभृदुदयस (श) ङ्काक्कु (क्षु)व्ध (ब्ध) दुग्धाव्धि (ब्धि) वेलासहचरित-यशःश्रीः श्रीयद्यः (शः) कण्णंदेवः । 1[।१५॥*] चंद्राक्कंदीपवित पर्व्वतराजपूर्ण्णकुंभावभासिनि महाव्धि (ब्धि) चतुष्कमध्ये [।*]
- ा चके (के) पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिष्ल (पू)तकर्मा धर्मान्म (त्म) नोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं (कम्)। विकास विकास क्षेत्र क
 - 16 कलयिन (ति) किलनामन्युद्गमं यस्त्रियामातमिस जयित जस्त्रू (म्बू)दी (ही)परत्र (त्न)प्रदीपः ।⁴ [1१७॥*] चिन्तामणिक्लृप्तश्कितयुग्मकोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं (ग्धम्) । दृस्ये दृसोस्तस्य⁵ दा—
- 17 नु:(तु:) मो(सा)दृस्यं(श्यं) धवलारुणेक्षणस्य 16 [1१८॥*] यः ककुष्कुञ्जरो(रा)लानस्तमु-(म्भ)सत्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः । क्ष्मोपान्तेषु जयस्तं[भा]नुदस्तंभयदुच्चकै: 17[1१९॥*] [यो] व (ब्र)-ह्मणां पाणिपु(षु) पंचषाणि दा-
 - 18 ता निधत्ते पयसां पृथन्ति [1*] तैरेव तृष्ता(ध्णा)मवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रव(थ)यन्त्यव— जा(काम्) 18[1२०11*] महीभत्ती महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः। गरिम्णा मे%रत्यर्थं कृ—
 - 19 तार्थयति योथिनः । 10 [।२१।। *] स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधसं(शं)खस्(शु) चीनि ।। (।) सा(शा)िङ्गतल्पफणिकंचुकभाशि 11 स्फीततां दधति यस्य य $^-$
 - 20 सां(शां)सि ।।12[२२।।*] अन्ध्राधीसमरन्ध्रदोव्विलसितं स्वच्कत्र13मु[च्छि]न्दता येनाभ्यच्चर्यंत भूरिभिः स भग[वा*]न्भीमेस(श्व)रो भूप(ष)णेः(णैः) । यस्याभ्यर्णंगता प्र-
 - 21 नृत्य¹⁴लहरीभूविल्लगोदावरी ।¹⁵ गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमध्रुरै: सो(स्रो)त[:]स्वरै: सप्तिभि: ।¹⁶ [1२३॥*] कुट्वंन्महीं द्वा(द्वा)ह्मणसादिरक्षत्रनिव(ब)—

Second Plate

- 22 हैंणः । सार्ढं परसु(शु)भा(रा)मेण यः स्पर्धामधिरोहति । 17 [।२४।। *] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-राजाधिराजपरमेस्व (श्व)रपरममाहेस्व (श्व)रश्रीवा-
- 23 मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमक (भ) द्वारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (इव) रपरममाहेस्व (इव) रित्रकालगा— धिपतिनिजभु—
- 24 जोपाज्जितास्य (२व) पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति (त्यः) श्रीमद्यसः (शः)कर्ण्णदेवः ॥18 श्रीग (म)हादेवी । महाराजपुत्रः

¹ Metre: Mālinī.

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Read -कज्जलोदगारकार:.

⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

⁴ Read दृश्येत दृशोस्तदास्य.

⁶ Metre: Bhadravirāj.

Metre: Annshfubh.
 Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ The engraver first incised #:, but afterwards altered it to #.

¹⁰ Metre: Anusbjubb.

¹¹ Read -wifer.

¹² Metre: Svägatä.

¹³ Read अन्ध्राधीशमरन्ध्रदोज्विलसितं स्वच्छन्द-.

¹⁴ This akshara is quite clear in the impressions.

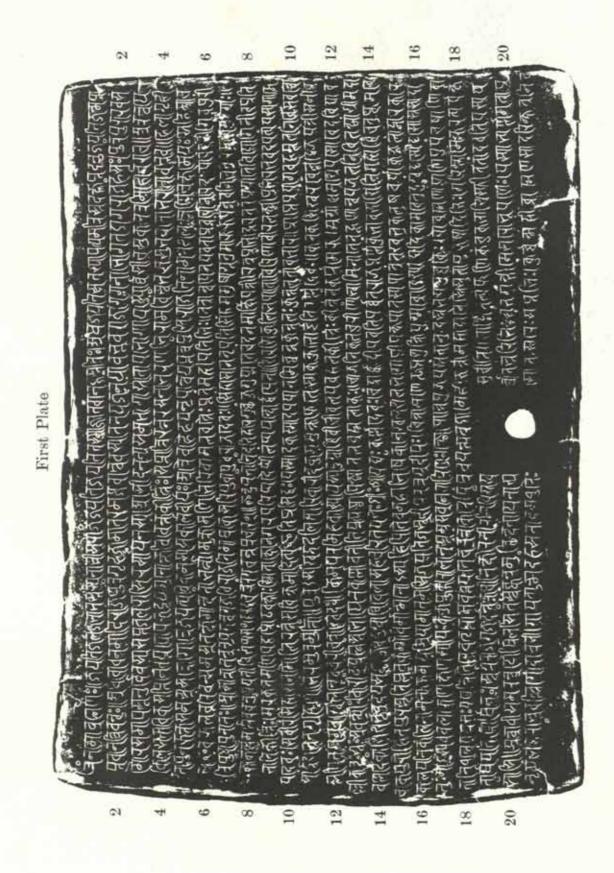
¹⁵ This danda is superfluous.

¹⁶ Metre: Sardulavikridita.

¹⁷ Metre: Anusbjubb.

¹⁸ These and the following dandas in II, 24-26 are superfluous.

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 823



Second Plate

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SCALE : ONE-THIRD.



OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA



(From photographs).

- 25 महाम(मं)त्री । महामात्य[:*] । महासाव (म)न्त[:*] । महापुरोहितः । महाप्रतीहारः । महाक्षपटलिकः । महाप्रमात्रः म-
- 26 हास्व (२व)साधनिकः । महाभाडांगारिकः । महाध्यक्षः । एतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमानग्रामनिवा-सिजनपदांश्चाहृय यथाईं सस्मा (म्मा)नयति वो (वो)-
- 27 धयति समाज्ञापा (प)यति [।*] विदितं (त) मेतदस्तु भवतां यथा संवत् ८२३ फाल्गुनमासि सु(शु)-कलपक्षे चतुद्द (ई) स्यां (श्यां) रवौ संक्रांतौ (तौ) वासुदेवो-
- 28 दे(हे)से(शे) देवग्रामपत्तलायां देउलापंचेलग्रामाः(मः) स(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तः चतुराबाढिवसु(शु) द्धः । अ सजलस्थलः साम(म्र)मधुकः । सगत्तीवरः । स-
- 29 निर्गमप्रवेसः(शः) । सलवणाकरः । सगोप्रचारः । सजाङ्गलानूपः । वृक्षारा[मो*]-द्भेष्दोद्यान-तृणादिसहितः । कान्वस्यगोत्राय⁵ आप्लवन-
- 30 जामदिग्नित्रीप्रवराय व (व) ह्वृ [च*]सा (शा) खिने सीआपौत्राय च्छीतपइपुत्राय गंगाधरस (श) म्मंणे वा (बा)ह्मणाय मातापित्रोरात्म [न*] इच पुण्य-
- उग्यशोभिवृद्धये ग्रामोयमस्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः । अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति [।*] सर्व्वान्येन्भाविनः? । पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भयो
- 32 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः। सामान्योयं घर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भव[द्भिः]।8 [1२५*] व(व)हभिव्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग–
- 33 रादिभिः । यस्य यस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त[दा] फलं(लम्) । [।२६।।*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) [।*] हरन्नरकमाप्नो[ति*] यावदाह् (भू)तसं-
- 34 प्लवं (वम्) ।[।२७॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अस्व (श्व)मेधस (श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहत्तां न सु(शु)ध्यति ।[।२८॥*] स्वदत्ता (त्तां) परदत्ता (त्तां) [वा] यो हरेत वसुंध-
- 35 रां(राम्)। स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जित। [1२९॥*] फालकृष्टां महीं दद्यात्सवी(बी)जां सस्यसा(शा)िलनीं(नीम्)। यावत्सूर्यकृतांलोकान्ताव—10
- 36 त्स्वर्गों महीयते ।[।३०॥*] षाँध्ट वर्षसहस्राणि (णि) स्वर्गों वसित भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेतु (त्) ।[।३१॥*] वारिहीने [ध्व]रत्ये (ण्ये) षु सु (शु) [ध्क]कोटर-
- 37 वासिनः [1] कृष्णसप्पस्ति जायन्ते व (ब्र)ह्यदेवस्वहारिणः ।[1३२।1*] अन्यायेन हृता भृमिरन्या-येन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयन्त (त) श्च दहत्यासन्तमं कुलं (लम्) । [1३३।1*] अ-
- 38 स्मत्कुलकमगताः समुदाहरन्ति अन्यैश्च दानिमदमभ्युपमोदनीयं(यम्)। लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)श्चला श(स)लिलव्(व्)द्व्(द्व्)[द*]बद्धरायां दानं फलं परमतः प्रतिपा-

¹ Read महाप्रमाता.

[&]quot; Read महाभांडागारिक:

³ This and the following dandas in II. 28 and 29 are superfluous.

⁴ The visarga which was at first incised after 3 has been struck out.

⁵ Read काण्वसगोत्राय.

⁶ Though the text refers to three pravaras, only two are actually mentioned here. Generally the pravaras which include the names of आप्नवान and आमदम्य are five and are given in the following order:—
भागंव, च्यवन, आप्नवान, और्व and आमदम्य. When only three pravaras are mentioned, they are generally भागंव, आप्ने and आमदम्य or भागंव, च्यवन and आप्नवान. The donce of the present grant had perhaps the pravaras, आप्नवान, और्व and आमदम्य, Read therefore आप्नवानीवंजामदम्यित्रप्राय: Kāṇṇa is not, however, mentioned in the list of götras under Jāmadagnya.

Read संस्वानितानभाविन:. The following danda is superfluous.

⁸ Metre: Sālinī.

Metre of this and the following seven verses: Annihtubb.

¹⁰ Read यावत्स्यंकृता लोकास्ताव-.

- 39 लनीयं (यम्) ।¹[1३४॥*] प्रजाहितात्वं स्थितयः प्रणीता धम्मेषु विद्वानु (न्) प्रतिपालयेतु (त) । यो लोभमोहाद्धरते दुरात्मा सोऽन्धो वजेदु (द्दु) गांतिमासु (शु) कष्टां (ष्टाम्) [॥३५॥*]²
- 40 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निम्मात्यव (वा) न्तिप्रमितानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरावदीत ।3[1३६॥*] भूमि यः प्रति—
- 41 गृह्णा (ह्ला) ति यश्च भृमि प्रयच्छति [।*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकम्मीणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । 4 [1३७।।*] सं(शं) स्रो भद्ग (द्रा) सनं च्छत्रं वरास्वा (श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि—
- 42 ह्मानि फलमेतत्पुरंदर 16 [1३८॥*] अस्मिन्वंसे (क्षे) परिक्षीणे यः किचनृ (कृ)पतिभैवेत (त्)॥
 (1) तस्याहं हस्तलग्नोस्मि सा (शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[३९॥*] वाताभ्र—
- 43 विभागित वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रसमवि(वि)न्दुसमा तराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो
- 44 परलोकयाने 17[1४०॥*] धम्मेलेखिश्रीवाच्छूकेन लिखितांमिति⁸॥ मंगलं महाश्री[:*]॥⁹

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

- (Verse 1) Glorious is the lotus-navelled (god), glorious is the lotus which sprang from his navel and glorious is the (god) Brahmā born from (that) lotus! Glorious again is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean¹⁰ who had his birth from his (i.e., Atri's) eye.
- (V. 2) Now the king, 11 who is the swan in the expanse of heaven, begat Bodhana (i.e., Budha), the son of (that) primeval king, (who became) a son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses. 12
- (V. 3) The son of the god (moon), who is the elixir of the seven oceans, obtained as a legitimate son Purūravas, who had here as his faithful wife Urvaśi to be enjoyed (only) by hundreds of matchless blessings, and also the earth.
- (V. 4) In this family verily was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunā, hemmed in by the posts of more than a hundred horse-sacrifices (performed by him); who was devoted to securing the well-being of the earth made beautiful by the jewelled girdle by the seven oceans.
- (V. 5) Exceedingly glorious in his family is that Kārtavīrya who wielded with ease all weapons, superfluous (though they were in his case), and who allowed the title of king only to the Moon, 13 the progenitor of the family of these Haihaya princes.
 - (V. 6) As the Himālaya, the lord of mountains, produces a bamboo, which is

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Metre: Upajāti.

³ Metre: Indravajrā.

^{*} Metre of this and of the following two verses: Anushtubh.

[ै] Read हने.

⁴ The Sarkhō plates (No. 83, below) read फल स्वार्ग: प्रंदर.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Read लिखिलिमिति.

⁹ There is a sign here, indicating the completion of the record.

¹⁰ I. r., the moon.

¹¹ I. e., the moon, the lord of stars.

¹² I. e., the sun.

¹⁸ For the idea, compare verse 16 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 309.

rendered bright by stainless and round pearls, so did that lord of princes beget the Kalachuri family, which is purified by kings of spotless conduct.

(V. 7) In that family was a king, the foremost among those (who are) eminent for political wisdom, who purified **Tripuri** as Indra does his city,—Yuvarājadēva (II), who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by arrogance as a young lion kills the leading scent-clephants infuriated by rut.

(V. 8) The chief ministers of the lord of the earth placed on the throne his son Kōkalla (II), a lion-like prince, the advance of whose four-membered army was checked (only) by (its) encountering the multitude of waves of the four oceans.

(V. 9) That lord having gone far away, his fame appears like a woman separated from her husband; (for) throwing away the white sandal paste, she derides moon-light and detests pearl necklaces.3

(V. 10) His offspring was Gāngēyadēva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of (his) enemies, the lord of the fortune of heroes, whose chest was broad like an emerald tablet, and who, having smiling eyes, surpassed with both his arms the length of a city-bolt.

(V. 11) He (was) the crest-jewel of heroic princes; he (became) famous by the title of Vikramāditya; wishing suddenly to run away from whom (the lord of) Kuntala ceased to wield his spear.4

(V. 12) When, fond of residing at the foot of the (holy) banyan tree at Prayaga, he attained salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karnadeva worshipped the quarters with (the offerings of) the pearls from the frontal globes of the best of enemies' elephants cleft by his sword.

(V. 13) What more (need we say about him) than that here at Kāśī the (temple) Karnamērus proclaims his great fame, which is like the circle of waves of the milk-ocean—

The second half of the verse apparently means 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, Kuntala ceased to be Kuntala. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being Virödbābbāsa; for the words really mean 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear', i. e., he gave up fighting with Gāngēyadēva and fled away. The verse is, therefore, intended to record a defeat of the king of Kuntala by Gāngēyadēva.

*Mērn denotes a particular kind of temple, viz., hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows and four entrances; Bribatsambitā, lvi, 20. According to the Samarāngaņasūtradbāra, it has sixteen stories and four spires. For other details, see Samarāngaņasūtradbāra, ch. 55, vv. 5-15 and ch. 63, vv. 4 and 5.

¹There is a play on the word *vritta* meaning (1) round and (2) conduct.

² Le., having gone to the other world.

³ The intended sense is that the fame of the king was brighter than all these. A woman separated from her husband abstains from all decoration and suffers pangs of love in moon-light.

⁴ Hiralal translated the second half of this verse as follows: 'Wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again.' In a note added to this, he remarked, 'The meaning of the second line of the verse is very obscure. The writer evidently plays on the word kuntala and has brought about what is called virödhābhāsa when he says akuntalah kuntalatām babhāra,' i.e., a hairless person bore hairiness (an apparent contradiction). The eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgēyadēva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to the king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair (a second pun on the word akuntala)', Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 215, n. 2. This interpretation was followed by R. D. Banerji in his Haibayas of Tripurī etc., p. 16, but it is incorrect. The mistake lies in the pada-chehhēda of the last quarter of the verse. We have to take the words as na Kuntalah (not a-kuntalah) kuntalatām va(ha)bhāra. There is evidently a pun on the word kuntala here. The first word kuntalah means the king of the Kuntala country. Kuntalatā has to be explained in two ways (1) Kuntalasya bhāvah kuntalatā 'the position of the king of the Kuntala country' and (2) kuntam lāti iti kuntalah; tasya bhāvah kuntalatā, 'the state of one who wields a spear'. As regards the second explanation, see the derivation of kuiala given by Mammata in his Kāvyaprakāla (ed. by Zalkikar, 1921), p. 42.

(the temple which is so high that) it lessens the fatigue of multitudes of celestial damsels playing in the sky, with the breezes of the flags waving from its golden spires.

(V. 14) He established a settlement of Brāhmaṇas¹ called Karṇāvatī, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeper of Vedic scholarship, the crown of the

heavenly river2 (and) the world of Brahma on the surface of the earth.

(V. 15) That lord of Kalachuris begot on the illustrious Āvalladēvī, the goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūṇa family, the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇadēva, the splendour of whose fame is the companion of the waves of the milk-ocean, that surge up mistaking it for the rise of the moon.³

(V. 16) Of this pious prince the father, whose actions were pure, being guided by his family priest, performed himself the great coronation ceremony in the quadrangle (surrounded) by the great oceans, which had the sun and the moon as lamps and which was ren-

dered resplendent by the lord of mountains4 as by a full jar.

- (V. 17) Glorious is he, who, like a jewel-lamp of the Jambūdvīpa⁵ shines in the Kali age, as (the jewel-lamp shines) in the darkness of the night; who is not influenced by partiality for the assemblies of wicked men, as a jewel-lamp is not filled by the wings of night-moths, and who does not display evil conduct as a jewel-lamp does not give out lamp-black.
- (V. 18) If the milk of the cow of plenty were put in two shells made of the wish-fulfilling gem, then there would be seen a likeness with the white and red eyes of this liberal king.

(V. 19) He set up high pillars of victory near the confines of the earth, as com-

panions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are tied.

(V. 20) (This) liberal (king) pours five or six drops of water on the hands of Brāhmaṇas. Even with these, they satisfy their desire for wealth, and afterwards show their contempt for (the ocean which is) the mine of jewels.

(V. 21) Occupying a high position like Mēru, (this) ruler of the earth exceedingly

gratifies the suppliants by his great gifts such as the tula-purusha.8

- (V. 22) Bright as the tusks of the elephants of the lord of heaven, white like the conches of the milky ocean, and (resplendent) like the slough of the serpent which forms the couch of Vishnu, his fame has attained abundance.
- (V. 23) Extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he worshipped with (the offerings of) many ornaments the holy Bhimēśvara, near whom the Gōdāvarī, with her dancing eye-brows of waves, sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams weet with the cries of the intoxicated swans.

¹Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal translate Vra(Bra)hma-stambhō by 'the pillar of piety'. But the correct expression is Brahma-stambō which means 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas', see above, No. 43, line 2.

^{*} This seems to suggest that the settlement was situated on the bank of the Ganga.

⁵ For fame is white like moon-beams.

⁴ I.e., Himālaya. What the poet intends to convey is that Yaśaḥkarṇa was crowned Emperor of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans.

^a Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world, including India, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 6, n. 44.
^a There is a play on the word paksha-pāta meaning (1) partiality and (2) the fall of wings.

^{*} The intended sense is that the king's gifts are more precious than the treasure inside the ocean.

* Tulā-purusha means the gift of some precious metal like gold equal to a man's weight. For this and

other mahādānas see Hēmādri's Chaturvargachintāmaņi, Dānakhanda (Banaras ed.) Vol. I, pp. 175 ff.

The seven mouths of the Gödävari, by which it is traditionally supposed to have reached the sea, are sacred to the seven sages. They are the Kāśyapa or the Tulya, the Atri or the Coringa, the Gautami,

(V. 24) Extirpating the hostile Kshatriyas and bestowing the earth on Brāhmaṇas, he is (as it were) vying with Paraśurāma.

(Line 22) And he, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇadēva,—the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga, who has attained by his arm sovereignty over three kings, (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva,—having called together the illustrious Mahādēvī, the Mahārājaputra, the Mahāmantrin, the Mahāmātya, the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahāpurāhita, the Mahāpratīhāra, the Mahākshapaṭalika, the Mahāpramātṛi, the Mahāśvasādhanika, the Mahābhāṇdāgārika, (and) the Mahādhyaksha— these and other (officials) and (also) the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted, duly honours, informs and commands them (as follows):—

Be it known to you that on (the occasion of) the sankranti, on Sunday, the fourteenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Phalguna in the year 823, we have given as a grant for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourself, this village, Deula-Panchēla, situated in the pattalā of Dēvagrāma in the uddēša (district?) of Vāsudēva, to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and madhūka trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with (the right of) egress and ingress, together with mines of salt, together with pasture-lands, together with arid and marshy lands, together with the groves of trees, the gardens of plants, grass and so forth,—to the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādharaśarman, the son of Chhītapaï and grandson of Sīā, who belongs to the Kāṇva gōtra and the Baḥvricha (Rigvēda) sākhā and has the three pravaras Āpnavāna, (Aurva) and Jāmadgnya'.

In this matter (this) is the prayer of the donor-

(Here follow sixteen benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(This charter) has been written by the illustrious Vāchchhūka, the writer of religious documents.

May there be bliss and great prosperity!

No. 57; PLATE XLVI

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

This copper-plate belongs to a set of two plates, the exact provenance of which is not known. Both the plates were, after discovery, deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur, together with an incorrect transcript made by a Pandit of Sihōrā² in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The second plate of the set was subsequently lost. The first plate and the old transcript of the second are still preserved in the Museum. The

the Bhāradvājā, the Viśvāmitrā or Kauśikā, the Jamadagni and the Vasishṭhā. The Bhāradvājā, Viśvamitrā and Jamadagni no longer exist, but pilgrims bathe in the sea at the spots where they are supposed to have been. See the Godavari District Gazetteer, p. 6.

¹ Like Kielhorn I have called it the Jabalpur plate, following Sir A. Cunningham (A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 87). As it records the grant of a village in the Jäuli pattalä it must have been found somewhere in the Jabalpur District. Hiralal states that it was originally discovered by a Tahsildar of Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā tabsīl of the Jabalpur District. See his Inscriptions in G. P. and Berar, second ed., p. 25.

² Loc. cit.

contents of the plates were first noticed by Sir A. Cunningham in his Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX, pp. 87 ff., but his account, based as it was on the aforementioned transcript, was very incorrect. The first plate was then edited, with a translation but without a lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn from rubbings and impressions supplied to him. It seems that the plate was not properly cleaned before its impressions and rubbings were taken for Dr. Kielhorn, who could not, in consequence, read with certainty several aksharas of it. At my request Mr. M.A. Suboor of the Nagpur Museum has kindly cleaned the plate which now yields fairly good impressions. The inscription is edited here from the original plate and its ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The plate is substantial, weighing 4 seers and 31½ tolas. It is the first plate of its set and is inscribed on one side only. It measures 1' 6½" in breadth and 1' ½" in height and is about .2" in thickness. Its rims are raised for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the inscribed side, there is a hole, .7" in diameter; for the ring which must have held the plates together, but both the ring and the seal which must have been soldered to it are lost. The plate is in a state of good preservation, only two or three letters being slightly damaged by rust.

The characters are Nagari and closely resemble those of the Khairha plates, the writer being probably the same as shown below. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the initial i is represented by the later sign throughout, see e.g., iva, 1.5, Indu-, 1.7 etc.; the left limb of kh is devoid of a tail in some plates see e.g., -khēlat-, 1.11 and khalu, 1.15, but contrast that in khadga-, 1.10; gh also appears in two forms, see -sanigha-sanighațta in 1.7 and -parigha- in 1.8. The sign of avagraha is used in 11.10 and 14.

The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of on namo Vrahmane in the beginning and a few initial words of the formal part at the end, the whole of the extant portion is metrically composed. All the verses, which number twenty-four, occur in the Khairha plates. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in those plates. Besides, j is used for y once only in -trijama-, 1.15.

As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. It contains the entire eulogistic portion which is identical with that of the Khairhā grant, but it breaks off just after the formal portion begins. As the genealogy in the eulogistic portion stops with Yaśaḥkarṇa, it is plain that the grant was made by him. From the Nagpur Museum transcript of the second plate, which, though inaccurate in some places, may be used with caution in the absence of the original plate, it seems that the object of the inscription was to record the grant, by Yaśaḥkarṇa, of the village Karañjā situated on the bank of the Narmadā in the Jāulī pattalā² on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti on Monday, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 529. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Hariśarman, the son of Bhaṭṭa Srī-Nāgō and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Srī-Bhavanāma(ga?) of the Vājasanēya śākhā with the three pravaras Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva. The scribe was probably the illustrious Vāchchhūka, who wrote³ the Khairhā plates.

¹ See the mistakes pointed out by Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 1, n. 2.

² The transcript reads Jāuli-pattana-pātim-Karamjā-grāmah and so Hiralal has stated that the plates record a grant of a village named Pāṭinkar in the Jāulipattan; (see his Interiptions etc., p. 25), but the correct reading is probably Jāuli-pattal-āntahpāti-Karamjāgrāmah. For pattalā meaning a territorial sub-division, see 1. 28 of the Khairhā plates.

³ The transcript has Dharmalēkhi-frī-Vākyakala-likhitam=iti which is obviously a mistake for Dharma-lēkhi-frī-Vāchchhūkēna likhitam=iti. See line 44 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

The numerals of the year, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, are quite unreliable; because Yaśahkarna for whom we have the date \$23¹ (or rather \$27 as shown before), could not have flourished in the year \$29 of the same era. But the specification of the sańkrānti, month, fortnight and week-day may be correct. Taking it to be so, Dr. Kielhorn found by calculation that during the sixty years preceding \$11\$1 A.C.,² the only year in which the Makara-sańkrānti fell on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Māgha was \$1122 A.C. For, in that year, the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the pūrņimānta scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th tithi of the dark half of Māgha ended \$ h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year, the Makara-sańkrānti took place 15 m. before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday.³ Dr. Kielhorn, therefore, took Monday, the 25th December \$1122 A.C., corresponding, with his epoch of the Kalachuri era, to Māgha va. di. 10 of the Kalachuri year \$74 as the true date of the grant.

In his article on the Khairhā plates, R. B. Hiralal objected to the aforementioned date on the ground that it gives an unusually long reign to Yaśaḥkarṇa; for, the Khairhā plates show that 'Yaśaḥkarṇa had defeated the king of Andhra, and crushed the power of several of his enemies before it was written. It is, therefore, likely that he had been in occupation of the throne for at least 4 or 5 years prior to this, and if we suppose that he lived for about the same period after he made the Jabalpur grant his reign would extend to about 60 years and his age to about 80 years, supposing his installation to have taken place at the age of 20. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, therefore, relied on the numerical date of the Nagpur Museum transcript which he read as 829 and remarked that the details worked out for Monday, the 31st December 1078 A.C., for the expired Kalachuri year 829. The Makara-sankrānti had, however, taken place a week earlier. R.B. Hiralal seems to have supposed that as in the case of the Khairhā grant, the sankrānti, on which the grant was made, is wrongly coupled with the day on which the record was actually handed over to the donee.

My personal examination of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the lost plate shows that the numerals of the year as written there are 529 and not 829 as stated by R.B. Hiralal. Even if we suppose that 529 is a mistake for 829, the expired year would be expected to correspond, according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., to 1077-78 A.C. and not 1078-1079 A.C. Now, in 1077-78 A.C., Magha va. di. 10 fell on Thursday (the 10th January 1078 A.C.) and not on Monday as required. The Makara-sankrānti had taken place 17 days earlier. So the date would not be regular even if we read the numerals as 829. As for R.B. Hiralal's argument that if Dr. Kielhorn's date is accepted, it would give an unusually long reign to Yaśaḥkarṇa, it may be noted, as has already been pointed out by Mr. R.D. Banerji⁵, that Yaśaḥkarṇa must have reigned for a long time; because, even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jabalpur plates of this prince as read by R.B. Hiralal as correct, there is a gap of 73 years between this date 829 and the only known date of his son and successor Gayākarṇa, K. 902. It comes to 75 years if we calculate from the date of the Khairhā plates (viz., 827 as determined before). As conjectured by R.B. Hiralal, Yaśaḥkarṇa may have come to the throne about 5 years earlier, i.e., about 822,

¹ Above, No. 56, 1.27.

² This is the date of the Tewar inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇa's son and successor Gayākarṇadēva (No. 58, below) which, as Dr. Kielhorn has remarked, must have been put up towards the end of his reign.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 2. ⁴ Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 207.

⁵H. T. M., p. 25.

and Gayākarņa may have continued to rule till K. 905. So the reigns of the two cover a long period of 83 years. It is not unlikely that Yaśaḥkarṇa had a longer reign than his son, say, of 50 or 55 years. In that case, the date of the Jabalpur plates as fixed by Dr. Kielhorn would not appear altogether impossible.

But Dr. Kielhorn's date (1122 A.C.) appears to be doubtful on other grounds. From verse 13 of the Jabalpur plate the inscription seems to have been drafted at Banaras. We find that only five months before, the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandradēva issued his Kamauli plate² from Banaras on the 21st July 1122 A.C. Two years later we find him again at Banaras, issuing his Banaras plates³ on the 14th August 1124 A.C. Is it likely that Yaśaḥkarṇa ousted Gōvindachandradēva from Banaras some time after July 1122 A.C. and still refrained from mentioning the glorious achievement in the plates issued only a few days after, as he has mentioned his defeat of the Andhra king? The eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plate is almost an exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. It would be strange, indeed, if Yaśaḥkarṇa had nothing to record to his credit during the interval of nearly 50 years,—not even his successful invasion of Banaras!

In the absence of a thoroughly reliable transcript of the second plate, it is not, of course, possible to date the Jabalpur inscription definitely. As in the case of numerals, there may be a mistake, due to mislection, in the specification of the month, day or fortnight in the Nagpur Museum transcript. Of these, a mistake in the specification of the week-day is more possible than any other. Owing to the close resemblance between the letters s and bh of that period it is not unlikely that the writer of the transcript, who was none too accurate in his decipherment, read Some (on Monday) for Bhaumē (on Tuesday).4 Now, we find that in 1084 A.C., Māgha va. di. 10 commenced to h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 24th December). The Makara-sankranti had taken place earlier on the same day, 2 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But as the auspicious time (parva-kāla) of the Makara-sankrānti extends to as many as 40 ghatikās5 it is not unlikely that Yasahkarna made the grant on account of the sankranti in the evening of that day, when the 10th tithi was current. Tuesday, the 24th December 1084 A. C., corresponding to the expired Kalachuri year 836, may, therefore, be the date of the Jabalpur inscription. It may be noted, in this connection, that the eulogistic part of the present grant closely agrees with that of the Khairhā plates and the writer of both was probably the same.5 This shows that the Jabalpur plates must have been issued within a few years of the Khairha plates and before Yasahkarna had lost Banaras to the Gahadavalas some time before A.C. 1090.6

¹ The Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of his widow Alhaṇadēvī (No. 60) is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri era.

^{*} Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 110.

³ J. A. S. B., Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 114 ff.

⁴ He has confused s and bh in another place also. See Atra vāsārth-ārthanā in the transcript given below for atr=aiv=abhyarthanā.

⁵ Cf. मकरसङ्कान्तौ हेभाद्रिमते परतश्चत्वारिशद् घटिकाः पुण्यकालः । 'त्रिशत्ककंटके नाड्घो मकरे तु दशाधिकाः ।' इति बहावैवर्त्तात् । Nirnayasindbu (Nirnayasangara Press), p. 160.

⁶ The Chandravati (Banaras District, U.P.) plates of Chandradeva, which record the earliest grant of the Gahadavalas found in the Banaras District 'are dated in V. 1148 (i. e., 1090 A. C.).

TEXT1

- मिद्धिः [।*] ओं नमो व्र(व्र)ह्मणे ।। जयित जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयित जयित तस्मा-ज्जातवानव्ज(ब्ज)सूतिः ।।(।) अथ जयित स तस्यापत्यमित्रस्तदक्ष्णस्तदन् जयित जन्म प्राप्तवा-
- विश्वन्धुः ॥ [१॥] अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमञ्ज(ब्ज)वा(बा)न्धवस्य । तनयं जनयांव(ब)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२॥ *] पुत्रं पुरूरवसमौरसमाप सू—
- 3 नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥ [३॥ *] अत्रान्वये किल शताधिकसप्तिमेधयुपोपरुद्धयम्नो-
- 4 क्तविविक्तकीर्तिः ॥(॥) सप्ताञ्चि(ब्छि)रत्नरस(श)नाभर[णा]भिरामविस्वं(श्वं)भर(रा)-सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥[४॥*]हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिक-मस्य स कार्त्तवीर्यः ॥(॥) अ-
 - उ त्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वंपुंसि राजेति नाम [श]शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥[५॥*] स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिवंस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृतां भत्ता [।*] मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तीः पूतं महीप-
- 6 तिभि: ॥⁷[६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥(।) आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराज⁸निर्माथ⁹केसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥¹⁰[७॥*] सिंहासने नृप-
- 7 तिसिंहममुख्य सूनुमारू रुपन्नविनमर्त्तुरमात्यमुख्याः ॥(।)कोकल्लमर्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टरुद्धच-तुरङ्गचमूप्रचारं (रम्) ॥[८॥*] इन्दुप्रभां निदित हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते
 - 8 चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती [1*] यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्तिः ।।¹¹[९॥*]मरकत-मणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिघदैघी(घर्यं) ल¹²(लं)घयन्दोईयेन [1*] [क्ष]रसि
 - 9 कुलिस (श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपितरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्ग्रेयदेवः ।।¹³[१०।।*] स वीरसिंहा— सनमौलिरत्नं स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।। (।) यस्मादकस्मादपयान—¹⁴
 - 10 मिच्छन्न कुन्तलः कुस्त (न्त)लतां व (ब) भार¹⁵। 16[1११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस (श) व (ब) न्थौ साढँ शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति (क्तिम्)। पुत्रोऽस्य सङ्गदिलतारि 17 करीन्द्र कुम्भ मुक्ताफलै:
 - 11 स्म ककुभोच्चेति कर्णांदेवः ॥ 18 [१२॥ *] कनकसि (शि) खरवेल्लद्वैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितगगनखेल-त्खेचरीचक्रखेदः ॥ (।) किमपरिमह कास्यां (श्यां) यस्य दुग्ध।व्धि (व्धि) वीचीवलयव (व)-

¹ From the original plate and its ink impressions.

^{*} Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read -निब्धवन्ध:.

⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

⁵ Metre: Aupachehbandasika.

⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre: Āryā,

⁸ These aksharas are quite clear on the plate.

⁹ It would be better to read निर्माधि-, as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹¹ I fail to see any anumura on on.

¹³ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁴ Kielhorn doubtfully read - व्यवना, but the aksbaras are quite clear here.

¹⁵ Kielhorn read - मिण्छम[कृण्छ]ल [:] [कुंस्वजि?] तां व (व) भार, but the aksharas are equally clear in this case.

¹⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁷ There is no doubt about the reading here.

¹⁸ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- 12 हलकीत्तें: कीर्त्तनं कण्णेमेरः ।।¹[१३।।*] अग्रयं धाम स्ने (श्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं(टम्) । व्र(ब्र)ह्यस्तंभो(बो) येन कण्णवितीति प्रत्यद्या(ध्ठा)पि क्ष्मातलव्र(ब्र)ह्यलोकः
- 13 ।।²[१४।।*] अजिन कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजलिनिधल[क्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां— (व्याम्) । शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्काक्षुव्ध(व्ध)दुग्धाव्धि(व्धि)वेलासहचरितयसः(शः)श्रीः श्री— यसः(शः)कर्णां—
- 14 देव: ॥3 [१५॥*] चन्द्रावर्कदीपवित पब्बंतराजपूर्णंकुम्भावभासिति(नि) महाव्यि (व्यि)च-तुष्कमध्ये [।*] चकं पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिपूतकम्मी धम्मीत्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं (कम्) ॥5 [१६॥*] न
- 15 खलस (श) लभगोष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं । न खलु कलुषचयकिण्जलीद्गारकार[:*] ॥ (i) कलयित कलिनामन्युद्गमं यस्त्रिजा (या) मातमसि जयित जम्बू (म्बू) द्वीपरत्नप्रदीयः ॥ १ [१७॥ *] चिन्ता –
- 16 मणिक्लृष्तिश्वाक्तियुग्मकोडे स्थाद्यदि कामधेतुदुग्धं (ग्धम्) । दृस्ये (श्ये)त दृशोस्त[दा*] स्य दातुः सादुस्यं (श्यं) च (ध) वलारुणेक्षणस्य । 10 [1१८।1*] यः ककुष्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसत्र (ब्र) ह्याचारिणः ।
- 17 [क्ष्मोपा] 11-तेषु [ज]यस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयदु च्चकै: 112 [१९11*] यो त्र (ब्र)ह्मणां पाणिषु पंचपाणि दाता निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [1*] तैरेव तृष्णामवध्य ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां (ज्ञाम्) 1[1२०11*] 13
 - 18 महीभत्ती महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [1] गरिम्णा मेरुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयित योथिनः 14 [1२१॥*] स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(शु)चीनि । सा(शा)िङ्ग-
 - 19 त[त्प] 15 फणिकंचुकभांसि स्फीततां दधित यस्य यसां (शां)सि ॥ 16 [२२॥ *] अन्धाधीस 17 मरन्ध-दोव्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता येनाभ्यच्चेतं भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व (६व) रो
 - 20 भू[ष]णै: ॥(।) यस्याभ्यर्णंगता¹⁸[प्र]नृत्यलहरीभूविल्लगोदावरी गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमध्रैः स्रो-तःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ।¹⁹[।२३॥*] कुर्वन्महीं व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा-

¹ Metre: Malini. There is no uncertainty in the reading of this verse.

² Metre : Salini.

¹ Metre : Mālinī.

⁴ The aksharas are quite clear here.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^a This danda is superfluous.

⁷ Kielhorn doubtfully read कज्जलो द्वावकश्च, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above.

⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

⁹ Kielhorn read with diffidence For , but his reading is not warranted by the original.

¹⁰ Metre: Bhadravirāj.

¹¹ The aksharas are somewhat indistinct here, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above. Kielhorn read [आसा(भा)न्ते]पु.

¹² Metre: Anusbjubh.

¹³ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁴ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹⁵ Kielhorn was not certain about his reading and. The second akshara appears like en, but the intended reading is obviously as given above. See also the Khairha plates (above, No. 56), p. 19.

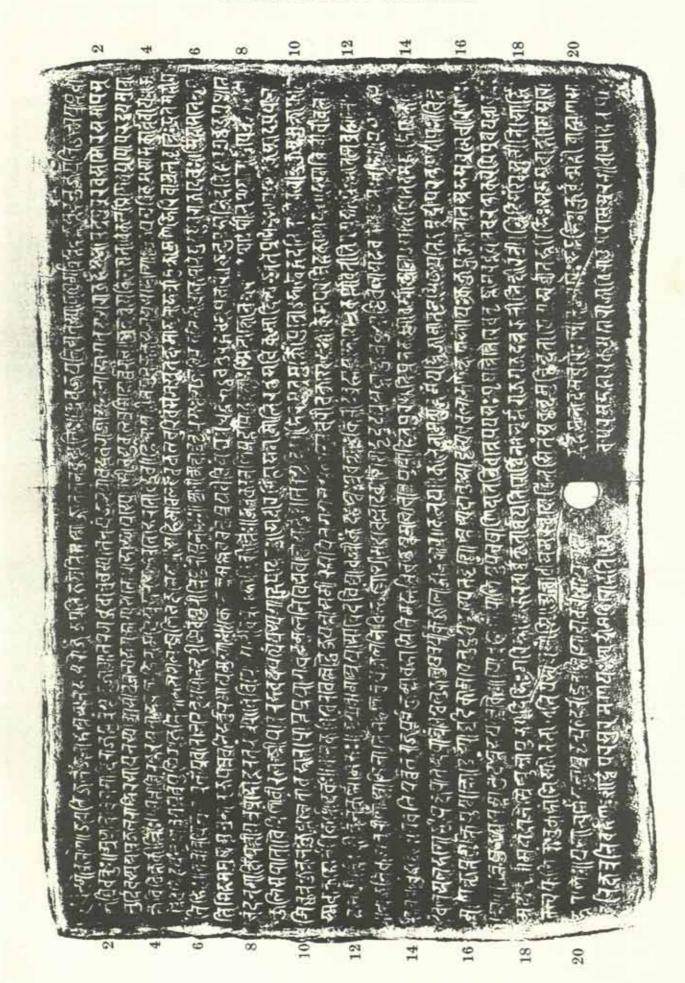
¹⁰ Metre : Svägatä.

¹⁷ Read बन्धाधीश-.

¹⁸ These six aksharas are quite clear on the plate.

¹⁰ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA





21 [द]रिक्षत्रनिव(व)हँणः [।*] शा(सा)ढं परसु(श्)रामेण यः स्पर्ढामधिरोहति ॥1[२४॥*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (श्व) रश्रीवामदेवपा-

(For a transcript of the second plate which has been lost, see Appendix, No. 2, below.)

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

(For a translation of verses 1-24, see above, pp. 296-99.)

(Line 21) And he [meditating on] the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Mihārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva

(For the subsequent portion of the grant, see Appendix, No. 2, below.)

No. 58; PLATE XLVII

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA; CHEDI YEAR 902

THE slab of black stone which bears the subjoined inscription, was found at Tewar, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was edited, without any translation or lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XVIII, pp. 209 ff. It is edited here from the original stone which is deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The record, consisting of twenty-two lines, is inscribed on the countersunk surface of the stone surrounded by a plain border. The writing covers a space measuring 12.7" in breadth and 14.7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation except in the middle of lines 9-13 where a few aksharas have become somewhat indistinct owing to the wearing away of the inscribed surface.3 The size of the letters varies between .4" and .5." The characters are Nagari. T and bh are, in some places, not clearly distinguishable from n, see, e.g., sūnunā 1.5 and Bhāvabrahma-, 1.8; s has three different forms see, e.g., śriyē=, 1.1, =samyaminaś=cha, 1.16 and śrī-Dharanīdharō=, 1.18; the left limb of dh is seen fully developed in some cases, see, e.g., bhikshā-dhanēna, 1.17, Mahīdharab, 1.20 etc. The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening on namab Sivaya, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are eighteen verses in all, none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, we may notice the doubling of the consonant following r and preceding v, see Karnna-, 1.3, and Pritthvidharas=, 1.18; the use of the sign for v to denote b except in three cases, viz. -muktir=bbhavēt, 1.16, =abdhib, 1.19 and -yugalābda-, Il. 20-1; and the substitution of the dental s for the palatal s in -narēsvarō=, Il. 3-4, navasata-, 1.20.

After two customary verses in praise of Siva and the moon, the mythical ancestor of the Kalachuris, the inscription mentions the king Karna, his son Yasahkarna and grandson Gayākarņa4, and expresses the wish that Gayākarņa, together with his son, the crown-prince Narasimha, would rule the earth to the end of the world. The name of Gayākarņa as the reigning king occurs again in connection with the date in 1.21. The object of the inscription is to record that Bhavabrahman, who was a disciple of

¹ Metre: Anushfubh.

For the following words, see ll. 23-24 of the Khairhā plates, above, No. 56.

³ The inscription was apparently in a state of better preservation when its estampages were taken for Kielhorn; for, in his transcript he does not show these letters as indistinct or doubtful.

⁴ In v. 3 his name appears as Gayakarna owing to the exigencies of the metre.

the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvatējas of the Ananta gōtra, constructed a temple of Siva near which the inscribed stone was originally put up. The praśasti, as the inscription is called in v. 15, was composed by Pṛithvīdhara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Dharaṇīdhara. It was incised by the architect Mahīdhara.

The date of the record is rather clumsily expressed in words as Sunday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Suchi (or Ashāḍha) while the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarņa. This is one of the few dates in which the era is specifically named. The date is quite regular; for the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Ashāḍha in the expired Chēdi or Kalachuri year 902 ended 2 h. after mean sunrise on the 17th June 1151 A.C. which was a Sunday as stated in the present inscription.

TEXT1

- र ओं³ नमः शिवाय ।। त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः । नित्यप्रयत्नवो (बो) धेच्छः सोष्टम्तिः श्रियेस्तु वः ॥³[१॥*]
- कलघौतशुवितरिव चंद्रकला जयित स्मरान्तकशिरोविधृता । अलिकाक्षिविह्नजिनतोग्रतृथा सुतया
 गि—
- रे: सुरसरित्पयसे ॥⁴[२॥*] आत्रेयगोत्रेऽखिलराजचक्रजिगीषुराजोजिन कर्णांदेवः । तस्माद्यशः–
 कर्णांनरेस्व (१व)–
 - 4 रोभूतस्यात्मजोयं गयकण्णंदेवः ॥ [३॥ *] आकल्पं पृथिवीं शास्तु श्रीगयाकर्णापारियंवः । संगतो-नर्रासहेन यु-
 - वराजेन सूनुना ॥⁶[४॥*] गोत्रेऽनन्तसमाह्वयेभवदिनप्रस्यस्तपस्तेजसा दृष्टादृष्टिवशुद्धकर्ममं—
 निरतः श्रीभाव-
 - 6 तेजा गुरुः ॥(।) आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थंवचसां पाञ्चाधिको यः सुधीः कामकोधजवर्ग्गंदुर्ग्गविपन-प्लोष-
- त स्य दावानलः ॥⁷[५॥*] श्रुत्वा समस्तागमयोगशास्त्रं व्याख्याय च न्यायकणादशास्त्रं (स्त्रम्) ।
 अभ्यस्य यः पाशुपतं च योगं
- श्रिवस्य सायोज्यमवाप वो (वो) धात् ॥ [६॥ *] प्रथमस्तस्य शिष्योयं भावत्र (क्र)ह्मतपोधनः । तपःकम्मंरतो नित्यं कम्मंसा (सां) –
 - 9 न्यासिकोपि यः ॥ [७॥ कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्म[शायी पंचात्थं]वो (बो) घसुकृती मितभैक्षभोजी । यो व (ब) ह्यचयं-
- विधिनान्यसनत्कुमारः पातञ्जलागमनिरूपित[योगसंगः] ॥¹⁰ [८॥*] भिक्षोपाज्जितकाञ्चनान्न-वसनैः संप्रीणयत्य-
 - 11 स्थिनः स्नेहेन प्रगुणीकरोति सुधियः संतर्पितान्सूनृतैः । क्लेशो[न्मूलन]धर्म्यकर्मानिरतः साक्षात्कृत-

¹ From the original stone and inked estampages.

² Expressed by a symbol.

^{*} Metre: Anusbtubb.

⁴ Metre: Pramitāksharā,

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīdita.

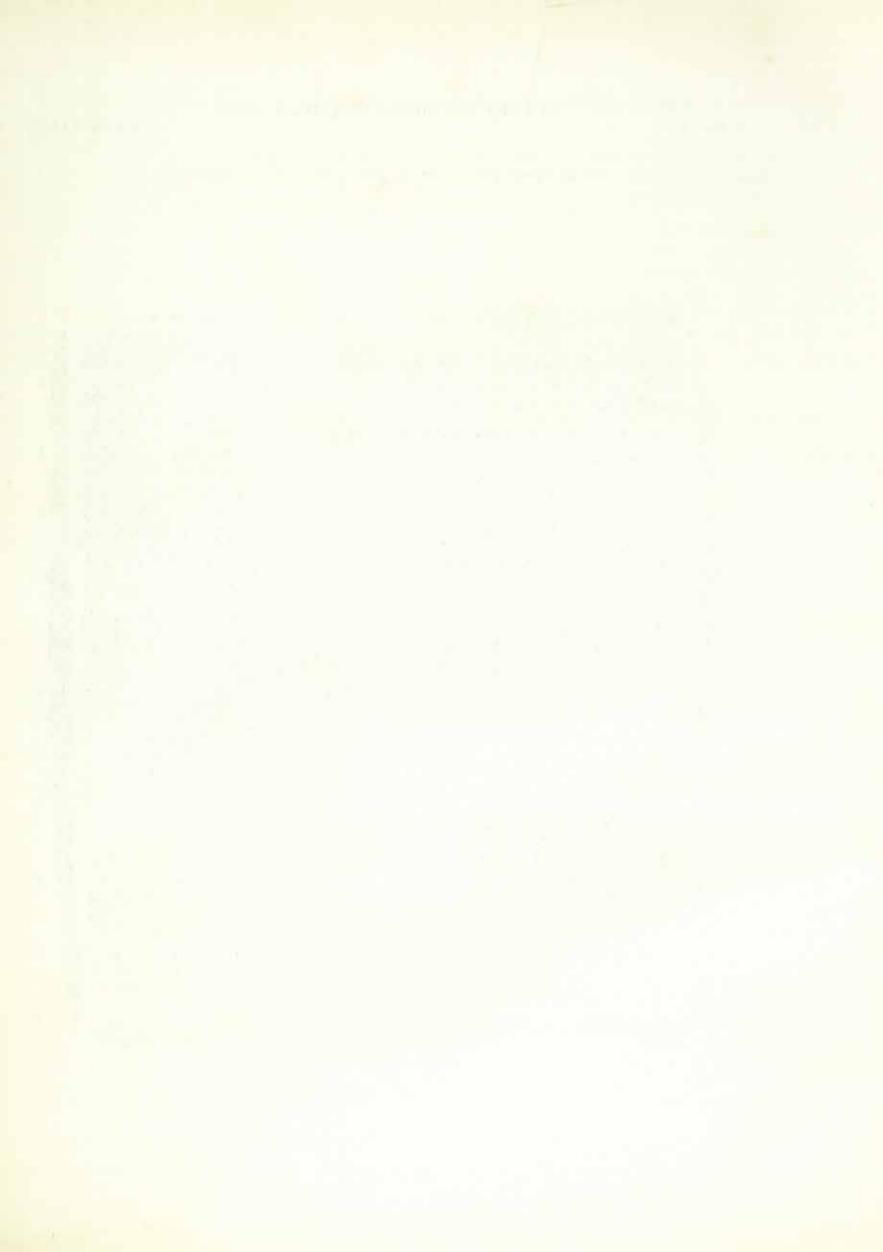
⁸ Metre: Upajāti.

Metre: Anushfubh.

¹⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA: CHEDI YEAR 902

		2
1	अन्न अश्वात्रात्रात्रे कातीवशिस्याद्यीस्वतरात्र क्षेत्रस्व विश्वात्र प्रदेशवात्र क्षेत्रस्व विश्वात्र विश्वात्र	
2	वनामतश्किरिवदेवताल इस्रित्मगतिक शिरोधिष्ता अस्ति विदेशिविहिन्दिन वित्रास्य सार्वित स्रित्	2
	नु अस्ति गर्यस्था मारेट्रागोरेऽ खिलगुड्युक्ति गेथगुडी डिग्रिक्ति दुवातस्यादा श्रे जूर्लने स्व	
4	्रीतृत्स्योक्षक्रोद्ग्यकर्भुदेवकः युक्केष्ट्रिवेशक्षया विवेशक्ष्यात्त्र । इत्स्योक्षक्षयाम् ।	4
	वर्डिन्स्वत्याग्रीव्दर्भत्तस्य हेर्द्वे द्विद्वर्ग्वलण्ये इत्रख्या हर्गे वेद्य क्व्येतित्र त्रशीतात्	
6	तिहागुरुश शाराखिहताक वन्। वैदर्शन निवादि ज्ञायक्षेत्री कामुका वस्तव में दुर्भ विवित्र वेष्ट्र	6
	स्रोदावातल्शाश्रत्वातम् सागाराग्राम् वाराग्यव्यापकणाद्शात्। स्यरायः ग्राह्यते रहेरे	×
8	(दावसासारो ज्ञासवायते स्राचित्र स्थाप हे महत्यादि ज्ञार्थमात ३ यते विवह १ वयः कर्म वैत्र ति विक्ति स्	8
	न्यासिको विस्रभाको वीतमा चरस्तः चार्चन हा उन्हें तेता । वी वहुद्र वी मेनते तकते की सोवस्ता व	° L
10	विधित्तां ग्रम्तकुता रश्यात् अवस्य देश होते । गर्ना ग्राह्मी विश्व के प्रतास के स्वीताय ग्राह्मी के स्वीताय ग्र विकास देवप्राणीक रातिस्य के स्वार्थ सामान स्वीत स्वीत स्वार्थ के सम्बद्ध समान क्रिक्सी स्वार्थ के स्वीताय स्वी	10
12	गुरुकान्त्रसम्बद्धाः । । । । । । । । । । । । । । । । । । ।	. 12
12	कामकाले विग्नेति का वर्षे एमहाने अध्यासम्मावित विग्नेति वर्षे यः क्वा	
141	हरतेवडेसार्रापेवद्यात्मस्याताः १८८२ । तिर्गमहतासामानेगिरितः शिवाणेकरण	14
	न्त्रह विवरोपेरा दिस्कानत् अप्रवद्धात् यय है । विदेश से जिन्हा से जिन्हा स्वापिता स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप	
16	विष्ट्रिक्तर हैं एक्ट्रिके के नमें दे दे देशिक रहे ते अरापतहरी नाम में के के स्वापत है विक्राति वस र	16
	तिराधन्तिवेदिविक्तासिविष्यः सामिविष्यः वर्षाचित्रे वर्षानामा वर्षानिक्ता । सामिविष्या सा	
18	विष्यति श्रीयुग्गीवरोन्याय् सरिमात्रनः पशिम् बीयुग्तिक विद्युद्ध । दावन्ति । हस	18
ķ	付けれるUSONGSCHOSCHOLISHCHS まして A THE A TH	
20	-CCECCECK SERVICE BOLD BY COLLEGE BORD BY COLLEGE BY CO	20
	A SECRETARION OF PARTY AND THE PROPERTY OF THE	
22	किन्तरामासामाना क्रिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्सिक्स	22



- 12 त्र्यंव(ब)को भावव(ब्र)ह्मसमस्तपस्विषु कलौ दृष्टो न [पाञ्चात्थिक:]1 ।।[९॥*] परिग्रह-विमुक्तोपि गृह्णा (ह्णा)ति2 हृदि य[:*] शिवं(वम्)
- 13 कामकोधौ निगृह्णा (ह्ना) ति क्षमावानिष सद्वतै: ॥3 [१०॥*] [प्राणायाम]समाधिसिद्ध-नियमध्यानासनैरन्वहं यः कृत्वा
- 14 हृदयांवु(बु)जे स्मरिरपुं वु(बु)द्धचा समभ्यस्यति । [मैत्री तस्य सुधी]भिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे योगिनः शिष्याणां करुणा
- मवेच्च विषयोपेक्षा शिवज्ञानतः ॥ [११॥*] रथयात्रो[त्सवाच्ची]भिर्माहुंडजगतीमिमां (माम्) । सोलंचकार प्राकारदेवागारमठैर--
- 16 पि ॥ [१२॥ *] पूर्त्तेन धम्मेण निवर्त्तकेन मुक्तिवर्भवेत्संयमिनश्च वो (बो) धात् । एतद्व (द्द्व) यं प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुर्व्यधापयद्देविममं शिवस्य ॥ [१३॥ *]
- 17 भिक्षाधनेन तेनेदं मंदिरं कामविद्विषः । कारितं मुक्तये भक्त्या कीत्तंये च कृतात्मनां (नाम्) ॥7 [१४॥*] श्रुतिस्मृतीहास पुराणवेत्ता
- 18 विप्रः सुधीः श्रीधरणीघरोभूत्। व्यधादिमां तत्तनयः प्रशस्ति पृत्व्वीघरस्तक्कैविशुद्धवु (बु)द्धिः ॥ [१५॥*] यावन्मेरः स्व-
- 19 णंकुंभः मृथिव्यां यावद्गंगा वर्त्तते यावदिष्यः । यावल्लोके चंद्रसूर्यौँ चकास्तः शंभोरेतत्कीर्त्तनं तावदास्तां (स्ताम्) ॥ [१६॥ *]
- विश्वकम्मंकृतं शास्त्रं वेत्ति योर्थेन कम्मंणा । उत्कीर्ण्यंवानिमां शस्तां प्रशस्ति स महीधरः ॥
 [१७॥*] नवस (श)तयुगला—
- 21 ब्दाधिक्यगे चेदिदिष्ट (ष्टे) ज[न*]पदमवतीमं श्रीगयाकर्णंदेवे। प्रतिपदि शुचिमासश्वेतपक्षेत्रकँवा-
- 22 रे शिवशरणसमीपे स्थापितेयं प्रशस्तिः ॥ 12 [१८॥ *]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) May that eight-formed (Siva) grant you fortune!—(he) who is the architect of the mansion of the three worlds (and) the noble poet of the composition of the three Vēdas, and whose effort, knowledge and will are eternal.

(V. 2) Glorious is the digit of the moon which is, as it were, the silver-shell held on the head of (Siva), the destroyer of Smara, by (Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain, who felt very thirsty on account of the fire of the (third) eye on (his) forehead.¹³

(V. 3) In the race of Atri's son (i.e., the moon) was born Karna, the king who strove to subdue the whole multitude of princes. From him was (born) the king Yasah-karna. His son is this king Gayākarna.

¹ Metre: Sardulavikridita.

² These aksharas are quite distinct on the original stone and in the inked estampages.

³ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁵ Metre: Anushinbb.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

⁷ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁸ The writer intended to say श्रतिस्पतीतिहास-, but has dropped the akshara ti for the sake of the metre.

^B Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Metre: Sălini.

¹¹ Metre: Anusbjubb.

¹² Metre: Mālinī.

¹³ According to Kielhorn the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction (Ind. Ant, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n.7). I fail to notice any such difficulty.

(V. 4) May the illustrious king Gayakarna together with his son, the crown-

prince Narasimha, rule the earth as long as the world will endure!

(V. 5) In the gōtra called Ananta was born the religious preceptor, the illustrious Bhāvatējas, resembling the sun by the lustre of his penance, and devoutly performing extremely pure actions whether noticed or not (by others)—who, a wise man and a follower of the Pañchārtha, expounded the marvellous teaching about the absolute and was a wild fire in burning the impenetrable forest of the multitude of evils arising from lust and anger.

(V. 6) Having listened to the entire systems of the Agama and the Yōga, having expounded the systems of Nyāya and Kaṇāda² and having practised the Yōga system of

Pasupati, he attained union with Siva by his knowledge.

(V. 7) This ascetic Bhavabrahman is his foremost disciple, who, though he has

given up all actions, is ever engaged in the performance of penance.8

(V. 8) He is clad only in a loin-cloth, lies on pure ashes, is proficient in the know-ledge of the Pañchārtha (system), lives on a limited quantity of food, is another Sanat-kumāra⁴ on account of his celibacy, and is devoted to (the practice of) Yōga as taught in the system of Patañjali.

(V. 9) (He) pleases supplicants with (gifts of) gold, food and raiment, makes intelligent men meritorious by his love, delighting them with pleasant speech, performs devoutly religious actions for the eradication of trouble, and has realized the three-eyed (god Siva). In (this) Kali age there is seen no follower of the Pañchārtha system like Bhāvabrahman.

(V. 10) Though devoid of all possessions he harbours Siva in his heart; though

forgiving, he curbs lust and rage through good vows.

(V. 11) By means of control of breath, observances essential for meditation, contemplation and postures, he day by day practises intellectually (meditation on) Siva whom he places in the lotus of his heart; (being) a yogin he would cultivate benevolence towards the wise, the joy of self-realization by the study of the sastras, compassion towards his disciples and indifference to worldly objects by (his) knowledge of Siva.⁵

(V. 12) He adorned this world of Gāhuṇḍa⁶ with processions of the chariot (of Siva), festivity and the worship (of Siva) and also with encircling walls, temples and

monasteries.

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(V. 13) A self-controlled person secures final emancipation by a work of pious liberality which makes one desist (from worldly affairs) and by knowledge. To secure both these? he installed this image of Siva.

(V. 14) By means of wealth obtained by begging he caused this temple of (Siva), the enemy of the god of love, to be constructed with devotion for the liberation and glory of the self-controlled.

¹ See above, page 232, ft. I.

^{*} I.e. the Vaiśēshika system.

³ There is apparent contradiction in this verse, the figure being Virodhābbāsa.

⁴ Sanatkumāra figures in the Upanishads and the Purāņas as a great teacher (see, e.g., Chhāndōg ya Up. VII, 1, 1; 26; Bhāgavata Purāṇa III, 8, 7; Mahābhārata, Sāntiparvan, 227). According to the Lingapurāṇa he himself received the Saiva doctrine from Nandin.

^{*} This verse describes the cultivation of the four sentiments (bhāvanās) of matrī (benevolence), karuṇā (compassion), muditā (cheerfulness) and upēkshā (indifference) mentioned in the Yōgasūtra of Patañ-jali I, 33. They are also recognized in Buddhist philosophy. See Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 54.

⁶Kielhorn has suggested that Gābnnda is probably a local designation of Siva. It may be noted in this connection that Monier-Williams gives, on the authority of the Kāsīkhanda, bundana in the sense of an attendant of Siva.

⁷ I.e., pious work and knowledge.

(V. 15) There was the illustrious Dharanidhara, a wise Brāhmana, who had studied the Vēdas, Smṛitis, Itihāsas and Purāṇas. His son Pṛithvīdhara, whose intellect has become keen by (the study of) dialectics, has composed this eulogy.

(V. 16) As long as Mēru (which is) the jar of gold, the Gangā and the ocean

endure on the earth, so long may this temple of Siva last!

(V. 17) That Mahīdhara, who understands the teaching and the practical work of the science invented by Viśvakarman¹, has incised this commendable prasasti.

(V. 18) While the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years and the illustrious Gayākarņa was ruling this country, this culogy was put up near the temple of Siva on Sunday, the first (lunar day) in the bright fortnight of the month Āshādha.

No. 59; PLATE XLVIII

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA

Bahuriband is now a small village situated on a plateau at a distance of about 20 miles from Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā tahsil in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Not far from Bahuriband lie the villages of Tigōwā and Rūpnāth, the former of which is known for its Gupta temple, still in a state of perfect preservation, and the latter, for its Aśokan rock-edict. Bahuriband contains some old ruins, the most conspicuous of which is a colossal standing nude statue of the Jain Tīrthankara Sāntinātha. It is near the village and stands upon its original site, portions of the foundations of the walls of the shrine, in which it stood, being still around it. It stands 12 feet and 2½ inches high from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head.'2 There is an attendant holding a chawri on either side of it. The chhattra over it is now broken away and lies behind the image. It measures 4' 4" in height and has the figure of an elephant on either side of it.

The present inscription is incised on the pedestal of the statue of Santinatha. It falls into three parts. Parts A and B, each consisting of three lines, are engraved on the top of the pedestal to the left and right respectively of the feet of the image³. Part C, which has seven lines, is incised on the front face of the pedestal. Before it is a small kunda intended to receive the water of the Tirthankara's bath. The inscription was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, who gave his reading of the first two lines and a portion of the third of part C⁴. It was next noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who published a short abstract of its contents⁵. It is being edited here for the first time from the original stone as well as its inked estampages which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is very much weather-worn, especially in parts A and B. Besides, a few aksharas in the first line of part C have been broken away. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. It may be noted that dh appears here to be fully developed as in the modern Nāgarī; see, e.g., dharmma-, l.4 and Sūtradhāra, l.5; th, on the other hand, has not yet opened its upper loop, see Sāmtināthasya, l.5. The language is Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

¹ I.e., the science of architecture. Viśvakarman is the architect of gods.

P. R. A. S., W. I. for 1903-4, p. 35. For a photograph of the image see H. T. M., Plate LII.

¹ These were not noticed by previous writers.

⁴ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 40.

⁵ P. R. A. S., W. I. for 1903-04, pp. 54-55.

The object of the inscription is to record that during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarṇadēva, while the Mahāsāmantādhipati Gölhaṇadēva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family was flourishing, one Mahābhōja (?), the son of Sādhu Sarvadhara, who had been favoured by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the foremost of logicians, erected the temple of Sāntinātha. We are further told that the white canopy over it was built by a Sātradhāra.¹ The image of Sāntinātha was consecrated by the Āchārya Subhadra, who belonged to the line of the Dēśī gana² in the Āmnāya of the Chandrakara Āchārya.³

Cunningham read the date in the first line, as samvat 10. Phālguna badi 9 sōmē. Dr. Bhandarkar has, on the other hand, remarked that 'the date of the inscription is too indistinct to be read.' Many of the signs in the first line, where Cunningham read the date are now broken away. It is not, therefore, possible to verify his reading completely. But the extant aksharas seem to read [va] di 9 Bhaumē (not Sōmē). Even in Cunningham's time all the figures of the year were not preserved. What he took to be the figure 1 appears to be the remnant of some akshara like pa or sa. Again, Cunningham's reading of the first two figures, if correct, would relegate the present record to the end of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.C.; for samvat 10. would have to be referred to the Vikrama era. But from the Tewar inscription dated K. 902 we know that Gayākarņa flourished in the first half of the twelfth century A.C. The first two figures of the date, if it was recorded in the Vikrama era, must, therefore, have been either 11 or 12.

TEXT5

Α

On the top of the pedestal, to the left of the feet of Santinatha.

माध्रश्रीसर्व्यघर[घ?]
 महा] ' ' '

B

On the top of the pedestal, to the right of the feet of Santinatha.

ा साधुश्री स[स्वला] 2

C

On the front face of the pedestal of the image of Santinatha.

- ा [स्वस्ति · · · · · · · · ⁶[व]दि ९ [भौ]मे · · · ⁷श्चीमद्गयाकण्णदेवविजयरा—
- व्ये राष्ट्रकुटकुलोद्भवमहासामंताधिपतिश्रीमदगोल्हणदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमानस्य ॥

The Desi gana is a branch of the Nandi gana and Mula sangha of the Digambara sect.

¹ His name appears to be Srestbi.

This may be identical with the Chandrakapāṭa-gachebba of the Digambara sect, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 73.

⁴ Above, No. 58.

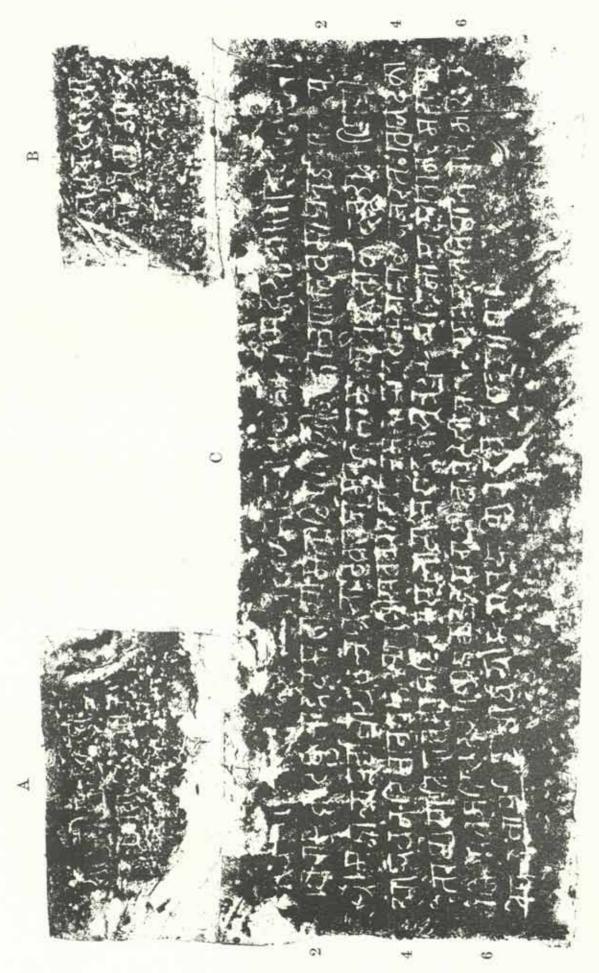
⁵ From the original stone and inked estampages.

⁶ About nine aksharas are lost here.

⁷ There are indistinct traces of four aksbaras here.

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA





- अीमद्गोल्लापूर्विम्नाये वेल्लप्रभाटिकायामुरुकृताम्नाये तक्कंतार्की (कि)कच्डामणिश्रीम-
- 4 बाधवनंदिनानुगृहि(ही)तस्साधुश्रीस[वं]धर[:*] तस्य पुत्र[:*] महा[भो]ज[:*] धर्म-दानाध्ययनरतः [।*] तेनेदं का-
- रितं रम्यं सां(शां)तिनाथस्य मंदिरं(रम्) ॥ स्वलात्यमसंज्जक²सूत्रधार[:*] स्रे(श्रे)स्टि(छि) नामा [।*] वितो(ता)नं च महाश्वे-
- 6 तं निर्मितमितसुंदरं (रम्) । । [१।।*] श्रीमच्चंद्रकराचार्याम्नायदेसी (शी) ग [णा]न्वये समस्त-विद्याविनये (या) नंदित-
- 7 विद्व[ज्ज]ना[ः*] प्रतिष्ठाचार्यश्रीमत्सुभद्राश्चिरं जयंतु ॥ 🛇 ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

C4

Hail! On Tuesday the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight⁵.... during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarṇadēva, while the Mahāsāmantādhipati, the illustrious Gölhaṇadēva, born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, is flourishing—

(There was) the pious layman, the illustrious Sarvadhara, (born) in the Gölläpürva⁶ Amnāya, the sacred traditions (Amnāya) of which were amplified at Vēllaprabhāţikā, who was blessed by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the crest-jewel of logicians. His son is Mahā[bhō]ja (who is) devoted to (the performance of) religious duty, charity and study (of the sacred texts). By him has been caused to be erected this beautiful temple of Sāntinātha.

The Sajjaka Sūtradhāra is named Srēshṭhi.⁷ By ṭhim has been constructed (here) a very white and extremely beautiful canopy.

(Line 6) May the holy Achārya Subhadra, who has consecrated (this image of Sāntinātha), be long glorious!—(he) who belongs to the line (amaya) of the Dēśī gaṇa⁸ in the Amnāya of the holy Chandrakara⁹ Achārya, and who has delighted learned men by his perfect learning and humility!

9

¹ The verse is completed below.

Bhandarkar read the last three aksharas as sajjana which he took to be the name of the Sūtradhāra (P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1903-04, p. 55); but the last akshara is certainly not na. It is more like ka than any other akshara. I therefore read the word as सज्जरु. Cf. सजार prefixed to सूत्रभार in No. 105, l. 20.

³ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁴ Parts A and B, which contain only a few aksbaras have not been translated. Part A contains the name Sarvadbara.

⁵ The name of the month and the figures of the year have been broken away.

⁶ There are still several Jain families belonging to the Gölläpürva Āmnāya in Madhya Pradesh, Vēllaprabhāţikā may be a place-name.

⁷ I am unable to explain स्वलात्यम prefixed to सज्जनः.

⁸ See above, p. 310, n. 3.

D Loc. cit.

No. 60; PLATE XLIX

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall in 1857 at Bhērā-Ghāṭ on the Narmadā in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose Cabinet at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of green stone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high. The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, pp. 499 f.¹; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' Memoranda, Archaological Survey of Western India, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's Archaological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX, pp. 91-94.² The inscription was finally edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with an English translation but without a lithograph, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 7 f. It is edited here from excellent large-size photographs which were, at the Government Epigraphist's request, kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

The inscription, consisting of 29 lines of writing, covers a space of about 2' 74" broad by 1'9" high. The letters are beautifully and carefully cut, the anusvāras, curves and mātrās in the first line being ornamentally treated. Except for two aksharas each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost completely broken away, and one or two others here and there which are partially damaged, the inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from .4" to .7". The characters are Nagari and resemble those of the Tewar inscription of Bhāvabrahman. The sign of the initial i in Il. 7, 17 etc. has its two dots at the top joined by a curve, instead of a straight line; th and dh exhibit transitional forms, the former having its upper loop open in some cases (see, e.g., tathā, 1.25 and -Prithu-, 1.29) and the latter appearing with a fully developed left member in dhar-āsraya-, 1.3 =vyadhattām, 1.25, etc.; in other cases, these letters retain their earlier forms; n is still without its dot, see, e.g., -dinmandali, ll. 27-28; the sign of the jihvāmūl ya occurs in 1.9 and that of the upadhmān'ya in 1.10. The language is Sanskrit and except for on namab Sivaya in the beginning and the date at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. There are thirty-seven verses in all. Though written in a good style, the inscription is not altogether free from mistakes. Thus chakape in 1.10 is used for the correct form chakampe to suit the metre; vyadhattam, which is intended as a form of the Imperative, is incorrect for vidhattām, and in chandimatām 1.9, there is a superfluous addition of a second taddhita affix to form an abstract noun. Finally, rules of sandhi have been violated in kim-vā l.2, yushmān-sarīraih, l.3, and sarvv-ādā yaih-ssārdham, 11.24-25. As regards orthography, b is in some cases denoted by its proper sign, see, e.g., babh in and vibudha-, both in 1.8, bibhraty=, 1.10, and in others by that of v, see vuddhim = 1.1, vibhrat, 1.6 etc.; the palatal f is used for the dental s in sațāla, 1.14, and the dental nasal for anusvāra in the component sinha of the proper names Vairisinha, L16, Vijayasinha, 1.17, Narasinha, 1.21, Jayasinha, 1.22 and Vālasinha, 1.29, and also in -sudhānsub, 1.18, =sansatsu,

¹ The committee of publications corrected some of the mistakes in Hall's transcript while the paper was going through the press. It is noteworthy that the mention of the Paramāra king Udayāditya in the present inscription enabled Hall to conjecture for the first time that the dates of the present and other inscriptions of the Kalachuris refer to an era which commenced about 250 A. C.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 7.
³ In line 3 of the Goharwa plates of Kaina (above, No. 50) and line 8 of the Khairhā plates of Yaśah-karna (above, No. 56), the top of the initial i is formed by a straight line.

1.5 etc.; finally, the consonant following r is occasionally doubled, see e.g., nirjjity=, 1.7, $= \bar{u}rddhva-$, 1.8 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Narasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. The object of it is to record that his mother Alhaṇadēvī, the widow of Gayakarṇa¹ constructed a temple of Siva under the name of Vaidyanātha together with a maṭha or monastery and a hall of study which she endowed with the income from two villages, viz., Nāmaūṇdī in the Jāulī paṭṭalā and Makarapāṭaka on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land near the foot of the hills, for the worship of the deity. The management of the whole establishment was entrusted to the Pāśupata ascetic Rudrarāśi of the Lāṭa lineage. The inscription, which is called praśasti in 1. 28, was composed by Śaśidhara, the son of Dharaṇidhara who was himself the son of Mahēśvara of the Maunya family (gōtra), with the pravaras Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvētasa. It was written on the stone by Saśidhara's elder brother Pṛithvīdhara, and engraved by Mahīdhara, a son of the artisan Bālasiriha.² Finally, we are told that the buildings were designed by the architect Pīthē.

After the introductory verses invoking the blessings of the moon, the Gangā, Siva, Ganēśa and Sarasvatī, the inscription mentions Arjuna (i.e., Sahasrārjuna), from whom was descended Kōkalla (II). From him was born Gāngēyadēva whose son was Karņa. The latter held in check the Pāṇḍya, Murala, Kunga, Vanga, Kalinga, Kīra and Hūṇa princes. Karṇa's son was Yaśaḥkarṇa who made himself famous by devastating Champāraṇya. His son was Gayakarṇa who married Alhaṇadēvī. The queen's pedigree is given in verses 17-22. In the family descended from Gōbhilaputra was born the prince Hamsapāla. His son was Vairisimha who, again, had a son named Vijayasimha. The latter prince married Syāmaladēvī, the beautiful daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the Mālava-maṇḍala. Their daughter was Alhaṇadēvī who was married to Gayakarṇa. By him Alhaṇadēvī had two sons Narasimhadēva, who succeeded Gayakarṇa, and his younger brother Jayasimha.

The names of Alhaṇadēvī's ancestors are known from some other inscriptions also³. Thus the Mount Abu inscription of Samarasimha⁴ mentions Vairisimha and his successor Vijayasimha in the list of Guhila princes of Mēdapāṭa. The record does not, however, name any prince of the name Hamsapāla, but makes Vairisimha the successor of the king Vairaṭa. Dr. Hall⁵ and following him, Dr. Kielhorn⁶ supposed that Hamsapāla was another name of Vairaṭa 'unless Vairaṭa was his brother or some other near relative.' Hamsapāla is, however, mentioned separately from Vairaṭa whom he is said to have succeeded in the Sādaḍī⁷ and Kumbhalgaḍ⁸ inscriptions.

The present inscription is dated at the end in the year 907 (expressed in numerical

¹ This is the form of the name used throughout in this inscription owing evidently to the exigencies of the metre.

² Prithvidhara the son of Mahidhara was the author of the Tewar inscription of Gayākarņa (No. 18, above). The engraver Mahidhara also is mentioned in the same capacity in that inscription.

The same pedigree is given in II. 15-16 of the Karanbēl stone inscription of Jayasimhadēva, Appendix, No. 3.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff. ⁵ J. A. O. S., Vol. VI, p. 519.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 347.

⁷ A. R. A. S. I. (1907-08), pp. 214 ff. This inscription mentions Vainsapāla as a successor of Vairaţa and predecessor of Vairisimha. Vainsapāla is probably a mistake for Hamsapāla. The successor of Vairisimha is, however, named Virasimha, not Vijayasimha, in that inscription.

⁸ P. R. A. S. W. I. (1905-6), p. 61; G. H. Ojha's History of Udaipur (Hindi), Vol. I. p. 140, n 2.

figures only), on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha. This date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-248 A. C., it would correspond, for the expired year 907, to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., when the aforementioned tithi commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, the tithi must have been joined with that week-day on

which it commenced and which was almost entirely filled by it."1

As for the geographical names occurring in the present inscription Murala is generally identified with Kērala.2 It is, however, doubtful if Karna led any expedition so far to the south-west. In the Uttararāmacharita (Act III) the river Muralā figures as a tributary of the Godavari. The country of Murala is also mentioned in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā3 of Rājaśēkhara and seems to correspond to the northern part of the Hyderabad State. Dr. Kielhorn identified Kunga with the districts of Salemand Coimbatore,4 but it is more likely to be identical with Kongoda, (Kong-yu-to of Yuan Chwang), corresponding to the Rāmagiri Agency of the Godavari District. Kalinga comprised the modern districts of Ganjām and Vizagapatam and some portion of the Godavari District. Vanga is Eastern Bengal. Kira has already been shown to be the name of the territory round Baijnath in the Kangra District. The country under the Hunas was probably situated to the north of Malwa.5 Malava-mandala is, of course, the country of Malwa. Of the villages granted by Alhanadevi, Nāmaundī is now untraceable, but the Jāulīpattalā in which it was situated and which is also mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Yasahkarna, must have comprised the country round Jabalpur. Makarapāṭaka may be Magarmuha, about 4 m. to the west of Bhērā-Ghāṭ. It is at the foot of a hill and almost near the right bank of the Narmada. Its situation, therefore, answers to the description of it given in the present inscription.

TEXT 6

- मिद्धिः [1*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ कन्याणितामिवकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शिक्षिक्ता शिक्षिक्ता ।। (१) एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगतां द्वितीयावु (बु) द्धिम्प्रदोषिवरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥ [१॥*]
- विकारित क्षेत्र कि श्राधिकलाः किन्धम्म्यंकम्मीकुराः किम्वा॰ कञ्चुिककञ्चुकाः किमयवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्त्यमी । इत्यन्नाकिवितिकिकताः शिविशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगारिङ्गद्वल्गुतरङ्गभिङ्गत-तयः पुण्यप्र-
- पाः पान्तु वः ॥¹⁰ [२॥*] भूतं सिंहभु यहिभाति भुवनं यहिश्रमाद्यज्जगन्नेत्रानन्दकरं धराश्रय-

¹ A more satisfactory equivalent of the date would have been Sunday, the 25th November 1156 A.C., on which day the tithi ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. But Kielhorn was not inclined to accept it as it would have necessitated the shifting of the epoch of the era to 248-249 A. C. This would have made most of the Kalachuri dates cite current, not expired, years, which was contrary to the usage observed in the case of other eras. Kielhorn's view has been supported by some dates discovered subsequently, to which the epoch of 248-249 A. C. would be altogether unsuitable. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 ff. and the date of No. 90, below.

^{*} H. T. M., p. 20.

³ Act. IV, verse 18.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 215.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 102.

⁶ From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁹ Read कि वा.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdūlavikrīdīta.

रसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् । यद्गन्धोद्धुरधाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः सस्पर्शं यदरूपमेभिरव-ताद्यष्मान्शरीरैः¹

- 4 शिवः ॥[३॥*] शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचिंचतः । ताण्डवाडंव (व) रः कृय्यांश्रीलकण्ठः प्रि— याणि वः ॥² [४॥*] विघ्नौधसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया शकलं सुधांशोः । कृन्दावदाततरदन्तिमिषादृधा—
- नः श्रेयः परिन्दशतु वः सदयं द्विपास्यः ॥³ [५॥*] रूपैरनेकैव्व्यंवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सर—
 स्वती वः । यल्लेशलालित्यलवादिष स्यात्सन्सत्सु⁴ पुँसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् [॥६॥*]⁵ ♦
 गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भपति—
- 6 रभृद्धि(द्वि) भ्रत्सहस्रं करान्प्रत्येकन्त्रिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृविः । तेजोभिज्जंगतीभृता—
 म्परिभवी नाग्नाज्जुंनः संस्मृतेयंस्याद्याप्यिषगम्यते वसु गतन्नीतं च चौरैविवरम् ॥ [७॥ *]
 तस्या—
- त्र स्वये समभवत्प्रियतः पृथिव्या नाथः कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य। कोकल्लदेव इति विभरु-[दार]रूपन्नाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम॥ [८॥ किज्जत्योज्जितगब्वंपव्वंतभृतः प्रत्यिपृथ्वी-
- 9 [ता] । यत्कीर्तिव्रतितः सर्व्वं व्याप व्र(व्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम (म्) ॥ 10 [१०॥ *] तेनाजिन मही— पालप्रकर्णणः स्वर्णेन कुर्व्वता । पूर्णितृष्णाणांवानियसार्थानियतकीर्त्तिना ॥ [११॥ *] पाण्डचश्च— पालप्रकारममुमोच मुरलस्तत्यांज गर्व्वं [ग्र]हं 11
- प्रहर्षं जहाँ यस्मिन्राजनाम चकपे¹³ वङ्गः कलिङ्गैः सह । कीरः कीरवदास प्रक्जरगृहे हूण≍ प्रहर्षं जहाँ यस्मिन्राजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं विभ्रत्यपूर्व्यप्रभे ॥¹६ [१२॥*] अस्मद्भर्तृपराभवेन सकला—
 - ा म्भुंक्ते [भुवं] यामसौ तामेतान्तनवामहै तनुतराकारामितीव स्त्रियः। यत्प्रत्यिषमहीभुजान्नयन-जैर्व्वा (र्व्वा)ध्यैः पयोधीन्व्यथः स्फारान्रतनमहोर्मिमभिः पुनरमी [सं] वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-

or of any of imagine in approx family shot

¹ Read -द्यच्माञ्जारीरै:.

Metre: Anusbjubb.

³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁴ Read स्यात्संसत्स.

⁵ Metre: Indravajră.

⁶ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ The akshara in the brackets is mutilated. Kielhorn with diffidence proposed to read [स]मापादिता, but this requires the previous word to be taken as विबुधानारे which admits of no satisfactory construction. In our reading it would be विबुधाना and would qualify पृथ्वी.

Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubb.

¹¹ I follow Kielhorn in the reading of this verse. The last akshara is quite clear in the photographs. Hall read — क्यू which is grammatically indefensible. The intended reading may have been मञ्जूपह as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹² The first akshara is partly mutilated, but it can be restored with the help of l. 10 of the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva (Appendix, No. 3.). Kielhorn read the following word as सद्गति. It would be better to read सञ्जति in view of the alliteration prevailing in this verse.

¹³ Read चुक्रप्. The word was altered to suit the metre.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁶ The akshara in the brackets which is somewhat damaged was read as # by Hall and # by Kielhorn. I adopt Hall's reading in view of the angular look of its left limb.

- 12 किरे ॥[१३॥*] चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्गतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासयन्नाशाचकमवकभावहृदयः ६मा-पालचुडामणि: । तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकण्णं इत्यौदार्याद्ध[नदी*]1-
 - 13 चकार विवधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्व्वानिषि ॥ [१४॥*] तस्मादशेषगणरत्ननिधेरगाधादभ वल्लभः समभ-वद्गयकण्णंदेवः । यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिस्न्दरीणां ज्ञोकाण्णंबोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥ [१५॥]
 - 14 द्यतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथ्तरगुणमालः शत्र्वगाँककालः । विमलितरणभालः का-न्तकीर्त्या श (स) टाल: शिततरकरवाल: सोभवद्भूमिपाल: ॥³[१६॥*] 🛇 ॥ अस्ति
 - 15 प्रसिद्धिमह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नपतिः किल हंसपालः । शौर्यावसिज्जितनिर्गालसैन्य-संघन मीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचकवाल: ।।4[१७।।*] तस्याभवत्तनुभव: प्र-
- 16 णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरव्जिताहिः । श्रीवैरिसिन्ह वस् धाधिपतिव्विशुद्धवृद्धेनिधिन्न परमिश्रजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥⁷[१८॥*] स वैरिसिन्हो ध्यनयद्विपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागृ-
 - 17 हाणि । स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥⁹[१९॥*] तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिनन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभंगुरिताहितश्रीः । पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्ह् 10 इति
 - 18 प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगित यस्य यशःसुधान्शः¹¹ ॥¹²[२०॥*] तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदया-दित्यस्ता सुरूपा । श्रृङ्कारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरिच्चतश्री: ॥10 [२१॥*]
- 19 मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभृतान्नायकाद्वीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सजः। तस्मादल्हणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाद्भुपतेरेतस्यान्निज-
- 20 दीर्घवन्सा⁴विशदप्रेंखत्पताकाकृतिः ॥¹⁵[२२॥*] विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकण्णंनरेश्वरः । चके प्रीतिम्परामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥¹⁶[२३॥*] श्रुङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला ग्-
- 21 णपण्यभूमि: । असूत पुत्र ङ्गयकण्णंभूपादसी नरेशन्नरसिन्ह¹ देवम् ॥ 18[२४॥ *] अस्य श्रीनर-सिन्ह "देवन्पतेः प्रोद्यन्यशश्चन्दमा दिग्भित्तीव्विद्यातु व (व)न्युपसुधासम्भारगर्व्भा इव । भूर्भर्ता-रम-
 - 22 वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुयात्पूर्व्वेषान्न यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभृतां घ्यायति ॥²⁰[२५॥*] अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्हदेव:21 सौमित्रिवत्प्रथमजेद्भृतरूपसेव: ।।(।) यो मेघनादव (व) ह-

¹ Hall's suggestion to read धनिकी here was adopted by Kielhorn. I fail, however, to see any trace of the medial i of fq which according to Kielhorn is partly visible. I prefer to restore the text as above in view of the resulting Virödbābbāsa सर्व्यान् विव्यान् धनदीचकार which must have been intended here.

³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

³ Metre: Mālinī.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵ This has not been altered to ह;, as supposed by Kielhorn.

^{*} Read श्रीवेरिसिह-.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Read विरिधिती.

⁹ Metre: Upēndravajrā.

¹⁰ Read - व्विजयसिंह.

¹¹ Read - पुधांश:.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹³ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁴ Read - 171-

¹⁵ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīdīta.

¹⁶ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹⁷ Read -न्नर्शिह.

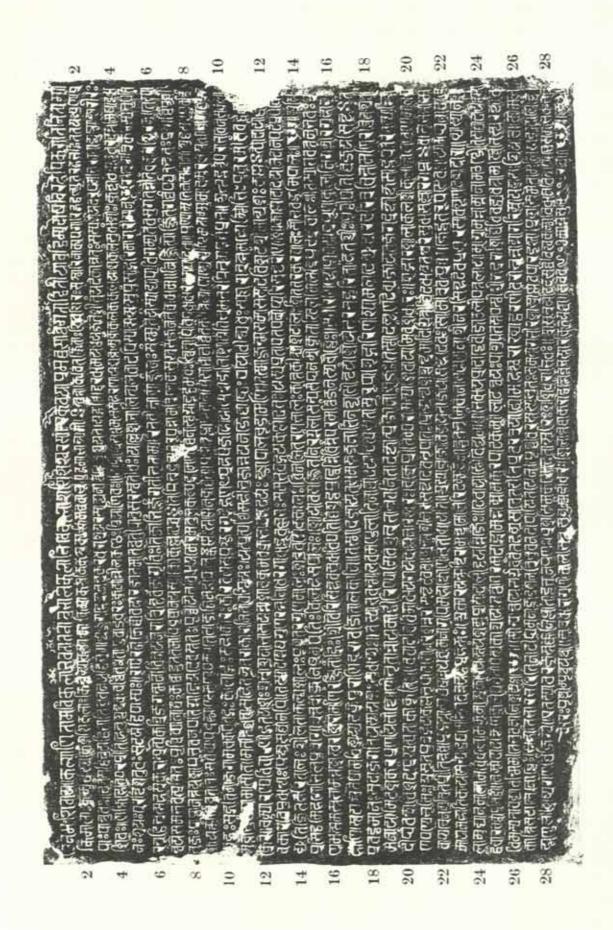
¹⁸ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁹ Read श्रीनरसिंह-.

²⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīdīta.

²¹ Read जयसिहदेव:.

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASINHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907





- 23 मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामिभभवन्नहह प्रहस्तः ॥¹[२६॥*] अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्म-ठेनाद्भतभूमिकेन । सहामुना श्रीनरसिन्ह²देवप्रसूरसावल्हणदेव्युदारा ॥³[२७॥*] व्याख्यानशा-
 - 2.4 लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम (म्) । अकारयत्स्वयं शम्भुप्रासादालीद्वयन्निजै: [॥⁴[२८॥*] देवा-यास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिषाय प्रादादेवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् । ग्रामन्नाम्ना नामउण्डीति सर्व्वादायै:⁵स्सा-
 - 25 द्वं चारुचर्च्चाप्रसिद्धचं ॥ [२९॥ *] नम्मंदादक्षिणे कूले पर्व्वतोपत्यकाश्रये । तथा परमदाद्ग्रा-मन्नाम्ना मकरपाटक[म्] ॥ [३०॥ *] लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिव्विधवद्वचधता-म ॥ स्थानस्य रक्षावि-
 - 26 घिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥ १ [३१॥*] ॥ मौन्यान्वये १० भार्माववैतहव्यसा— वेतसेति । प्रवरत्रयाद्वये । महेश्वराख्याद्धरणीधरोभून्नाम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥ १ [३२॥*]
 - 27 कान्तिसटालेनोच्चैः स्नेहातिभारभरितेन । दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥ 13 [३३॥ *] पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्राण्णंवपारदृश्वा । प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीर्यीह्-
 - 28 इ.मण्डली शिष्यगणैविजिग्ये ॥14 [३४॥*] एतस्यावरजस्तक्कंनिष्णा[तो]द्भुतनैपुणः । प्रशस्ति— मकरोदेतान्सूरिः शिश्वराभिषः ॥16 [३५॥*] आ (अ) 17 सूत्रयदिदं सर्वं विश्वकर्माविधान— वित् । पीथेसमभिषः सूत्र—
 - 29 धारः पृथ्वीम्पृथुर्यथा ॥[३६॥*] सूत्रधाराग्रणीवा(वा)लसिन्हा8सूनुम्मेंहीघरः । शिलान्तथाक-रोद्व[ण्णें]स्रेंभस्तारिकतं यथा ॥[३७॥*] संवत् ९०७ मार्ग्गं सुदि ११ रवौ ॥ ⊗ ॥ ⊗ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (god) (Siva) grant you perfect bliss,—(the digit), which, though only one (i.e., the first), makes the host of Siva's attendants always think, even in the absence of the evening, that it is the second (digit)!10

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

² Read श्रीनरसिंह-.

³ Metre: Upēndravajrā.

⁴ Metre : Annsbtubb.

⁵ This visarga is superfluous.

Metre : Salini.

⁷ Metre: Anusbtubb.

⁸ The sense requires the reading विधिवद्विधताम here.

⁹ Metee · Indemniră

¹⁶ Kielhorn thought that this was altered मौनान्त्रये, but the correction has not been made in the original. The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha (below No. 64, 1. 26) also mentions this family as मौन्य. See below, p. 353, n. 3.

¹¹ The last pravara is generally mentioned as सावेदस, see the Götrapravaranibandbakadamba (Včńkatēśvara Press ed.), pp. 25 ff.

¹² Metre: Upajāti.

¹³ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁴ Metre : Upajāti.

¹⁵ Read -देतां सुरि:.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: Anusbtubb.

¹⁷ The correction has not been made in the original.

¹⁸ Read - fee-

¹⁹ The figure is Virôdbābbāsa. There is a play on the word dvitīyā which means (1) 'the second (digit)' and (2) 'the second lunar day'. The crescent shape of the moon makes Siva's attendants think every day to be the second lunar day of the bright fortnight in the evening of which that shape of the moon is seen on the western horizon.

(V. 2) May those founts of religious merit, the lines of the creeping, lovely,1 tortuous waves of the heavenly river meandering on Siva's head protect you !- (the waves) about which heavenly beings have such doubts,-Are these wreaths of white lotuses, or digits of the moon, or sprouts of religious deeds, or sloughs of snakes, or ashes emerging

(from Siva's body)?2

(V. 3) May Siva with these (eight) bodies3 (of his) protect you—(viz.) (that body) which, being an element, is all-pervading; (that) by whose revolution the world becomes manifest; (that) which gives delight to the eyes (of creatures) in the (whole) world; (that) which is the cause of the diversity of flavour and other (qualities) abiding in the earth; (that) which is a vast repository of odour; (that) which sacrifices; (that) which is exclusively cold; and (that) which, (though) devoid of colour, is felt by the touch!

(V. 4) May the blue-necked (Siva), who gives delight to such as are fond of wielding spear and missile, who is adorned with the young moon and exults in his tandava

(dance), grant whatever is pleasing to you!4

(V. 5) May the Elephant-faced (Ganapati) graciously confer on you highest bliss, who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of the moon free from the slightest dark-spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles !

(V. 6) May Sarasvati protect you, -who by varied forms of speech conducts the intercourse (of men), and by obtaining the slightest portion of whose elegance even for a

short time, men may attain very great honour in assemblies!

(V. 7) There was in the moon's race, a king with a thousand hands, who was, day and night, wakeful to educate individually the minds of (the dwellers in) the worlds, (and) who surpassed the rulers of the world by his lustre-(a king) named Arjuna, by the mere remembrance of whom even now is regained wealth which had been lost or taken away by thieves long since.5

(V. 8) In his lineage was born a well-known lord of the earth, of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the illustrious name Kōkalladēva (II), the

sole source of the happiness of the three worlds.

(V. 9) From him was born Gangeyadeva who, by over-coming the hostile rulers of the earth, possessed of huge mountains of pride, attained endless glory, who, a wish-fulfilling tree to suppliants, made this earth, an abode of learned men, though situated below, soar higher than heaven (which is an abode of gods), by (constructing here) a matchless Mēru.

(V. 10) The creeper of his fame, sprinkled with the water of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, has overspread the whole bower of the universe.

a The eight forms are ether (ākāśa), the sun, the moon, fire, earth, the sacrificer, water and air respectively. The same eight forms of Siva are referred to in the first verse of the Sākuntala,

⁸ Hall cites the following verse form the Brahmāṇda Purāṇa :—कार्तवीर्याजुनो नाम राजा बाहुसहस्रवान ।

तस्य स्मरणमात्रेण गतं नष्टं च लभ्यते ॥

¹ Kielhorn remarks that valgu in the text is used for the participle valgat. But valgu can be taken as an adjective meaning 'beautiful' or 'lovely'.

² Kielhorn translated bhūty-udgamāh by '(the god's) majesty bursting into view.' But as in the case of other things mentioned in this verse, the poet refers here to a white thing worn or applied to his body by Siva.

⁴ The verse would be equally descriptive of Kārttikēya's peacock. 'May the peacock indulging in dancing, which gives great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (i.e., to Kārttikēya) and (the tail of) which is covered with (bright) moon-like spots grant whatever is dear to you!'

(V. 11) He, who, seeking glory, filled with gold the oceans of the desires of supplicants, begot the prince Karna.

(V. 12) While that king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya renounced violence, the king of Murala gave up arrogance, the ruler of Kuṅga sought his alliance, the prince of Vaṅga trembled with that of Kaliṅga, the lord of Kira stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, and the Hūṇa lost all merriment.

(V. 13) 'Let us reduce the size of the earth, the whole of which he enjoys by defeating our husbands'—With this motive as it were, the wives of hostile kings enlarged the seas with tears flowing from their eyes. These (seas), on the other hand, presented¹ him with larges waves of precious stones!

(V. 14) From him the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇa took his spotless birth—(he who was) a crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, who had a guiltless heart, who illuminated the circle of quarters with the bright rays of his fame which sprang from his devastation of Champāraṇya, (and) who transformed into gods of wealth whatever learned men² met his eyes.

(V. 15) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all merits, was born Gayakarnadeva, the favourite of the earth, in whose case, even the sun³,—the sun of his prowess—, caused the rise of the ocean—the ocean of grief—of his enemies' beautiful wives.

(V. 16) That king surpassed yellow orpiment by his lustre, was the wish-fulfilling tree supporting the creeper of fortune, wore a large garland of noble qualities, was the sole god of death to the host of his enemies, adorned the fore-front of the battle-field, was surrounded by a (halo of) charming glory, and wielded a very sharp sword.—

(V. 17) Famous in this world is the family of the son of Gōbhila. Therein was born, forsooth, the king Hamsapāla, who, with his valiant and irresistible armies, humbled all the combined hosts of (his) enemies.

(V. 18) He had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisimha, whose feet were reddened by the crest-jewels in the diadems of all feudatory princes paying homage to him, (and who was) a treasure, not merely of pure thoughts, but also eminently (one) for suppliants.

(V. 19) That Vairisimha too, drove the families of his enemies to deep cavedwellings, while he himself occupying their cities made them far surpass (in splendour) the city of Alakā.4

(V. 20) From him was born the lord of the earth named Vijayasimha, whose beauty was praised by all men, who, by his great valour, made his enemies' fortune unstable, (and) the moon of whose fame was always waxing in the world.

(V. 21) His loving wife was Syāmaladēvī, the beautiful daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the country of Malwa, a jewel which fulfilled the desires (of suppliants) of noble conduct, and a devotee of fortune.

(V. 22) As the beloved of Sankara (i.e., Umā) was born to Mēnā from the lord of mountains (i.e. Himālaya), as the wife of the Moon was born to Vīriņī⁵ from Daksha, the creator of beings, even so was Alhaṇadēvī born to her from that king capable of protecting the (whole) world,—(she) who appeared like an unsullied banner fluttering from the staff of his long pedigree.

1 Monier-Williams gives \square same of 'presenting'.

a Ordinarily it is the moon which causes the tides of the ocean.

² There is a pun on 'vibudha' which means 'a god' also. The verse apparently means that he turned all gods into Kubëra, the figure being Virödhābhāsa.

⁴ Alakā is the city of Kubēra, the god of wealth.

She was the wife of Daksha,

(V. 23) Having performed the nuptial ceremony, the king Gayakarna bore

intense love for her as Sankara did for Sivā (i.e., Umā).

(V. 24) She, a home of amour, a pitcher (brimful) of accomplishments, a garland of beauty, a store-house of noble qualities, had, by the king Gayakarna, a son, the prince Narasimha.

(V. 25) May the rising moon of the glory of this king, the illustrious Narasimhadeva, saturate, as it were, the walls of the quarters with a beautiful white-wash; and may the earth, having secured in him a worthy lord, experience such delight that she would

not, even slightly, think of its past great rulers!

(V. 26) May his younger brother Jayasinhadeva, who does marvellous service to his elder brother as (Lakshmana,) the son of Sumitra, did to Rāma, attain victory!

—(he) who, behold! being long-armed, vanquishes the gigantic forces of his enemies roaring like clouds, and practising many tricks (even as Lakshmana defeated the hosts of Mēghanāda and the wily and stalwart Atikāya)!

(V. 27) The generous Alhanadevi, the mother of the illustrious Narasimhadeva, caused this temple of the moon-crested (god) to be built together with that monas-

tery of wonderful storeys.

(V. 28) She also caused her people to construct a lecture-hall, that continuous line of gardens, as well as two rows (of rooms attached) to the temple of Sambhu.

(V. 29) To the god named Vaidyanātha the queen donated, for his beautiful decoration,² the village named Nāmauṇḍī (situated) in the Jāulīpattalā, together with all income.

(V. 30) And she gave another village named Makarapāṭaka (situated) on the right bank of the Narmadā and in the land near the foot of the hills.

(V. 31) May the Pāśupata ascetic, the holy Rudrarāśi of Lāṭa lineage, duly arrange for the management of this place so long as Sambhu pervades the worlds l

- (V. 32) In the Maunya lineage which has the three pravaras Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvētasa, there was born, from one named Mahēśvara, (a son) Dharaṇīdhara by name, possessed of greatness, glory and fortune.
- (V. 33) Who, encircled by a delightful lustre, being full of exceedingly great affection and occupying, for long, an agreeable position, acted like a lamp of the three worlds (which is surrounded by a halo of light, is filled to over-flowing with oil, and has a long and beautiful wick).
- (V. 34) His son Prithvidhara, who has seen the further shore of the deep ocean of all the Sāstras, and by the crowds of whose pupils the circle of regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.
- (V. 35) His younger brother, a learned man named Sasidhara, proficient in dialectics and wonderfully clever, composed this eulogy.
- (V. 36) The architect Pīthē, who is conversant with the science (taught) by Viśvakarman, planned all this as Prithu did the earth.
- (V. 37) Mahīdhara, the son of Bālasimha, the foremost of artisans, incised the stone with letters so as to resemble the starry sky.

¹ Mēghanāda and Atikāya were Rāvaņa's sons who were defeated by Lakshmaņa; see the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaņa, Yuddhakānda, adhyāyas 90 and 71 respectively. Prabasta was also the name of Rāvaņa's general.

² Kielhorn translates chāru-charchchā-prasiddbyai as 'to make known her good report'; but charchchā which literally means 'smearing' or 'annointing', seems to be used here in the wider sense of 'decoration'.

³ As pointed out by Kielhorn the adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work.'

(Line 29) (In) the year 907, (the month) Margasirsha (and) the bright (fortnight), on the (lunar) day 11, on Sunday.

No. 6r; Plate L

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909

This inscription was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published a transcript of it together with a photozincograph in the Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX, p. 94 and Plate II. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archæology.

The inscription is rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called Lāl-Pahāḍ near Bharhut, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It contains eight lines, of which the last is separated from the rest by some distance. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space 17½" in height; the first three lines are 2' 6", the next four 1' 9½" and the last 1' 4" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 1.2" to 2.5".

The characters are Nāgarī. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of r, one of which shows a horizontal line and the other a loop on the left, and of dh in $-p\bar{a}d$ - \bar{a} nudhyāt-, 1.2, and $-Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}j\bar{a}dhir\bar{a}ja$ -, 1.1; s and bh appear everywhere in the modern Nāgarī forms. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we may note that b is denoted by the sign for v as in -V allāladēvakasya, 1.6 and the dental s is used for the palatal s in all cases except Sri.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Narasimhadeva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is described as Paramabhatṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēšvara, the lord of Trikalinga, who by his own arm had acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēšvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a vaha or water-channel by Ballāladēvaka (or Rāuta¹ Ballāladēva as he is called in the last line), the son of the illustrious Kayavāditya,² Mahārājaputra of the village Vadyavā. This Kayavāditya seems to have been a high official of the king Narasinihadēva, during whose reign the inscription was engraved.

The inscription is dated, in line 7, in the year 909 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, on the fifth tithi of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, on Wednesday. The date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., there were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalachuri year 909. Of these the first or adhika Śrāvaṇa is evidently intended here; for the fifth tithi of the bright half of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the corresponding Christian date being the 2nd July 1158 A. C.3

¹ Rānta (Rājaputra) and Mahārājaputra appear to be titles of officials.

² Both Cunningham and Kielhorn read this name as Kēsa (Ia)vāditya, but there is no sign of the medial ē on k, and the following letter is not s which has a different shape throughout this record.

In the nija Śrāvaṇa the tithi ended on Friday, the 1st August 1138 A. C. Kielhorn has cited some other instances in which an adhika month has not been specified as such in the wording of the date. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 212. See also the date of the Tewar stone inscription of the reign of Jayasimhadēva (No. 66, below).

The village Vadyavā which was probably situated in the vicinity of Lal-Pahād cannot now be traced.

TEXT1

- [सिद्धिः ²] स्वस्ति श्री[: ।*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (२व) रश्री-
- वामदेवपादानुष्यात्(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 3 मेस्व (इव) रपरममाहेस्व (इव) रित्रकलिंगाधिपतिनिजभुजोपा[जिज]तअ³-
- 4 स्व(इव)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र्या (त्रया) धिपति (त्य) श्रीमन्नर-
- ५ सिंहदेवचरणाः ॥ वद्यवाग्रामकस्य महारा-
- 6 जपुत्रश्रीकयवादित्य¹पुत्रव (ब) ल्लालदेवकस्य वहः ।
- 7 [सं]वत्।⁵ ९०९ स्ना(आ)वण सुदि ५ वृद्धे⁶ ।। [श्री:] [।।*]
- 8 राउत श्रीव(ब)लल्लालदेव[: ॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Śri! (There reigns) the Paramabhatṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious and venerable Narasinihadēva, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga, who by his own arm has acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, (viz.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva. (There has been constructed) (this) channel of Ballāladēvaka, the son of the great prince, the illustrious Kayavāditya.

(Line 7) (In) the year 909, (the month) Śrāvana (and) the bright (fortnight), on

the (lunar) day 5, on Wednesday.

(L. 8) The Rāuta, the illustrious Ballāladēva.

No. 62; PLATE LI

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

'This inscription together with two others is on a block of stone, which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the Alha-Ghāt, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rewa to the plain of the Ganges." . . . It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photo-lithograph was published in the Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI, p. 115 and Plate xxviii's Its date was next referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in connection with the epoch of the Kalachuri era in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, p. 218. The record was finally edited, without any translation or facsimile, by the same scholar in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

2 Expressed by a faint symbol.

¹ From inked estampages supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

³ अस्वपति which was at first omitted was incised later on in ll. 3 and 4. Read भूजोपाजितास्वपति—. ⁴ This name was read as Kēsavaditya by Cunningham and Kielhorn; see above, p. 321, n. 2.

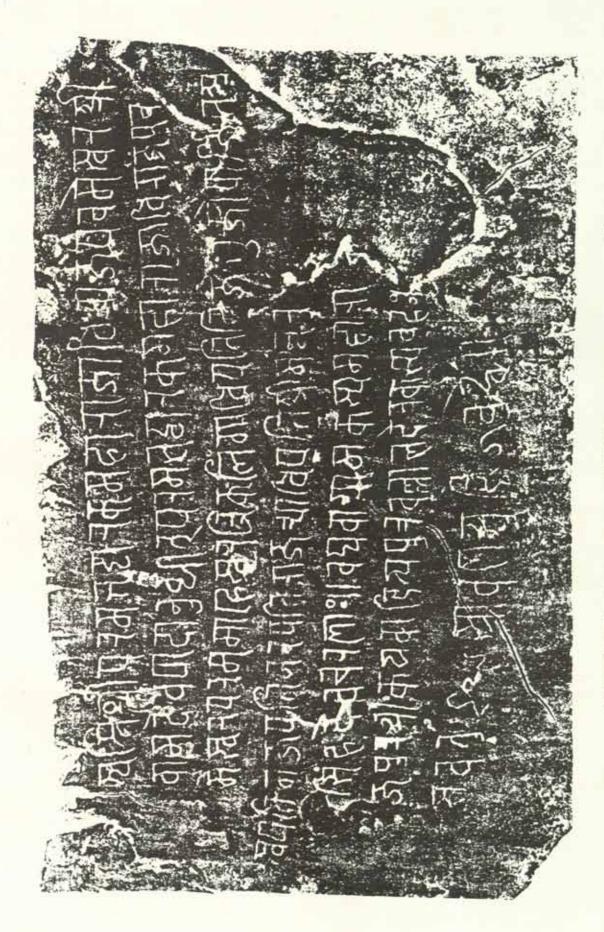
⁵ This danda is superfluous.

^{*} The mātrā on ddh is quite clear, Read बुचे.

⁷ See above p. 321, n. 2.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

Lal-Pahad Rock Inscription of Narasimha: (Kalachuri) Year 909







The inscription contains seven lines and covers a space about 2' broad by 1' high. It is in a state of good preservation. The letters are deeply engraved, but not well-formed. Their size varies from .8" to 1.4." The characters are Nagari. The only form which calls for notice is that of r which has a triangle instead of a loop on the left of its vertical; see, e.g., Mahārājā-, l. 1. The language is incorrect Sanskrit. We may notice, for instance, the wrong elision of the case-affix in -sadhana, 1. 5, jati, 1. 6, etc., and of the feminine affix in -Amikādēva (for -Ambikādēvī) in l. 4 as well as the incorrect participial forms udharital for uddhāritā in 1.6 and karāpitā for kāritā, 11.4-5. In respect of orthography we find that the sign for v is used to denote b in -vanidhana-, 1. 4, Kausāmvi-, 1.5; j is used for y in Kali-juga, 1.3, the dental s for the palatal s in Kausāmvi and the lingual sh for kh in lishitam 1.6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious Narasimhadeva, the Mahārājādhirāja of Dāhāla, who is evidently identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who ruled at Tripuri. Its object is to record that the Rānaka, the illustrious Chhihula, the son of the illustrious Jalhana, the Maharanaka of the Pipalama fort caused the Shatashadikā-ghāt to be constructed and (a temple of) the goddess Ambikā to be built near the road leading to it. He is thereby said to have freed (from the bondage of worldly existence) the whole tribe of the Rautias (Rauts) dwelling in Kauśāmbī.1 This seems to suggest that he had himself originally hailed from that place. The record finally mentions the names of the writer and of the artisans who executed the work.

The inscription opens with the date, Samvat 1216, the first (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada, Sunday. As we know that Narasimhadeva was ruling in the Kalachuri year 909, the date of the present inscription must be referred to some other era. The only era which would suit the present case is the Vikrama era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada in the northern expired (or southern current) Vikrama year 1216 ended 1 h. 25m. after mean sunrise and was, therefore, current at sunrise on Sunday as required, the corresponding Christian date being the 16th August 1159 A. C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription Dāhāla or Dāhala, which the lexicographers give as a synonym of Chēdi, denoted generally the country between the Ganga and the Narmada,2 corresponding to the modern Baghēlkhand. Kauśāmbī has already been identified with the village Kōsam, 28 miles west by south from Allahabad. Shatashadikā-ghāt may have been the ancient name of the Alha-Ghāt. Pipalāmadurga cannot be identified.

TEXT3

- मिद्धिः [।*] संवत (त्) १२१६ भाद्रसुदि प्रतिपदा (दि) रवौ ।। डाहालीयमहाराजा—
- वि(घि)राजश्रीनरसिंघदेव विजयराज्ये ॥ पिपलामदुर्गात्ये (स्थ ?) भहा-

¹ The text has clearly Kausāmvi-nikāya. Pāṇini, III, 3, 41 gives nikāya in the sense of 'habitation', 'dwelling', and the Siddhäntakaumudī gives Kāšī-nikāyah as an illustration.

See Bhāgīrathi-Narmadayör=madhyani Dāhala-mandalani in line 54 of the Malkāpuram stone inscription of Rudradeva, J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 156.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read श्रीनरसिंहदेव-.

Dr. Kielhorn read Pipal[6][an?]durgga[sya]. The mātrā on l is very doubtful and the following

- ्राणकश्रीजाल्हणा¹पुत्र राणकश्रीच्छीहलस्य² कलिज्(यू)ग-
 - 4 धम्मर्थि (य) षटषडिकाघाटवं (बं) धनमार्गंतटामिकादेव करा-
 - प्रता इति³ ।। धम्मथिकाममोक्षसाधन (नम्) ।। कौसाम्विनकाय⁴ रौ-
- 6 तिआ नाम जाति उधरितः ।। ठकुर श्रीकमलाधर हिष्(सि)तं [।*]
- 7 सुत्रधार कमलसीहा:7 [1*] सोमे । कोकास ।। पाल्हण [1] [ड]ल्हण ।।

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 1216, on Sunday, the first (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Bhadra (i.e., Bhadrapada), during the victorious reign of the illustrious Narasimhadēva, the Mahārājādhirāja of Dāhāla, the Rānaka, the illustrious Chhīhula, the son of the illustrious Jalhana, the Mahārānaka of Pipalama fort, constructed the Shatashadikā ghāt and (the temple of) the goddess Ambikā near the road (leading to it) for (the acquisition of) religious merit in the Kali age. This is a means of (acquiring) religious merit, wealth, pleasure and liberation. The tribe of Rautia (Rauts) living in Kauśambis has been liberated (by this religious deed).

(L. 6) (This) has been written by the Thakkura, the illustrious Kamaladhara. (The work was executed by) the artisans, Kamalasimha, Some, Kokasa, Palhana (and) Dalhana.

No. 63; PLATE LII

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

THESE plates were found in a stone-box while digging for the foundation of a Kotwali building at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. When first discovered, the plates were thickly covered with verdigris. Several aksharas especially in Il. 10-17 of the first plate have consequently been damaged a good deal, but as the present inscription has this portion in common with some other records9 of the Kalachuri dynasty, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. The writing on the second plate is fortunately in a state of fair preservation. Nothing of historical importance has, therefore, been lost. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The inscription was published, with lithographs but without any translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 91 ff. It is edited here from the original plates and from ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. K. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

akshara appears to be ma, though the horizontal stroke at the top is wanting. The last akshara again is doubtful. If the reading given above is correct, it may be explained as formed on the analogy of atratya, ihatya etc., though it is against Pāṇini, IV, 2, 104.

¹ Read जारहण-. There is no clear indication of the vertical stroke after na being cancelled.

The original has chhchibularya. Read श्रीच्छीहलन.

³ Read बंधनं मार्गतटाश्म्बका देवी च कारितेति.

Read कोशाम्बीनिकाया. The aksbaras are perfectly clear here. So Kielhorn's suggestion that the reading may be -nivāsi cannot be upheld.

Read जातिरुद्धारिता.

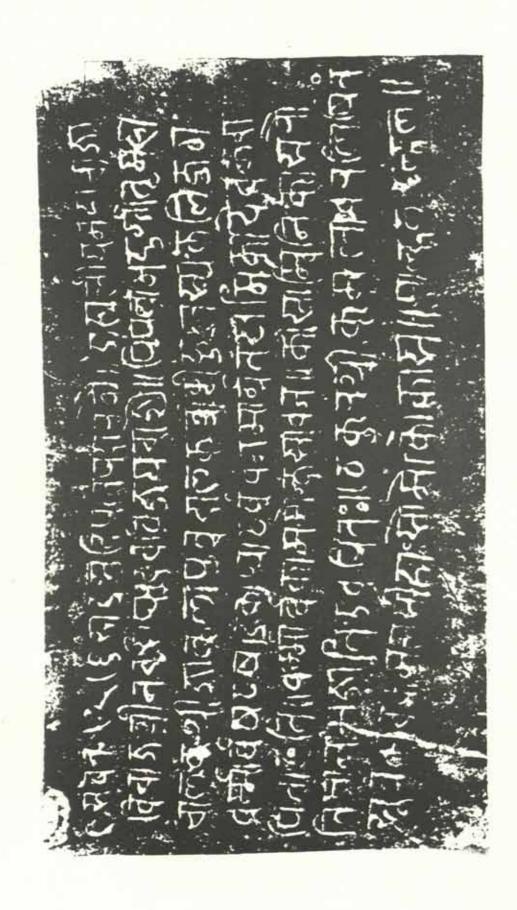
⁶ Read कमलाधरेण.

⁷ Read सुत्रधार: कमलसिंह:. The case-affixes of the following words also are dropped.

[&]quot; See above p. 323, n. 1.

[&]quot; Viz., the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yasahkarna (Nos. 56 and 57, above) and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha (Appendix No. 4, below).

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216





They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1'2" broad and 9½" high. The first plate weighs 226½ tolas and the second 215½ tolas. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. In the middle of the top of each plate there is a hole, .8" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been attached to it, was apparently discovered.

The record consists of 43 lines, of which twenty are inscribed on the inner side of each plate and the remaining three on the outer side of the second. The inscription seems to have been completed at first in the last line on the inner side of the second plate; for the words manigalam mahāśriħ, which usually indicate the completion of a record, occur at the end of that line. It seems, therefore, plausible, as conjectured by R. B. Hiralal, that the engraver whose name was at first inadvertently omitted, induced the Head of the Department of Religion to compose one more verse about himself to serve as an excuse for engraving the second side of the second plate, before he could insert his own name.

The characters are Nagari. They are beautifully formed and carefully incised. The size of the letters varies from .3" to .4". The akshara da which was omitted in 1.2 has been written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 following it, and the place of omission is shown with an inverted kākapada above the line.2 As regards individual letters we may note that the initial i appears in its old form, see, e.g., iva, 1.6; it is still without its dot, see -Trikalingā-, 1.21; while th, dh and jñ approximate to their modern Nagarī forms; see, e.g., yathā, 1.31, -madhūkaḥ, 1.28, samājāāpayamti, 1.25; b is indicated by its proper sign in a few cases where it appears as the superscript letter of a ligature, see, e.g., =abja-, 1.1. The language is Sanskrit. The eulogistic part of the grant which extends to 1.19 is in verse; it is followed by the formal part in prose in Il. 19-21. Then come the benedictive and imprecatory verses, of which as many as eleven are included here in ll. 31-39. Two more verses, one recording the name of the writer and the other in praise of the Head of the Religious Department, are next added. The record finally ends with the name of the engraver in prose. Verses 1-12 of the present grant which carry the genealogy of the donor from Brahman to Yasahkarna occur in the same order in the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yasahkarna. The draft of the present grant is, however, shorter than the corresponding portion of the aforementioned grants of Yasahkarna by three verses.3 Again, all the verses of the eulogistic part of the present inscription are repeated in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Vijayasimhadēva, which contains seven more verses4 in its corresponding portion. As regards orthography, we find that the sign of v is used to denote b except in ligatures see, e.lg., abja-, ll. 1 and 2; -abdhi-, ll. 2 and 5 etc.; the palatal and dental sibilants are generally used each in its proper place, but occasional deviations from this are also noticed, see, e.g., -rasanā for -rasanā in 1.5 and sravantyāb for sravantyāb, 1.12; finally, y is used for j in griha-yāmātaram=, 1.2.

The plates were issued by the king Jayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripuri. He is described here exactly like his elder brother Narasimha in the Lal-Pahāḍ rock inscription. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Agarā near Akharauda, which the king made at Tripurī after bathing in the

¹ The Rai brothers of Kațni kindly showed me a seal of Jayasimhadēva which was previously in the collection of Hiralal (Plate LII). But there was no indication of its having been soldered to or otherwise connected with any ring.

² It does not, therefore, signify दान २ or ≷q २ as supposed by Hiralal and Hirananda Sastri respectively, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 93 and n. 1.

³ Viz., verses 9, 11 and 13 of the Khairha plates (above, No. 56).

⁴ Viz., verses 9, 14, 16, 19-21 and 24.

Rēvā on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on Saturday, the full-moon tithi of Āśvina in the year 918 (expressed in numerical figures only). The date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēlhaṇa, the son of Dāmōdara of the Agastya gōtra with three pravaras.¹ Among the officials to whom the order is addressed occur the names of the Mahārājāi Kēlhaṇadēvī,² the Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, the Dharmapradhāna Paṇḍita Rāghava, the Sāndhivigrahika Purushōttama, the Pratīhāra Kamalasiriha and the Dushṭasādhya Padmasiriha. Some of these figure in other records also. Thus the Rājaguru Vimalaśiva is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription (No. 64) and in the Dhurēti plates (No. 72) and the Sāndhivigrahika Purushōttama in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4). In the enumeration of the rights, privileges and exemptions of the donee there occur some technical terms, the exact signification of which is not yet known. This portion is repeated verbatim in the later Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.

As all the verses descriptive of Jayasimha's ancestors down to Yasahkarna are repeated here from older records like the Khairhā plates, they furnish no additional historical information. We are next told that Yasahkarna was succeeded by Gayākarna. The latter had, from his queen Alhaṇadēvī, a son named Narasimhadēva. His younger brother Jayasimhadēva, who succeeded him, is the donor of the present plates. The verses descriptive of these princes also contain mere conventional praise and are

altogether devoid of historical interest.

The importance of the present inscription lies mainly in the data it furnishes for testing Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. According to Kielhorn's final view,3 the Kalachuri era commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the pūrnimānta Aśvina in 248 A.C. As the bright fortnight of Aśvina thus fell in the beginning of the Kalachuri year, we should get the Christian equivalent of a date in that fortnight by adding 247 or 248 to the particular Kalachuri year according as the latter is current or expired. Thus the date of the present grant, - Saturday, the fullmoon day of Aśvina with a lunar eclipse in the (Kalachuri) year 918, -- should fall in 1165 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 918 was current, and in 1166 A.C. if it was expired. But neither of these would suit; for, in the former year, the tithi fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in the latter on Monday (the 10th October). Nor was there a lunar eclipse on that tithi in either of these years. On the other hand, if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began in some month later than Aśvina, say in Kārttika, the date of the present grant would regularly correspond, for the expired year 918, to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A.C., on which day the pūrņimā ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the present grant. This date, therefore, is clearly adverse to Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. that the year must have commenced on some date later than the full-moon tithi of Aśvina.4

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Tripuri, Reva, Karnavati and Kuntala have already been identified. Agara, the donated village, is

¹ The praparas are not mentioned in the present inscription. They are variously enumerated by the authorities on praparas. Some give them as Agastya, Därdhachyuta and Aidhmaväha, while some others substitute Sämbhaväha in place of Aidhmaväha. For other enumerations, see Götrapravaranibandhakadamba, pp. 86 ff.

² The Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha mention Gösaladevī as the mother of Vijayasimha and consequently as the queen of Jayasimha. She seems to be different from this Kelhanadevī.

² See his article 'Die Epoche des Cedi-Aera' in the Festgruss an Roth, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ For another case of this type, see the date of the Amoda plates of Prithvideva (Second Set) of K. 905 (No. 94, below).

probably identical with Agaria in the Sihora tahsil, about 20 miles north by east of Jabalpur. Akharaud cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT1

First Plate

- सिद्धिः [।*] ओं नमो व्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ।। जयित जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरो[जं] जयित जय[ति त]स्मा[ज्जा]तवानव्जसितः । अथ जयित स तस्या-
- प्रत्यमित्रस्तद[६ण]स्तद³नु जयित जन्म प्राप्तवानव्यिव(ब)न्धुः ॥⁴[१॥*] अथ वो(बो)धन-मादि|रा|जपुत्रं [गृ]हया(जा)मातरमञ्जवा(बा)न्धवस्य । तनयं जनयांव(ब)-
- ३ भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराज[हंस]ः ॥⁵[२॥*] पुत्रं पुरूरवस[मौ]र[स]माप सूनुर्देवस्य [सप्त]जलरा[शि]रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम—
- 4 भाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वशी च सुक[लत्र]मिहोर्व्वरा च ॥ [३॥ *] अत्रा[न्वये] किल [स (श)ता]धिकसप्तिमेधयूपोपरुद्धयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स—
 - 5 प्ताब्धिरत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविश्वंभराशुभरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥[४॥*] हेलागृ[ही-त]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तशस्त्रो [गो]त्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य
- 6 स कार्त्तवीर्यः । अत्रै[व है]हयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपूंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्म[णि] चक्षमे यः ॥[५॥*] [स] हि[माच]ल इव कलचुरिवंशमसू-
 - त जगतीभृतां भ[त्तां।] मुक्ताम[णिभि]रिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीपितिभिः॥⁷[६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो [न]रॅ[द्र]ः पौरंद[री]मिव पुरीं त्रि—
 - 8 पुरीं पुनानः । आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराजिनम्माधिकसेसिरयुवा युवराजदेवः ॥ [७॥ *] सि-[हा]सने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सुन्-
 - 9 [मारूर]पन्नवनिभर्त्तुरमात्यमुख्याः । कोकल्लमर्ण्यवच[तुष्टयवीचि]संघसंघट्टरुढचतु[रंग]चमू-प्रचारं(रम्) ॥[८॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढव-
- 10 क्षाः स्मितास्यो¹⁰ नगर[परि]घदै[घीँ¹¹(घ्यँ)] लंघयन्दोढूँयेन । [शि]र[सि] कुलिशपातोः वैरि[णां वी]रल[क्ष्मी]पतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥¹²[९॥*]
 - प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[वं(वं)धौ] [सा]ईं शतेन गृहि[णी]भिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्)। पुत्रोस्य खड्गदिलतारिकरीन्द्रकुंभमुक्ताफर्लैः [स्म] ककुभोच्चंति
 - 12 [कर्ण]दे[व:] ॥¹³[१०॥*] अग्रयं धाम श्रे[यसो] वे[द]विद्याव[ल्ली]कंद[:] [स्व:]श्र¹⁴-

¹ From the original plates and ink-impressions.

Expressed by a symbol.

³ This akshara, which was omitted at first, is written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 indicating the line where it is to be supplied.

⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

⁵ Metre: Aupachchbandasika.

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre: Āryā. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates (Nos. 50 and 51 read क्षमाभूतां in place of ज्यतीभूतां.

⁸ See above, p. 303, n. 9.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ Both the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates read हिमताक्षी, which is also Hiralal's reading here. The original, however, has हिमताक्षी quite clearly.

¹¹ This akshara is partly damaged, but the traces that remain are sufficient to show that it was aff, not say as read by Hiralal.

¹² Metre: Mālinī.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ This akshara is quite clear. Read स्व:स्रवंत्या:.

वंत्याः किरीटं(टम्) । [व्र(ब)हास्तंवो¹(बो)] येन कण्णावतीति प्रत्यष्ठा[पि] क्मा[त]ल-व्र(ब)हालो-

13 क: ॥²[११॥*] अ[जिन] कल[चु]रीणां स्वा[मि]ना [ते]न हूणान्वयजलिनिधल[क्ष्म्यां श्रीम]दाव[ल्ल]देव्यां(व्याम्) [।*] श[शभृदुद]यशंकाक्षुव्धदुग्धाव्धिवीचीस—

14 हच[रित]यशःश्रीः [श्री]यशःकण्णैदेवः ॥³[१२॥*] [त]स्या[त्मजो]भूद[तुल]प्रता[पः] श्रीमद्गयाकण्णै इ[ति] प्रतीतः । यस्याहवेषुद्धतवैरिकण्ठच्छेदा—

15 [स्र]पूर्ण्णे[व घ]रानुरक्ता ॥ [१३॥ *] [अ]साव[ल्ह]णदेव्यां श्रीनरसिंहनरेस्व (३व) रं (रम्)।
[संवे]दन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सु[षु]वे सु(शू)भं(भम्)॥ 5[१४॥ *] उच्चैहिरण्यकशि—

पुत्रतिपादनेन प्रीति परां विवु (बु) धसंहतिषु प्रकुर्व्व [न्] । सौंदर्यसार [वि] निवारितसा (मा) रगर्वं – रिचत्रं तथा [प्य]यमहो नरसिंहदेव: ।।⁶[१५।।*]

17 तस्यानुजो वि[जय]तां जय[सि]ह[दे]वः शौर्यो[ज्व(ज्ज्व)]लैर[पि] नृपैः क्रियमाणसे[व]:।
यहाम(न)लुप्तयशसेव सुरद्रमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-

18 तले व (ब) लिना प्रलीनं (नम्) ॥ [१६॥*] नष्टं गूर्ज्यर[भू]भुजा भुजव (व) लं मुक्तं तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तः कृंतल [नाय]केन सहसा कंदप्पंकेलिकमः । श्रृत्वा

19 श्रीजयसि[ह]देवनृपते राज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संत्रासादपरेष्यपास्य जग[तीं] पारे ययुर्व्वारिघेः ॥ [१७॥*] परमभट्टारक-

20 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहे-

Second Plate: First Side

- 21 श्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपार्जिजताश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति (त्यः) श्रीमज्जय-सिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 22 नः ॥ महाराज्ञी श्रीकेल्हणदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्रीमद्राजगुरुविमलिशव । महा-पुरोहित । धम्मैप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीरायव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखिठनकुरश्रीदशमूलिक । सांधिविग्रहिकठनकुरश्रीपुरुयोत्तम । प्र— तीहारश्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्यश्रीपद्मसिह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार । अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमा—
- विद्यामितवासिजनपदांश्चाहूय यथाह मानयन्ति वो (बो) धयंति समाज्ञापयंति च । विदितमस्तु भवताम् । संवत् ९१८ आश्वि—
- 26 न सु(शु)दि पौर्ण्णमास्यां तिथौ स (श)निदिने त्रिपुर्यां सौमग्रहणे रेवायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा श्रीमहा-देवं समभ्यन्च्यं मातापित्रो-
- 27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अखरौदसमीपे अगराग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यंतश्चतुराघाटिवशुद्धः सगोप्र— चारः 19

¹ The lower part of this aksbara, which is extant, shows that the word was स्तंत्रों, not स्तंत्रों as read by Hiralal.

² Metre: Sālinī.

³ Metre: Mālinī.

⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁶ Metre: Amushtubb.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

^{*} The marks of punctuation in lines 22-24 are superfluous,

^b This mark of punctuation is redundant.

i.

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

भिक्तस्ति तर्वे साम्बर्धान्यसम्बर्धान्यस्य विद्यास्त्रस्य । 2 व्याम् दिल् ुर्यन्ति हो यो मन्त्रिय ञ्चातावनान िक एका होना नित्र क्रिया वेत न्तवत्र देशकातिक्षां नहीं जना छट्टा । एतपु इत्तर्भ का वस्तापण वस्ति। एतन् । स्ट्राह्मा पत्रेन्यहित्य हि 2 त वस्रापाच उत्तरामाना व विविद्याती है 4 संनामन्याम् राधातस्य ने गण्डमचातान नाताव नुवाहला च्याप्त नुत्रस्य द्रीत्वर्षः । अध्यक्ष्यंप्रस्ति राजे निनाता ग्रह्मा प्रविद्यात्वर्षः । १ वस्त्रे 🍂 राजन्यवर्षः व वस्त्रवात्वर्णः 6 ति वर्षेत्र । रक्षेत्र कर्ने तामस्त्रेत्रश्च दुवस्त्र प्रविधः । तनावस्त्र स्वीति । इत्यानाचारा त्रमुखं सञ्चन दुवस्त बादा (स्वमानात्र स्वित्व वर्षेत्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्व 8 8 बीलेस्ट मंत्रा बंग स्वाग लोक लोक नेवत्य अपने संघ ने वह है है ्ष्याहरूप्याहरूपायः विद्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्य श्रीतिकारः स्टब्स्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्याव्यक्ति स्टब्स्याहरूपायः स्टब्स्य 10 10 12 12 ्रे प्राप्त यो नी है जो तिस्त किया निस्तार है साह वे पहुँ स्वीत की किया है कि स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त की की स्वाप्त की की स्वाप्त की साह की स्वाप्त की साह की स्वाप्त की साह की स्वाप्त की साह की साह के स्वाप्त की साम की स 14 14 16 16 स्त्रामहित्रेश करिताहर अधि है । ति है कि कि कि कि है । स्त्रा ति लोग है लीन कि प्रकार के अधि निर्मा के में स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध क कि स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के सम्बद्ध के स्वर्ध षूरातराज्ञाक स्वायान ने विस्तान के विस्तान में 18 18 नमसंहा न केमें हो ती हैं ती व बाइ पूर्व के 20 विवाहित स्मेरवंत्र श्रीतिमदेवीमद्भादानु शातप 20

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ा महाराष्ट्रीतिक्तार्गहर्गान्ति। में से पहें रामक्ता निर्देश के स्वाधित के स्वाधित के स्वाधित के स्वाधित के स । श्रीपाद्यतिकत्तां प्रकारित के स्वीदर्ग में स्वाधित के सिर्देश के स्वाधित के स्वाधित के सिर्देश के स्वाधित के असे भागी बद्धा (में द्रामहासामहा अक्टापटील के प्रमात्त्र वा शहर क्या अने का प्रदेश मिलिकी अल्लाने निर्वाण स्वाध रत्या च नदार्क् गुराति न्लिशिवान्द्राप्रो दिता असीप्रसन क्यामनियासिङ्ग्लपदारग्रह्मस्यवाहिमाज्ञस्यातावरातिसमाङ्गपदाविचानिहित्सस्यस्ववस्यस्य क्यदिस्मिनीस्गानित्त्रीसिनिदिनिप्रदेशिमानग्रद्धाः वर्गानिविवत्स्नां वाशिनिद्धाः वर्गानिविवत्स्नां वर्गानिविवत्स्तां वर्गानिविवत्स्नां वर्गानिविवतिविवातिः (सर्देश्वयाणायात्रातिवृद्धायभूरवारोद्देवनो।एभूठा राजाम् : स्त्रमीमावर्धेन रचनुरापाटविगुद्दः सेति। हेलिस्तुले॰ सम्मन्देले॰ सलवागाकरें इसगति घरे॰ यविमेनपावराः सजाहीलावीपार्सी गाना दिल नंब्रुवार्सिदेवःसनदीपर्वतःतागर्वे पूर्विणवाङ्च नी यसवतीकामन्विष्मिभास्तिः हितानादाय् ः भाव विविधिकारावादिक्रततिवासामादायः सद्युगस्यागान्। विवर्गरिविविधिकात्रे पुग्यविद्धित्यी शक्तिगर्वाद्याणाया देवप्रवृत्तित्वित्रास्त्रील् संप्रदेतिः। शत्रावतिर्विनोदार्वे वेदितिया गित्रशिद्धायात्रभी भाजनान्यायायायाकालानदः। सामानार्यवन्तरम् नुगामाकालिकालप्रालनीयात्विदेशावस्य वि िःस्मानादितिः। शास्त्रस्यंगरादानितिसंसास्सत्तर्ग्यः ले॥ अतिमिलेनानिकस्तर्मेचेपारिक सन्तरस्यवं।।तस्रवाद्यासहास्त्राप्त्रशास्ववश्वतंत्रवाद्यावाद्यात्वाद्यस्त्राज्ञात्वात्वात्वर्यः।वित्रान्त्रस्य गुर्गास(वश्वायारुक्तिनेत्रापित्रितसदम्जिति।।प्रजित्वेत्रस्ति।। न्यायवस्ति। रामनकवासन्।।वानिहीमच्याक्रवाराष्ट्रकातनको।सिनः। रायस्यानिहीधानिहर्वेदासदि। तान् मिरला खेल दहारिता है स्वाह परात्र बदहता साम बला किया अपिहा उद्गातिष्यणिक्षां,णिक्षतेस्वधान्ति। भर्गितदायन क्वित्राति व र्गितिसिन्य जिकल्लसत्त्वपूर्वर्गे। अस्तिने छापरिकास वा को भाईपिति वितास मस्तिहर्दे निर्माण सिकार यापुर्वस्मामाविषयितिर्वेशीसास्त्वनाः। त्याविस्वाङ्गानिर्वायया

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A Seal of Jayasimha.



(From a photograph).

- 28 सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः सगर्तोषरः सनिर्ममप्रवेशः सजाङ्गलानूपो वृक्षारामो-द्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नतृणादिसिह्तः सनदीपर्व्वतः भागकरप्रवणिवाडचरीरसवतीकामतविसेणिमादायपट्टिकलादायदुः -साध्यादा -
- यवि(वै)षियकादायादिकृतकरिष्यमाणादायैः सह² अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पंडितश्रीदामोदर-प्रत्राय पंडितश्रीदेल्हण-
- 31 शर्मणे वा (बा)ह्मणायोदकपूर्व्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवित यथा ॥ सर्व्वनितान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-
- 32 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धम्मैसेतुन्नृ (र्मृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ । [१८॥*] व(व)हुभिव्वंसुधा [भु]क्ता राज-
- 33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥⁴[१९॥*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति याव-
- 34 दाभूतसंप्लवं (वम्) ॥[२०॥*] तहागानां सहस्रोण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भू-मिहत्तां न शुध्यति ॥[२१॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत व-
- 35 सुंघरां (राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जिति ॥[२२॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो वसित भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये—
- 36 व नरके वसेत् ॥[२३॥*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसप्पस्ति जायन्ते देव-व्र(व्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥[२४॥*] अन्यायेन
- 37 ह्ता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता। हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं (लम्) ॥[२५॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि प्रयच्छ-
- 38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकम्माणी नियतं स्वर्गेगामिनौ [॥२६॥*] शंखो भद्रासनं च्छत्रं वराश्वा वरवारणाः [॥*] भूमिदानस्य चिन्हा (ह्ना) –
 - 39 नि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥[२७॥*] अस्मिन्वंशे परिक्षीण (णो) यः किन्नभूपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तल-ग्नोस्मि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[२८॥*]
- 40 अभ्युद्धरस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्धम्मस्य सूनुना । लिखितं वत्सराजेन चेदीशदशमूलिना ॥[२९॥*] मञ्जलं ॥ महाश्री: ॥ ♦

Second Plate : Second Side

- 41 सिद्धिः [॥*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेः श्रेयोण्णंवं प्रीणयन्पूर्णः शीतमरीचिरंचिततमैरभ्यां च्चितः सद्गुणैः । विद्याः विद्याः
 - 42 कंदलयंस्तमांसि दलयन्नित्यं पतियंज्वनां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां द्राघीयसे राघवः ॥ [३०॥*]

reflected this particular expenses the entered to element of entering the

43 श्रीकोकासवंशपाल्हणसुतरूपकारताल्हणेनोत्कीण्णं (ण्णंम्) ॥

Seal

श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव[:*]।।

¹ Read - पन्वती.

^{*} Read सहागस्त्य-.

³ Metre: Sälinī.

¹ Metre of verses 19-29: Anushtubh.

[ै] The metre requires a reading like हारवन्तरच, but it would be ungrammatical.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Brahman!

[For a translation of verses 1-12, see that of vv. 1-8, 10, 12, 14 and 15, above, pp. 296 ff.]

(Verse 13) His (i.e., Yaśaḥkarṇa's) son of unrivalled prowess became famous as the illustrious Gayākarṇa; in whose wars the earth, replete with blood from the cut-off necks of arrogant foes, was, as it were, in love (with him).

(V. 14) He begat on Alhanadevi the illustrious prince Narasimhadeva, as sensa-

tion produces in will a righteous effort.

(V. 15) Though he caused great joy among multitudes of learned people by his precious gifts of gold and food¹ (unlike the man-lion god who pleased hosts of gods only by killing Hiranyakasipu) and did away with cupid's pride by his superb beauty (unlike the ugly man-lion god), he was, oh wonder! still (called) Narasimhadeva!

(V. 16) May his younger brother Jayasimhadeva be victorious—(he) who is waited upon even by princes resplendent with valour! Being deprived of their glory by his liberality, the celestial tree hastily left (the world) and Bali disappeared underground!

(V. 17) On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimhadeva the Gurjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (his) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean.

(Line 19) This victorious (king), the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Jayasiṁhadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga, who has by (the might of) his arm, attained suzerainty over the three kings, (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva,—having called together the Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the Mahārajaputra, the Mahāmātya, the illustrious Rājaguru Vimalašiva, the Mahāpurōhita, the Dharmapradhāna Pandita, the illustrious Rāghava, the Mahāpradhāna, Arthalēkhin² Thakkura the illustrious Daśamūlika,³ the Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura, the illustrious Purushōttama, the Pratīhāra, the illustrious Kamalasiṁha, the Dushṭasādhya,⁴ the illustrious Padmasiṁha, the Mahāsāmanta, the Akshapaṭalika, the Pramattavāra, the Aśvasādhanika, the Bhāndāgārika—these and other (officers) and the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted,—duly honours, informs and commands them (as follows):—

(L. 25) "Be it known to you that on (the occasion of) the lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the year 918, we, having bathed in the Rēvā and having worshipped the holy Mahādēva, have given as a grant with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, the village Agarā near Akharauda to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with pasture-land for cows, with land and water, with mango and mahnā trees, with salt mines, with its pits and barren lands, with (the right)

¹ There is a play on the word Hiranyakasipu which means (1) gold and food (kasipu) and (2) the name of a demon who was killed by Vishņu in his man-lion incarnation.

This appears to be a technical title corresponding to the modern 'Chief Secretary,'

³ This officer is called *Dajamūlin* in verse 29 below. The post was then held by Vatsarāja. He is named in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4, below) also.

⁴ This corresponds to the Dauhsādhatādhanika usually mentioned in the records of the Pālas. It was a technical title probably denoting 'an officer in charge of criminals.'

of) egress and ingress, with fertile¹ and marshy lands, with tree-groves, plant-gardens, grass and so forth, with rivers and hills, with the (royal) share (of produce), taxes, (the cess on) pravanis,² vāḍa, grazing tax, liquor tax, kāmata, the cess on visēṇimā,³ the tax levied for Paṭṭakilas⁴ and Dussādhyas,⁵ the district rates and such other taxes levied or to be levied,—to the Brāhmaṇa, the illustrious Paṇḍita Dēlhaṇaśarman, the son of the illustrious Paṇḍita Dāmōdara, of the Agastya gōtra and three pravaras."

And in this matter this is the prayer of the donor-

(Here follow eleven benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(V. 29) (This charter) has been written by Vatsarāja, the son of the illustrious Dharma and son's son of Abhyuddhara, (who is) the Dasamulin of the lord of Chēdi. May there be bliss and great prosperity!

Success !

(V. 30) May Rāghava, the lord of sacrificers, the full moon that delights the ocean of well-being of this illustrious king Jayasimha, who is honoured on account of his virtues, cause great prosperity and happiness to the learned, making the lores sprout forth, and annihilating ignorance!

(This charter) has been engraved by the sculptor Tālhaṇa, the son of Pālhaṇa of the illustrious Kōkāsa family.

Seal

The illustrious Jayasimha.

No. 64; PLATE LIII

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926.

THE stone bearing this inscription was found at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The record has been referred to several times, e.g., by Dr. F. E. Hall in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, p. 533, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, p. 210 and, again, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 10, n. 4 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, (second ed.), p. 42; but owing presumably to its very bad preservation⁶ none attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents. The record was for the first time edited by me in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXV, pp. 309

¹ Compare अस्पोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवातः प्रचुरातपः। स ज्ञेयो जाङगलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसंयुतः॥ in Kullūka's com. on Manusmṛiti, adhyāya VII, v. 69.

^a Vāda, kāmata and vishēnima, which occur also in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasiriha (below, Appendix, No. 4), I am unable to explain.

² Kielhorn draws attention to the similarity of the expression vanik-pravani-pramukha in 1, 6 of the Rājōr inscription of Mathanadēva and vanik-śrēshthi-purōga (Ep.Ind., Vol. III, p. 263, n. 4.). Pravani therefore, seems to mean Śrēshthin, a banker. Pravani-kara is mentioned in other records also, see, e.g., line 28 of the Faizābād grant of Jayachchandra, Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 12.

^{*} Paţţakilas are mentioned in some records together with jānapadas (residents of the country) as persons living in the village to whom the royal order is addressed. See, e.g., line 18 of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasimha, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 49. Paṭṭakila probably represents the modern Pāṭil or headman of a village.

⁵ These were probably criminals and other suspects living within the limits of the village.

⁶ Hiralal remarks that 'this is a pretty big record, but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.' I. C. P. B., p. 42.

ff. It is edited here from the original stone and its inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 84" high. The average size of the letters is .5". The surface of the stone which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather and several letters in the middle as well as the right-hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible.

The characters are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of b as an independent letter in bibhrat=, l. 25 and in its superscript form in $=bvabh\bar{u}v=$, l. 9, to the form of the initial i in iti, l. 12, of the initial i in iti, l. 15 and of i, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8 in Sivaya, l.1. The language is Sanskrit, and except for the obeisance to Siva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The orthography does not present anything calling for special notice except that v and b as well as s and s are confounded in some places.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Siva) by Vimalasiva, the religious preceptor of the king Jayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripuri. The god was named Kirrisvara after Vimalasiva's guru Kirtisiva. The inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the

temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.1

The record is dated in words as well as numerical figures in the year 926 without any specification of the month, fortnight, tithi or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to 1174-75 A.C. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, viz., that which occurred on the amāvāsyā of the pūrņimānta Pausha, on Tuesday, the 26th November. 1174 A.C. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasiriha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up.² It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasiriha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918³ to K. 928.⁴

After three mangala-slokas in praise of Siva, we are told that the god revealed the Saiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Saiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva⁵ and Västuśiva⁶ only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Purushaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśahkarna's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayākarna.

¹ I take ravēb parvaņi in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. Parvan also means a sankrānti, but in that case the name of the sankrānti would have been specified.

² There was a solar eclipse on the amāvāsyā of pūrnimānta Āshāḍha(the 1st June 1174 A. C.) also. So the year can be taken as current. But current years are cited very rarely.

³ Above, No. 63.

⁴ Below, No. 66.

This Vimalasiva is probably different from the Saiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

^a I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmāšīva in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karņa and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karņa downwards are described as meditating. (See Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Saiva Āchārya named Vāmarāši is also mentioned as living in Banaras in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla, dated V. 1083, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Saiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karņa; for the next legible name is that of Purushašīva who was the gurn of Karņa's son Yaśahkarna. But the second akshara of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like ma. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Saiva ascetic; see A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, pp. 152 ff.

His desciple was Kīrtiśiva who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasimha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his description. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśiva. He belonged to the gōtra of Viśvāmitra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā, and other tīrthas, he was initiated in the Saiva doctrine by Kīrtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal, and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmaṇas constructed by him is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutely bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Siva under the name Kīrtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kīrtiśiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages, which was named Tēkabhara, was situated in the vishaya (district) of Navapattalā and the other two named Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha or Avaḍōha in Samudrapāṭa which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri from Yasahkarna downwards. It may, however, be noted in this connection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gövindachandra¹ mention the Saiva Āchārya Rudraśiva, not Purushaśiva, as the Rājaguru of Yāśaḥkarna. Perhaps Yaśaḥkarna had two Rājagurus in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the guru of Jayasimha occurs in his Jabalpur plates² also.

The present prasasti was composed by the poet Sasidhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya³ gōtra. He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, while his elder brother Pṛithvidhara was the author of the Tēwar inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa. The present record was incised on the stone by Nannadēva, the son of Mahidhara. His father was the sculptor of the aforementioned stone inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa and that of Alhaṇadēvi.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkabhara may be identical with Tikhāri, 5 miles south by west of Jabalpur. The vishaya (district) of Navapattalā in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhāri. Samudrapāṭa is probably Samand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jabalpur. There are several villages named Kuṇḍa or Kuṇḍan near Jabalpur, one of which may represent the ancient Kaṇḍaravāḍa. No place exactly corresponding to Vaḍōha or Avaḍōha can, however, be traced in the Jabalpur District. Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa and Gayā are too well-known to need identification.

TEXT4

सिद्धिः [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय ।। उन्मीलत्कमलावलिम्व (म्ब)तरितर्वन्द्वद्विजेन्द्रस्थितिर्तिर्दोषा
 [म]हितप्रकाशवसितः [कारुण्यपूर्णोद्गितः] । सम्यग्विति[संश्रिता]हितकृतिः [श्रीसर्वः]—
 देहोद्गितिर्द्भत्वा पुण्यकृदात्मजः

All of this and the two following words: All to small !

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

² Above, No. 63. Vimalasiva is also mentioned in the Dhurëti plates, below, No.72.

³ This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasiniha (above, No. 60, l. 26), but the Götrapravaranibandhakadamha spells it as Mauna.

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions.

^a Expressed by a symbol.

- शुभकृति विध्वस्तदैत्योद्धतिः । [१॥*] वृषप्रतिष्ठः श्रितवारिजश्री १-०--००-०।

 ०-०--००---, १-०--००--- ॥²[२॥*] १०००--०, १०००-
 -००। १०००--०, -
- 3 ज्यं पश्यंति तं नृमः ॥³[३॥*] जगतामात्मसं[सि]द्धपै शिवः शैवमकलपयत्। ४४४४०—— ७,४४५७—०७ ॥[४॥*] ०—०——००—०, ०—०——००—० —। ०—०——००—०—, ०—०——
- - 9 मोस्य शिष्यः ॥ 13 [१६॥ *] यस्माद्यशःकण्णंनराधिपस्य प्रादुब्वं (ब्वं) भूवाभ्युदयप्रगत्भा । धम्मा— र्थंकामेषु तथा समृद्धियंथा गिरां पत्युरमःयंभर्तः ॥ 14 [१७॥ *] [शक्ती] श्रीगयकण्णंदेवनृपतेः — — — — ए — ए — ए न्यन्तिताः ।
- 11 स्य सुमनोभूषणश्चियः। गीयते चरितं यस्य सिद्भः कल्पतरोरिव ॥17[२०॥*] सत्कीत्तिकल्प-

¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

² Metre: Upēndravajrā or Upajāti.

³ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre: Vanisastha.

⁶ Metre: Upēndravajrā.

⁶ Metre: Anushtubb.

⁷ About 18 aksharas are gone here.

⁸ Metre: Upagiti.

⁹ Metre: Anusbtubb.

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following four verses: Anushtubh.

¹² About 30 aksharas are lost here.

¹³ Metre; Giti.

¹⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁵ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁶ Metre: Viyögini.

¹⁷ Metre of this and the two following verses: Anushtubb.

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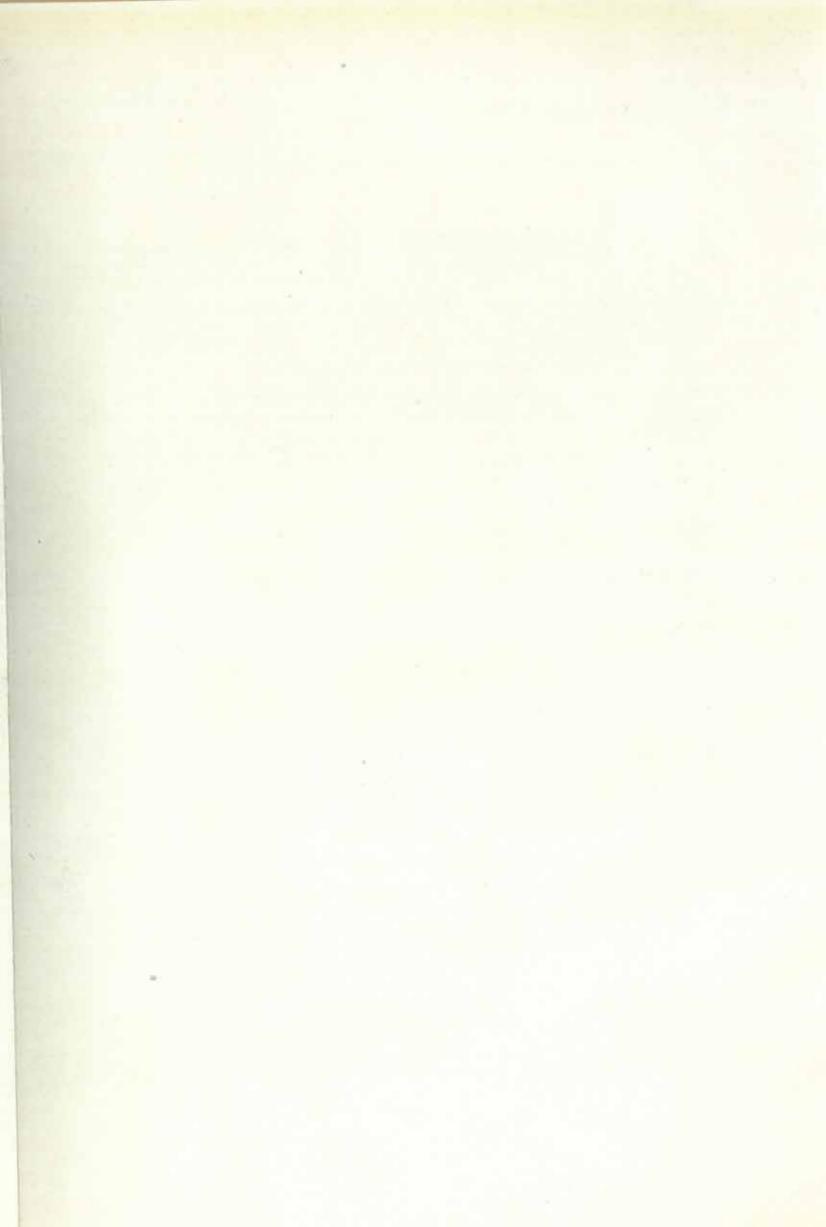
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26

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

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लतिकावष्टंभाद्भुतभुरुहः । तस्य कीत्तिशिवः शिष्य[स्तिष्य ?] प्रप् [बभव सः] [॥२१॥*] [येन देव ?] ०-- ७, ००० ० ० - ० ०। नरसिंहनरेन्द्रस्य बभवा-

- 12 भ्युदयाय सः ॥[२२॥*] न स्यंदनं वसुमती न च चंद्रसुर्यौ चक्रे न सारथिरभृत्स च विश्वयोनिः। नेषुहिर: परपुराणि तथापि भस्म चके यतः स इति कीर्तिशिवः स्फू -- ॥1[२३॥*] यशोभिरि-दुविशदैस्तथैवारिविकषितैः । अपूप्रत्स सर्व्वाशा विवे-
 - 13 ककुसुमैरिव ॥²[२४॥*] दृष्टौ च विप्र (प्लु)ष्टमनोभवोपि प्रसन्नचंद्रप्रतिमाननोपि । वषप्रति-ष्ठोपि शिवावसक्तोप्यभूत्स नोग्नो न च सद्विजिहवः ॥³[२५॥*] कलचुरिकुल यन्ति प्रदीपा । स यथैव तथेन्द्रियाणि सर्वा-
- 14 ण्यपि विश्रामसुरद्वरिदिरायाः ॥⁶[२६॥*] विश्वामित्रजगन्मित्रगोत्त्रे मैत्र्याद्यलंकृताः । प्रापु-विवप्राः कियंतो न प्रतिष्ठां परमेष्ठिनः ॥ (२७॥) येषां सम्यगधीतवेदविषयज्ञानार्थमत्याद— रा[त्*] [येषां - 0 0 - [रदायनमभू] - - 0 - 0 - 1 येषां [चा]र्थसमद्धिभः समभव-
- 15 न्निष्टानि पूर्तानि च प्राशस्त्येन महीभृतामिव सदा यायावराणामपि ॥⁸[२८॥*] कमात्तत्रा-भवद्गोत्रे मैत्रीं सत्रे (वें) पु संदघत् । ऋचां पदकमाघीती वो (वो) द्वा च मधुसूदनः ॥ [२९॥ *] दक्षिणाशावतंसस्य कुंभयोनेरिवाधिकम् । व(व)भूव यस्य विवु(बु)घोद्वो(द्वो)घाय म-
- 16 हिमोदयः ॥[३०॥*] द्विजेन्द्रभूषणात्तस्मादुमेवोमाभिधा वधः । अलंबके तनजेन स्कन्देनेव जगत्त्रयम् ॥ [३१॥*] सोधीत्य वेदान्वेदार्थानधिगम्य व्रतं वहन् । ७७७७ ॥ - - ७ नभस्वानिव दक्षिणः ॥[३२॥*] प्रभासगोकण्णं[ग]यादितीर्थेष्वा-
- 17 नृष्यमापद्य सुरादिवर्ये । शैवं व्रतं कीर्त्तिशिवाद्वभार समग्रमुग्रादुपमन्युवद्यः ॥ १० [३३॥ *] कल्पा-युव्विमलशिवः स एष [तस्मा]द्वि(द्वि)भ्राणः कलियुगकल्पपादपत्वम् । [यच्छा]यां विवृ(ब्)ध-गणोधिगम्य घत्ते वैधुर्यन्न खलु [महोत्स]बोदयेषु ॥11[३४॥*] जा-
- 18 तिः सज्जनपुजिता रतिपतेर्व्यावत्तंनायाकृतिर्व्यक्तिः कांतिसुहत्प्रशांतिसुतपा¹² स्फीतिर्गुणानां गुरुः । रीतिः [प्रीति]करी सतामतितरां नीतिः सदा तद्विदां [मौनं मङ्गल]मुद्यमैकसरणेरस्यैव संदृश्यते ॥ 13 [३५॥ *] वाणी सद्गुणनैपुणप्रण-
 - 19 यिनी व्र (व्र)ह्मास्यपद्माश्रया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूषवत्स14वसतिप्रेमेति [लो]कोक्तयः। एतस्मिन्य-रद्भुतं द्वयमिदं सानंद[मुद्यो (इयो)]तते तादृग्यादृगजीजन[त्सुमनसां] चेतस्सु - - - - ।।[३६।।*] विद्यासमुद्रचंद्रस्य तपःश्रीसरसीरुहः । सत्योत्सवाद्रेः स-
 - 20 द्वतमित्रस्यास्याद्भुतं न किम् ॥ [३७॥ *] यस्याधिद्विजराजदर्शनवशाद्दानाम्बु (म्बु) भिव्वं-ढंते श्रद्धा [रात्रिदिवं] वरेण विधिना [धर्म्मस्य] वल्लीरिव¹⁶ । यो दर्शेष्वपि सादरं द्विजपती-

¹ Restore स्फूटं स:। Metre: Vasantatilakā.

² Metre: Anushtubh.

³ Metre: Upajāti.

⁴ About 5 aksbaras are missing here.

⁶ About 7 aksharas are gone here,

Metre: Aupachebhandasika.

⁷ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁸ Metre: Särdülavikrīdita.

⁹ Metre of this and the next three verses: Anushtubb.

¹⁰ Metre: Upajāti.

¹¹ Metre: Prabarshini.

¹² The visarga is dropped here by the vārttika on Pāṇini, VIII, 3,36.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁴ The second vatsa here means 'the breast'.

¹⁵ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁶ Properly बल्लीव, but this reading would not suit the metre.

- ा नक्षीणक्षोभाभरान्दक्षो योजयते सुवण्णंविकश (स)त्सद्रोहिणीनां स(श)तैः ॥ [३८॥ *]
- 21 सकलनृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेसासुदाक्यं समधिकमधि —— ए— जयंधुयः । द्विजपतिरपि पूण्णः कोम-लाभः कलाभिः कलयति वललीलां योरि —— ए—— ॥²[३९॥*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिकृतु— कतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो—
- 22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमी यः क्वचिदिप सहते स(श)क्तिमुत्सेचियत्रीम् । पृथ्वीपालेन नित्यं व(व)हुल-समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव जाडचं [कथम]पि विधिवित्रित्यनैमित्तिकेषु ॥³ . . . [४०॥*] नित्यं वासनया ७-७७७---७-- संजज्ञे न विचा-
- 23 रपूर्विकविधि[देतां] न यम्नास्ति तत् । पात्रं तन्न यदिन्वतं न व (ब)हुशस्तीर्थं न तद्भूतले दान-स्नानतपोभिरद्भृततमैर्यन्नामुना संस्कृतम् ॥ [४१॥ *] साधीयांसि महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणु-रूपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्य वद्धंन्ते महांसीव यशां-
- 24 सि च ॥ [४२॥ *] उद्यानसरसी [सत्त्र]प्रासादद्विजवेश्मभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्यस्य न कैर्भूषा-भरौदिवम् ॥ [४३॥ *] यो मंत्रैः करवित्तनः समकरोल्लेकान्परेभ्यः परान् - - - ज्जैयसिहदेव-नृपतिभंक्त्यातिनम्रोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्विमलेश्वरः कलिमलप्र-
- विस्तार[येश्नंदनीम्] ॥ अचीकरच्चंद्र— मौले मेमंन्दिरमादरात्। गुरोः कीत्तिशिवस्यतत्कीत्तंये सुकृताय न ॥ १ ४५॥ वेबाय कीर्त्ती— क्वरसंज्ञिताय प्रादादमुख्मे जयसिंहदेवः। विभ्यद्भवे भिन्तभरं गुरौ
- 26 च ग्रामान्त्रवेः पर्व्यणि न[व्य]दायान् ॥ [४६॥ *] [टेकभराख्य]स्तेषामेको नवपत्तलाविषये। अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडो वडोहस्च (६च) ॥ 10 [४७॥ *] मौन्यान्वयद्विजेंद्रश्रीघरणीघरनंदनः । प्रसस्तिमकरोदेताम्त्रीत्या शसिघरः 1 कविः ॥ 12 [४८॥ *] सूत्रधारशि—
- 27 [रोरत्न]महीधरतन् द्भवः शिलामलंकरोदेतां नामदेवोऽक्षरं व्यवरं ।।[४९॥*] सम्बत्पर्विश— त्युत्तरनवश्वताङ्कोप¹⁴९२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचंद्रौ यातायातं नभस्तले तपतः । तावत्कीर्त्तनमेतत्कीर्त्य कर्त्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥¹⁵[५०॥*]

- PRESENTED TRANSLATION TRANSLATION (B) F (FILL)

Success! Om! Obeisance to Siva!

(Verse 1) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, [Siva] who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, and is full of compassion, destroys the

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¹ Metre: Särdülavikridita.

^a Metre: Mālinī.

³ Metre: Sragdbars.

⁴ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīdita.

⁷ Some word like राग् is omitted after चंद्रमौले:.

⁸ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Metre: Upajāti.

¹¹ Read शशिषर.

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following verse: Anashfubb.

¹³ अलंकरोत् is grammatically incorrect. Read अलंबकारेतां.

¹⁴ Read संवत् षड्विंशत्युत्तरनवशते छूपि.

¹⁵ Metre: Aryā.

(evil) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, and annihilates the
arrogance of demons.
(V. 2) Siva, who is mounted on the bull who has the heaver of langer
(V. 3) We praise the praiseworthy (Siva), whom they see
(V. 4) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Siva revealed his doctrine
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
(V. 5) Those whose direct knowledge failed
(V. 6) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time
(V. 7)
(V. 8) Having installed his disciple, Vimalasiva, in his own place, he
(v. 9) whose dear rame
(V. 10) (He) who was named Vastusiva, who caused great blice who
in the country of the lords of Chedi
(V. 11)
(V. 12) His disciple named -siva, who acquired a great excellence of
wealth in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life.
(V. 13) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
(V. 14) like multitudes of merits
(V. 15) He, though possessed of equanimity bose love to the
was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (and) was devoted to Siva
THE CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF
(V. 16) Purushaśiva, the best of men, who was conversant with
The the thought
(V. 17) On account of whom there arose as much abundance
perity in religious ment, wealth and enjoyment of Yasahkaena as that of (talan) at
Total of mimorals through Dringspati.
(V. 18) His disciple, Saktisiva (pulse quamented) the (ton)
dayanalila light for the fortone many harden - 1
as he did the occan of icaming with the excellence of his intellent
(v. 19) the prowess of the king Gavekarna
(V. 20) THE GEEDS OF him who is pre-eminently counts I
whose weath is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the
the state of the s
(V. 21) The disciple of him,—a marvellous tree supporting the wish-fulfilling
Plant of hoofe fathe—(was) Kirusiva
(V. 22) He caused the prosperity of the king Narasimha
(V. 23) (Unuse Swa) he had not the earth for his chariot are the
and the state wheels, not Dialilla for his charloteer nor Vishon for his agree 1 Call 1
duced to assess the cities of the enemies (as) wa did those of demons). Hence he (may) [clearly]
Kirtiśiva (Siva in glory).
M and Ha cut to ut

(V. 24) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion2 and was devoted to Siva (even as Siva burned the god of love by his glance, has the bright disc of the moon on his forehead,

¹ For the equipment of Siva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see Mabābbārata, Drōṇaparvan, adhyāya 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitraśālā Press ed.).

² There is a play on the word vrisha meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

is mounted on the bull, and is attached to Pārvatī¹) he was, (unlike Siva who is called Ugra² and wears serpents), neither dreadful in appearance, nor attended by informers³.

(V. 26) The great lights the Kalachuri family As he, so all his

sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27) In the gotra of Viśvāmitra which is a friend of the world how many Brāhmaņas adorned with benevolence⁴ and other (virtues) have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēshṭhin (God)?

(V. 28) Their . . . with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that gotra Madhusudana who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the pada and krama recensions of the Rigveda and

understood its meaning.

(V. 30) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men even as the rise of the star Agastya, 5 the ornament of the southern direction, causes the awakening of the gods (from slumber).

(V. 31) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaņas, (his) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents he, observing vows, . . . pleased all people like the southern breeze.

(V. 33) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā, and other holy places, he received (initiation in) the Saiva vow from

Kīrtiśiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (i.e. Siva).

(V. 34) (May) this Vimalasiva, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(the tree), having come under the shade of which, a multitude of Brāhmaṇas do not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35) In the case of only this (Vimalasiva) who is solely devoted to exertion, are seen (the following), viz., birth of a caste (viz., Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (handsome) form which can turn back the god of love (in discomfiture), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to politicians (and) blessed silence.

(V. 36) "The goddess of speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahma's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishnu) who is adorned with Srivatsa." This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused . . . in the minds of magna-

nimous people.

(V. 37) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(him) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

2 Ugra is a name of Siva.

Maitri is one of the four bhavanas which yogins cultivate.

¹ Siv-āvasaktō is to be interpreted in two ways; (1) Siva-avasaktō meaning 'devoted to Siva', and (2) Sivā-avasaktō meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

^a Dvijibva (two-tongued) means (i) a scrpent, and (ii) an informer.

⁵ The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of Sarad or autumn.

(V. 38) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaņas who approach him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night with the libations of water (poured at the time of) making gifts like the creeping plant of religion, in an excellent manner. Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.¹

(V. 39) Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader . . . The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (viz., Vimalasiva), though

proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies2

(V. 40) Though he is ever looked at with great curiosity by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he, (though) of a forgiving nature, does not at all suffer the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed (by the king) in many suitable affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (the performance of) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41) (There is) no discriminating action which he has not performed; (there is) no gift which he has not conferred; (there is) no deserving person whom he has not honoured many times, (and) (there is) generally no holy place on the earth which he has not sanctified with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42) Of him who is like Siva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings

increase like his great lustre.

- (V. 43) With what ornaments (supplied) by him does not the earth surpass heaven?

 —(the earth, which has) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brahmanas?
- (V. 44) May that illustrious Vimalasiva,—who, by his counsel, has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes,³ [to whom] the king Jayasiriha [bows] becoming very humble through devotion,—spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45) He caused a temple of the moon-crested god (Siva) to be constructed for the

fame and religious merit of his teacher Kirtisiva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46) To this god named Kirtiśvara, Jayasimhadeva, through devotion to Siva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (the occasion of) the sun's eclipse.

- (V. 47) Of these the village called Tēkabhara is situated in the vishaya (district) of Navapattalā and two others, (viz.), Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha⁴ in (the district of) Samudrapāṭa.
- (V. 48) The poet Sasidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharanidhara who is the foremost among Brāhmanas born in the family of Maunya, has composed this prasasti with pleasure.
- (V. 49) Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures also 926.

(V. 50) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

* In this verse also, there is a pun on some words like dvija-pati, kalā, etc.

¹ There is a play on the words daksha, dvija-pati and rōhinī. Daksha gave only one Rōhinī (i. e., the star Aldebaran) to the Moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalasiva gives hundreds of rōhinīs (red cows) to Brāhmanas even on the new-moon day. The star Rōhinī is personified as the daughter of Daksha and the favourite wife of the Moon.

² Karavarttin means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalasiva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is Virādbābbāsa. ⁴ Or, Avadāba.

No. 65: PLATE LIV

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

This plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. A brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of it was given by him in his Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 145 ff. The inscription was subsequently edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

"The inscription is on a single plate measuring about 13" by 9 \(\frac{7}{4}" \) and inscribed on one side only. The surface of the plate itself is smooth; but for the protection of the writing, strips of copper about \(\frac{3}{6}" \) broad are fastened by rivets along the edge of the top and the two sides; and the bottom edge was originally protected in the same way, but the strips have been torn off and lost. The preservation of the inscription is perfect; and there is hardly any letter which is not clear and distinct in the impression.—In the upper part of the plate and secured by a strong rivet passing through the plates, there is a thicker and broader strip of copper, which towards the end projecting above the plate is turned over so as to catch and hold a plain copper ring about \(\frac{3}{6}" \) thick and 2 \(\frac{1}{6}" \) in diameter. There is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring.\(\frac{1}{6}" \)—The weight of the plate with the ring is 164\(\frac{1}{6} \) tolar'.\(\frac{1}{6} \) The letters in lines 1-2 and 11-12 are much bigger than those in others. Their size consequently varies from .25" to .15".

The characters are Nāgarī. They are somewhat irregularly formed and carelessly incised. Several letters have more than one form; see, e.g., the initial i in iva, Il.7 and 8; j in -rājādhirāja-, l.2 and upārjakō, l.5; dh in -Gayādhara-, l.10 and -madhūkaḥ, l.12, and g in gaṇa-nāyakaḥ, ll.1-2 and -gajapati-, l.3. In some places it is difficult to distinguish between v and ch, and i and s. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in praise of Hēramba and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in verse. It is somewhat carelessly written. Rules of sandhi have, in some cases, not been observed. In Il.8-15 there is a confusion of the active and passive constructions. Besides, there are some mistakes of case-inflections, e.g., in Il.9-10, the plural is wrongly used in referring to two donees. The wrong number of the compound chandr-ārkka-mēdinī and the superfluous addition of a second affix in utkīrnnitam may also be noted. As regards orthography, we find that the sign for v is throughout used to denote b; s is, in some cases, used for s as in in Kausika-, l.9 and vice versa in Vatsarājasya, l.14; and kh is employed for sh in sa-gartt-ōkharaḥ, l.12.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasimha, evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. He is mentioned here with the same imperial titles as in his Jabalpur plates. He is called a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Trikalinga and is said to have meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva who is also given the same imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Ahaḍāpāḍa situated in the Khaṇḍagahā pattalā. It was made at Karkarēḍi by the Mahārāṇaka Kīrtivarman on the occasion of offering oblations to his deceased father, the Rāṇaka³ Vatsarāja. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas, Thakuras Mahāditya and Sīlaṇa, who belonged to the Kauśika gōtra and had

¹ The seal may have been sliding on the ring as in the case of the Vākāṭaka plates.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 224.

⁸ Vatsarāja is, however, called Mahārāṇaka in the genealogical portion.

the three pravaras Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. They were sons of Thakura Chaturbhuja, son's sons of Thakura Gayādhara and son's sons' sons of Thakura Trilochana. The inscription was written with the consent of Thakura Ratnapāla by Vidyādhara the son of Thakura Mālhē, son's son of Thakura Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of Thakura Rājēśvara. It was engraved by the blacksmiths Kūkē and Kīkaka.

Kīrtivarman, who made the present gift, was evidently a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha. He was the son of Vatsarāja who was himself the son of Jayavarman. All the three princes bore the feudatory title Mahārānaka. They claimed descent from

the Kauravas, the legendary heroes described in the Mahābhārata.

The inscription is dated, in line 14, on Thursday, the fourth tithi of the bright formight of Bhadrapada in the year 926. The year is again repeated at the end of the record. In both the places it is expressed in decimal figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era and falls in the reign of Jayasimha. Dr. Kielhorn, who at first supposed that the Kalachuri era began on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada in 249 A.C., found by calculation that in 1175 A.C. (corresponding to the expired Kalachuri year 926) the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada commenced 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 21st August. The tithi was not, of course, civilly connected with that day, but as it was the Ganēśa-chaturthi, Dr. Kielhorn thought that the religious ceremonies and the gifts to Brahmanas connected with them must have been performed after the tithi commenced on that day.2 Later on, even though he shifted the beginning of the Kalachuri era to 248 A.C., he had no difficulty in showing the date of the present grant to be regular; for he had come to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Aśvina. I have shown elsewhere that the Kalachuri era probably commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the pūrnimānta Kārttika, but that also does not affect the present date. The date, therefore, corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A.C., but the reason why the tithi is mentioned here as chaturthi though it was not current at sunrise on that day is not that the ceremonies of the Ganesa-chaturthi were performed in the afternoon on that day as supposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, but that the Irāddha of the donor's father, in connection with which the donation was made, was performed in the afternoon when the fourth tithi was current. It is well known that for the performance of a śrāddha, the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon.3

Of the place-names mentioned in the present record, Kakkarēdikā is clearly Kakreri (long. 81° 12' E, lat. 24° 55' N.). Khandagahā, the headquarters of the pattalā in which the donated village was situated, is perhaps identical with Kandaihlī, about 6 miles west by south of Kakreri. The village Ahadāpāda cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT4

ा सिद्धिः [।*] स्वस्ति ।। अमोदश्च प्रमोदश्च सुमुखो दुर्म्मुखस्तदा(था) । अविष्नो विष्नकत्ती च हेल(र)म्बो(म्बो) गण-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 219. According to S. K. Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, the tithi commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday.

² Fleet also confirmed this view, drawing attention to the opening verse which is in praise of Hēramba (Gaṇēśa)

See above p. 240, n. 2. From ink impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol,

- नायकः ॥¹[१॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाबिराजपरमेस्व (२व) रश्रीवामदेवपादानुष्यातपरम[भ*]—
 ट्टारक—
- महाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (श्व) रपरममाहेस्व (श्व) रित्रकळिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जितास्व (श्व) —
 पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र—
- याधिपतिश्रीमञ्जयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये ।। असे²(शे)षविशेषार्थं असमन्वितायां देवद्विजगुरुतपिव्य —
 (स्व)निषेवितायां । कक्करेडिकाऽभिधानायां
- 5 नगर्यि कौरव[न्श] संभूत उपार्जको अशेषराजगुणालंकृतशरीरः परममाहेश्वरो महाव्र(ब्र)ह्मण्यो— ऽनेकदानोदकप्रक्षालितवा—
- 6 मेतरकरप्रकोष्ठः । वनेकसंग्रामभूमौ करिघटाकुम्भवि [श्र]वण⁹पंचाननः समस्तक्षत्रियगवँ— हृद्भिः ¹⁰ । महाराणक[ः*] श्रीजयव—
- 7 म्मं(म्मां) नाम आसीत् । एतस्य पुत्रो दुर्व्वारवैरिवारणसम[थं]:¹¹।⁵ कण्णं इव कुण्डलिकरीट— धारी ।⁵ मह(हा)राणकश्रीवत्सराजोभृत् [।*]
- 8 एतस्य पुत्रो महामाहेश्वर:12 कल्पवृक्षवत् द्विजार्थी(थि)नां वांछितफलप्रदोर्ज्न इव चापेनेक्षु(षु)-कोटिस¹³मुत्सारितारातिकु-
- 9 लो महाराणक[श्री]कीर्त्तिवर्मा¹⁴ कौसि (शि) कगोत्रस्यौ ¹⁵दलविश्वामित्रदेवरात्र(त) ¹⁶त्रि:प्रवरेभ्य: ¹⁷ यजनयाजनाध्ययन (ना) ध्या—
- पनदानप्रतिग्रहषट्कर्मरतेभ्यः 18 । 19 ठकुरश्रीत्त्रिलोचनप्रपौत्रेभ्यः 20 । ठकुरश्रीगयाधरपौत्रेभ्यः 21 । ठकुरश्रीचतुर्भु –
- जपुत्राभ्यां ठकुरश्रीमहादित्यसीलणवा (बा)ह्मणाभ्यां खंडगहापत्तलायां अहडापाडग्रामः स्वसी—

¹ Metre: Anushfubb.

² Kielhorn read this aksbara as हो, but the facsimile accompanying his article clearly shows it to be हे.

³ Kielhorn's proposal to alter this expression to विशिष्टार्थ does not appear necessary, as we find similar ones, (e.g., विशेषगण) in Sanskrit.

⁴ Kielhorn wrongly read गुरुतपाँहन and proposed to alter it to गुरुत्रयं—; but the reading तपहिन (स्व) is quite clear and suits the context very well.

⁵ This danda is superfluous.

^{*} Read नगरवर्ग.

⁷ Read कीरववंश-.

^{*} Perhaps उपाजिताशेष- is intended.

⁹ The intended reading may have been विदारण as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹⁰ Some words like शस्त्रे हेपेत; seem to be omitted here. Kielhorn proposed to read - ग्रेहत.

¹¹ Kielhorn read [संव] नं:, but there is no trace of an anusvāra on म, the second letter is probably म and the third an imperfectly incised मं:

¹² The matra on 7 is cancelled.

¹³ A superfluous म which was at first incised between म and म is cancelled.

¹⁴ There is a kākapada below म्र्न, indicating that the akabara म्रा incised in the top margin (with the figure 9 to indicate the proper line) is to be inserted here. The resulting form कीरित्रमंगा (with the shortening of म्रा into म्र) is intended to be construed with संप्रदत्त: in ll. 14-15. But the cases of other adjectives and words in apposition are not similarly changed.

¹⁵ Read कीशिकगोत्राभ्यामी-.

¹⁶ There is no clear indication in the impression of a being changed to of.

¹⁷ Read - विश्ववराभ्यां. In some following expressions also the plural is used for the dual.

¹⁸ Read -रताभ्यां.

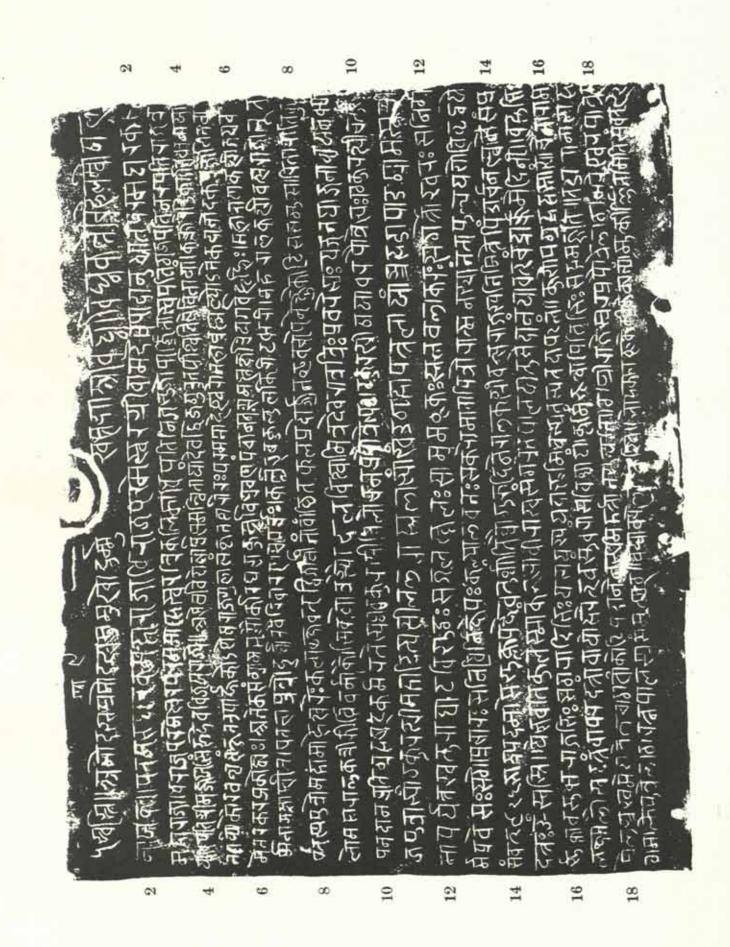
¹⁹ This and the other dandas in this line are superfluous.

²⁰ Read -प्रयोशाभ्यां.

¹¹ Read -पौत्राभ्यां.

²² This visarga, being very faint, was probably added later on.

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926





- 12 मापयन्तरचत्राघाटविशद्धः सजलस्थलः साम्रमध्कः सलवणाकरः सगत्तीख(ष)रः सनिग-
 - मं(म)प्रवेस(श): सगोप्रचार: सनिधिनि(नि)क्षेप: कल्याणधन: सकरो मातापित्रोरात्मन-इचानंता (त) पृण्ययशोविवृद्धये
 - 14 संवत् ९२६ भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे [च]तृथ्यां तिथौ गुरुदिने राणकश्रीवत्सराजश्य¹(स्य) निमित्ते पिंडाचेनस्था[ने] संप्र-
 - 15 दत्त: [।*] ओं स्वस्ति ।। ये [भ]वंति कुलेस्माकं [शू]रा वीराश्च संगरे [।] ते पालयंतु मे दानं यावत चंद्रावकंमेदिनी3 ॥ (२॥*) व (व) हिभः4
 - 16 भूंबता वसुधा राजिभः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)।। [३॥*] क्शोपग्रहहस्ताभ्यां चेत्तौ राम-
 - 17 लक्ष्मणी [1*] स्वदत्तं (त्तां) वा परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् (त) वसुंधरां (राम्) [1*] स वि-[ध्ठा] यां कृमि भ्रत्वा पत्भिः सह मज्जति ॥ ४॥ तडागानां श(स) ह-
 - 81 स्रेण [अ]श्वमे [ध*]शतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहत्तां न सु(श्)ध्यति ॥[५॥*] ठ10 । श्रीराजेस्व (२व) रप्रपौत्रेण । ठ । धारेश्वरपौत्रेण
 - 19 ठ। माल्हेपुत्रेण। ठ। रत्नपालस्य संमत्या ठ। विद्याघरेणालेखि ॥ लोह[कार]क्केकी-क11काभ्याम्त्कीण्णितमिति [।*] संवत् ९२६12 [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing is Hēramba, the lord of Ganas.

(Line 2) During the victorious reign of the Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Jayasimha, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga, who by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (viz.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (and) the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja and Paramasvara, the illustrious Vamadeva,-

(L. 4) In the city called Kakkarēdikā which is furnished with all excellent things

(and) which is resorted to by gods, Brāhmaņas, preceptors and ascetics,—

There was the Mahārāṇaka named the illustrious Jayavarman who was born in the family of the Kauravas, whose person was adorned with all royal virtues which he had acquired, (who was) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (and) very pious, whose right

" Originally में, subsequently altered to ने.

4 This visarga is superfluous. Besides, the usual expression is Babubbir =vasudbā bbuktā.

6 This word is superfluous.

"Read कृमिर्भत्वा. " Originally पित्रिमि:

10 % in this and the next line means 347.

¹ Kielhorn read this aksbara as Eq, but there is no trace of the horizontal stroke joining the two limbs of the letter.

The correct reading should be चन्द्राक्कंमेदिन्य:, but it would not suit the metre. Metre of this and the following verses: Anusbrubb.

⁵ Kielhorn took this to be the beginning of the unfinished verse. Perhaps it is meant to be connected with the following imprecation. Compare तथा चोक्तं रामभद्रेण which occurs in a similar connection. There is one syllable less in the present pada. Read -हस्ताभ्याम्चत् रामलक्ष्मणी.

⁷ Here the letters appear to be actually incised as thiba.

¹¹ The mātrā of के and the anāmara on असा have been cancelled. Read क्केकीककाभ्यामृत्कीणामिति.

¹² The figure 6, though it has has not come out in Pl. LIV, is quite clear in the plate facing p. 226 in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII.

fore-arm was washed by (*libations of*) water in making many gifts, who was a lion in breaking open the frontal globes of hosts of elephants on many fields of battle (and) (whose arms) had deprived all warriors of their pride.

His son was the Mahārāṇaka, the illustrious Vatsarāja, who was able to turn back the irresistible elephants of the enemies, (and) who, like Karṇa, wore ear-ornaments and a crown.

(L. 8) His son, the Mahārānaka, the illustrious Kīrtivarman, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,-who, like the celestial tree, grants their desired objects to the Brāhmaṇa supplicants, (and) who, like Arjuna, has routed multitudes of enemies with the tips of arrows (discharged) with (his) bow, -has granted, at the place of worshipping the balls (of rice) offered in honour of the Ranaka the illustrious Vatsaraja, on Thursday, the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Bhadrapada in the year 926, for the increase of infinite religious merit and fame of (his) mother and father and himself, the village Ahadapada in the Khandagaha pattala extending as far as its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined, together with land and water, together with mango and madhūka trees, together with salt mines, together with pits and barren lands, together with the rights of egress and ingress, together with pasture-lands, together with treasures and deposits, with beneficial wealth and together with taxes-to the Thakuras, the illustrious Brahmanas Mahaditya and Silana, the sons of the Thakura, the illustrious Chaturbhuja, son's sons of the Thakura, the illustrious Gayadhara, son's son's sons of the Thakura, the illustrious Trilochana, who belong to the Kausika gotra and have the three pravaras Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta, who are (always) engaged in the six duties, (viz.,) performance of sacrifice for themselves and for others, studying and teaching, making and receiving gifts.

Om! Hail!

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(Line 18) (This charter) has been written by the Thakura Vidyādhara, the son of the Thakura Mālhē, son's son of Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of the Thakura, the illustrious Rājēśvara, with the consent of the Thakura Ratnapāla. It has been engraved by the blacksmiths Kūkē and Kīkaka. The year 926.

No. 66: PLATE LV

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

THE stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F.E. Hall at Tewar, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is said to be of like character with that of Alhaṇadēvi's inscription. Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, pp. 512 f; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, p. 110 and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX, pp. 95 f. The inscription was next edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with a translation, but without a facsimile, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 17-19. It is edited here from two excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 17.

The inscription contains nine lines of writing of which the first eight are written breadthwise, while the last is written along the proper left margin. The writing covers a space 11" in breadth and 7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation. The letters are irregularly formed and carelessly cut. In two places in 1.5 they seem to have been changed subsequently. Their size varies from .5" to .8".

The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and except for the last three lines, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, v is used for b in Vrahma and Vrahm-ādi- in 1.1, the dental for the palatal sibilant in narēsvarab 1.3, aisvaram, 1.6 and Kēsava II.6 and 8 and n in place of anusvāra in Jayasinha, 1.4. The rule of euphony is unnecessarily applied in Narasimhadēvõ, which occurs at the end of a hemistich in 1.4, while it is neglected in Samrāt jīyā- in 1.4.

The inscription is of the reign of the Samrāṭ Jayasimhadēva, the younger brother of the king Narasimhadēva who was a son of the king Gayākarṇa, evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the building of a temple of Iśvara (Siva) by the nāyaka Kēšava of the Kātyāyana gōtra, who was the son of Aladēva. The latter was probably the son of the Brāhmaṇa Āstaka. Kēšava was a resident of the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka.

The inscription is dated in the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Hasta. The year and the tithi are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. At Dr. Kielhorn has shown, there were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalachuri year 928, corresponding to 1176-77 A.C. The month Śrāvaṇa of the present date, though not further particularised, was the first or adhika (intercalary) Śrāvaṇa¹; for the 6th tithi of the bright half of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 3rd July 1177 A.C.) and the nakshatra Hasta also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The 6th tithi of the nija Śrāvaṇa on the other hand fell on Monday, the 1st August, on which day the nakshatra was Chitrā. Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A.C., is thus the date of the present inscription.

The village Sikhā may be identical with Sīkhā which lies about 4 miles north-west of Jabalpur. The territorial division Mālavaka in which it was situated I am unable to identify.²

TEXT3

- ा सिद्धिः व[।*] ज्ञानानंदं परं व(ब)ह्य व(ब)ह्यादिसुरसेवितं (तम्)। वंदेम−
- हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ।।⁵[१।।*] श्रीमद्गयाक-
- उण्णंनृपस्य सूनुर्झरेस्व (श्व) रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो (वः) । दि (जि) ग्ये धरि-
- 4 त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्प्राट्⁶ जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिन्हदेवः⁷ ॥⁸[२॥*]
- 5 विप्र[स्या]स्तकनाम्नो⁹ भूदालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।

¹ For another instance of the same kind, see the date of the Lal-Pahad rock inscription, No. 61, above.

It may have been identical with Mālā-dvādasaka named in 1.31 of No. 42.

³ From photographs.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

Metre: Anushtubh.

^{*} Read सम्राह.

⁷ Read श्रीजयसिंहदेव:.

^{*} Metre: Upajāti.

The engraver seems to have cut at first विश्रो योस्तकनामा and subsequently changed विश्रो into विश्र and नामा into नाम्नो. या has not been clearly altered to स्था as required.

- 6 केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमैस्व(श्व)रम् ॥1[३॥*]
- 7 सम्वत्² ९२८ श्रावण सुदि ६ रवी हस्ते ॥
- 8 नायककेस (श) वस्ये (स्य) गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल?]-
- 9 वके सीखाग्रामः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May we bow to Mahādēva, the god of gods, the father of the world, (who is) knowledge and bliss, the Supreme Brahman, served by Brahmā and other gods!

(V. 2) The illustrious lord of men, Narasimhadeva, the son of the illustrious king Gayākarņa, conquered the earth. May his younger brother, the illustrious Samrāt Jayasimhadeva, long be victorious!

(V. 3) The Brāhmaṇa named Āstaka had (a son named) Āladēva; his son Kēśava

caused this temple of Isvara to be built.

(Line 7) (In) the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvaṇa, (the moon being) in (the asterism) Hasta.

'The Nāyaka Kēsāva's gōtra is Kātyāyana and (his) place of residence the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka.

No. 67; PLATE LVI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 944

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered 'in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure' at Rewa³ in Vindhya Pradesh. It is said to have been brought over to Rewa from the Kastarā tank in the Rewa tahsīl⁴. The record was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle for 1920-21. Subsequently he gave a transcript and a translation of it in his Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments⁵ and finally edited it, with a lithograph, but without a translation, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX, pp. 295 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone measuring 4' 3½" by 1' 8½". The writing covers a space 4' 2" broad by 1' 7" high. It contains 27 lines, of which the last measures only 2' 7" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. They are irregularly and carelessly cut and incised. The letters th, bh, 5 as well as the medial i in some places present earlier forms; see, e.g., Thakkurō, 1.22, -bhūt and Yaśabpāla, both in 1.4, =yasmims=tishthē-, 1.16. Attention may also be drawn to the peculiar form of the initial i, e.g., in iti, 1.4, and iv-, 1.5, the subscript li in prakliptab, 1.5, and -pratiklipta-, 1.17, and th, of which the upper loop is open, in yath=ēśa-, 1.21. In the ligature nn, the superscript letter has in most cases the same form as the dental n, see, e.g., -pūrnna-; 1.1, -Karnna-, 1.4; but notice =Gayākarnna, 1.4, where it appears in its usual form; t is looped in some places, see, e.g., krita-girām, 1.16; b, as distinguished from v, is de-

¹ Metre: Anusbtubb.

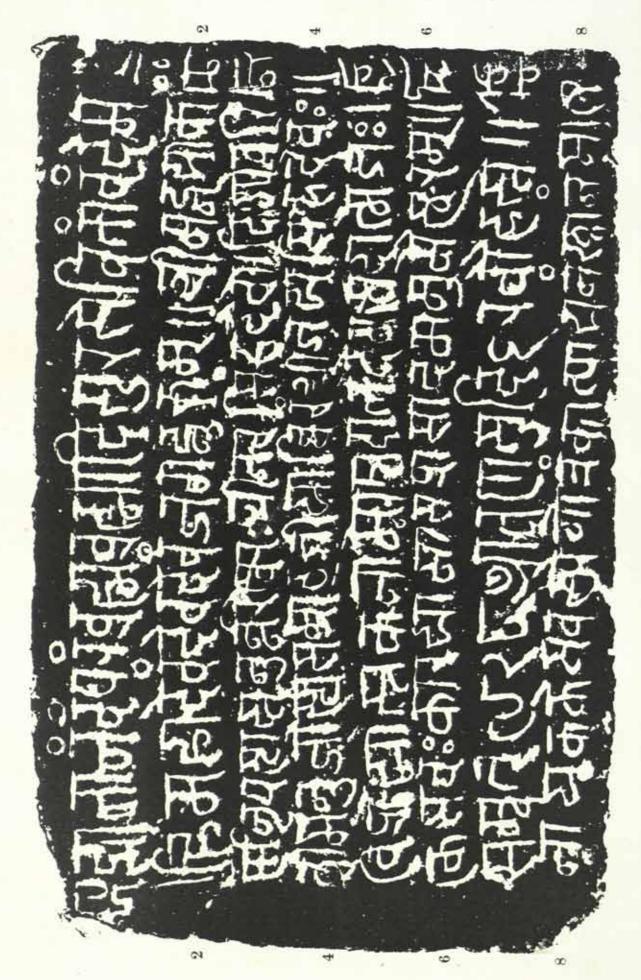
² Read संवत्.

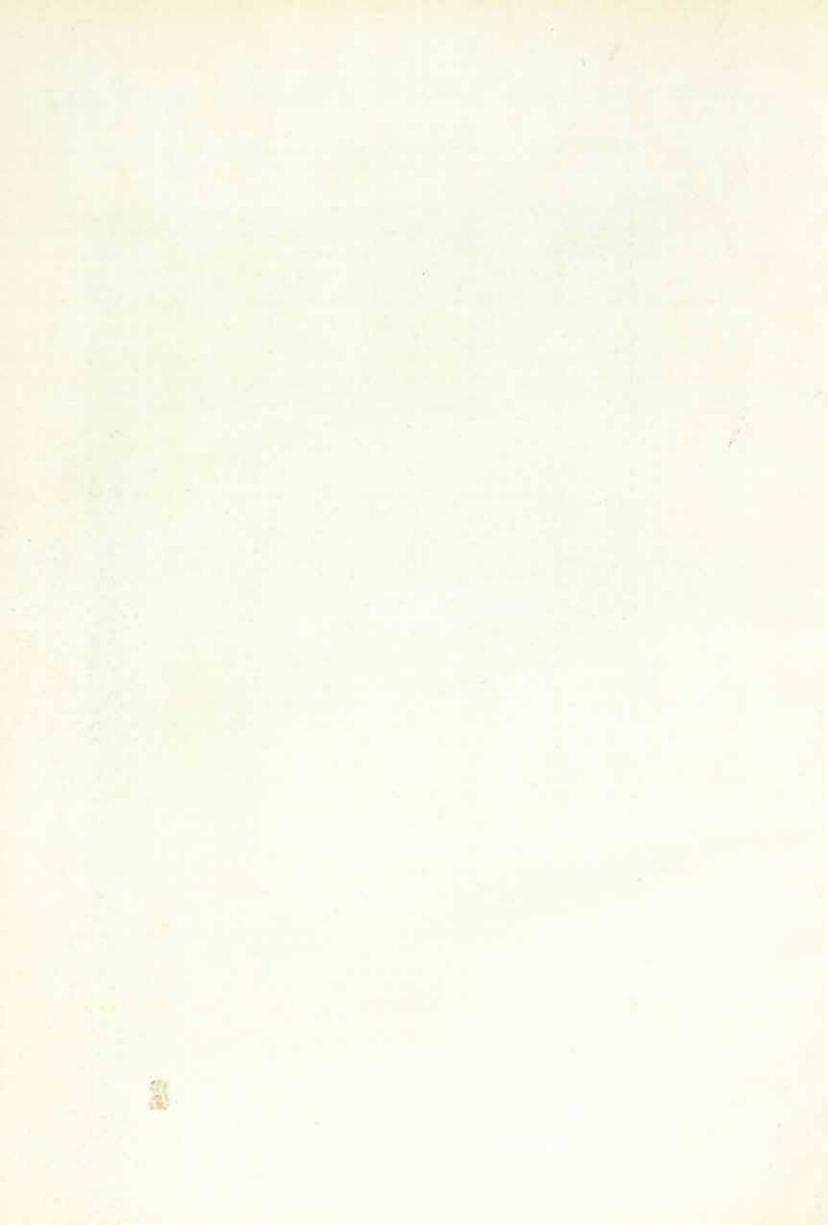
³ P. R. A. S., W. C., (1920-21), p. 52.

⁴ See Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 295, n. 1. This place is perhaps identical with Kahtatā near Makundpur p. 295, where also there is a large tank.

⁵ M. A. S. I., No. 23, pp. 133 ff.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928





noted by it proper sign only in the form babhawa in 11.7, 22, 23 etc. The sign of the upadhmānīya occurs, though wrongly, in nihpamka-, 1.7 and vā(bā)h-paih-, 1.12. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary svasti in the beginning, and the date and mangalam mahā-frīb towards the close, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. The verses, which are 54 in all, are not numbered. The composer of the prasasti (as the record is called in 1.25), though he claims proficiency in the science of word and sense, had but an imperfect command over the Sanskrit language. His style is obscure, his compounds uncouth, and his meaning uncertain in several places. Notice, for instance, the compounds nitāmta-vāhub-, 1.6 and Vāstavya-vritti-pratham-aika-lingam, 1.21, the meaning of which is obscure. He has used verbal forms of the potential mood in the sense of the present tense in several places see, e.g., rakshēt, 1.6, andolayēt, 1.9. His unsuccessful attempt to embellish his style with figures of sense will be pointed out in the notes to the text and the translation. As regards orthography, the sign for v is everywhere used to denote bexcept in the form babhāva, the dental s for the palatal s in several places, e.g., in darsanānt, 1.2, fasinab, 1.7 and vice versa in vān-āmbhasi, 1.12; y is employed for j in yushtab, 1.22; one of the two similarly sounding consonants is wrongly elided in ujvālayē, 1.13 and prādā=tripada, 1.10; similarly the visarga is omitted in some places to suit the metre;2 finally, the sign of the anunasika is used in place of the anusvara, generally when followed by v or s, see śrönim vidhi- and -girām vasan, both in 1.16, śit-āmśu, 1.8; but see also lamkām 1.10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijayasimhadeva (called Vijayadeva in line 3), evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, who ruled at Tripuri on the Narmada. The object of it is to record the construction of a tank by Malayasimha

who was probably a feudatory chief of Vijayasimha.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Mañjughōsha, the Buddhist god of learning. There is, however, nothing peculiarly Buddhistic about the present inscription. The composer was not a Buddhist, as he describes himself as always engaged in the study of the Vēdas. It is again doubtful if his patron Malayasimha, who caused the tank to be excavated, was a follower of Buddhism; for verse 27 speaks of a temple of Rama built by him. Verses 5 and 6 refer to the illustrious Vijayadeva (evidently identical with Vijayasimha, the lord of Chēdi, mentioned in v. 12) who was ruling at Tripuri on the Narmada. He was born in the family of Karna. The poet then turns to the pedigree of Malayasimha. The first ancestor named here is Jata, who was appointed the head of a vishaya (district), and by the might of whose arms the illustrious (Kalachuri) king Karnadēva is said to have vanquished his foes. His son was Yasahpāla who was a devoted councillor of Gayākarņa. He had two sons Padmasimha and Chandrasimha. One of them, probably Chandrasimha3 who was the younger of the two, became the pre-eminent Home Minister of the Chedi king Vijayasimha. Padmasimha had a son named Kīrtisimha who was the father of Malayasimha. The only historical information that can be gleaned from the lengthy eulogy of Malayasimha is that he defeated Salakshana and Vikrama (Vikramaditya?).4 The battle in which the former is said to have lost his

¹ See below, p. 356, n. 1.

¹ See below, p. 353, n. 15.

² As it stands, the text makes Padmasimha the minister of Vijayasimha, but this seems improbable because his grandson Malayasimha was a contemporary and feudatory of the same Kalachuri king. Perhaps Chandrasimh-āvarajō in verse 11 is a mistake for Chandrasimhō=varajō, and it was Chandrasimha, the younger brother of Padmasimha, who was the Home Minister. There is not much improbability in his being a contemporary of his elder brother's grandson. Verse 12 would thus contain a description of Chandrasimha. This would also satisfactorily explain why Padmasimha's name is repeated in the next verse.

⁴ Banerji took no notice of this Vikrama,

arm was fought at Karkarēdī. He is, therefore, identical with the homonymous prince of Karkarēdī (modern Karkrēri, 28 m. north of Rewa) whose Rewa plate is dated V. 1253 (1195 A.C.). His elder brother Kīrtivarman was a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha and he himself in the aforementioned Rewa plate acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha. He seems, therefore, to have revolted against his liege-lord sometime during the period 1175 A.C. to 1193 A.C., but was defeated by Malayasimha and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kalachuri king. Vikrama, the other adversary of Malayasimha, cannot be identified.

Verse 28 mentions the queen Talhaṇadēvī who was probably a wife¹ of Malaya-simha and had two sons, the elder of them being named Prithvidhara. The inscription then mentions several officers of Malayasimha. Garga, the son of Raṇasimha, was his chief Record Officer, while Harisimha, the son of Jagatsimha, was his excellent Councillor. The latter is said to have got the tank excavated, to the description of which eight verses (34-41) are devoted. Malayasimha is said to have spent fifteen hundred tankakas stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (Buddha?) on this work. No such coins have yet been discovered.²

The pedigree of Vidyādhara, the Superintendent of the excavation of the tank, is next given in vv. 43-46. In the Vāstavya family there was a person named Uddharaṇa. His son was perhaps named Sridhara³. The son of the latter was the *Thakkura* Lakshmīdhara, who was the father of Vidyādhara. Next is mentioned Purushōttama, the son of Valhaṇa, who designed the tank. The genealogy of the poet Purushōttama begins in verse 48. There was a learned Brāhmaṇa named Rāmachandra, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son was Divākara. The latter's son was Purushōttama who composed the present *prasasti*. He belonged to the Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra and was a resident of Banaras. He describes himself as proficient in logic, the science of word and sense, Mīmāmsā, Vedānta and Yōga and as devoted to the study of the Vēdas. The mason who incised the present record was Ananta, the son of Galhaṇa. After the inscription was closed with maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ, one more verse was added to describe the doorkeeper Ralhaṇa, the valiant son of Dalhaṇa.

From the contents summarized above, it will be seen that Malayasimha and his ancestors were hereditary ministers and feudatory chiefs of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī. Of the latter only Karṇa, Gayākarṇa and Vijayasimha are mentioned in the present record, the names of Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasimha and Jayasimha being passed over. As Mr. Banerji has already observed, Jāṭa may have flourished towards the close of Karṇa's reign, so that he was a contemporary of both Karṇa and Yaśaḥkarṇa. Jāṭa's son Yaśaḥpāla was a councillor of Gayākarṇa. Padmasimha and Kīrtisimha may have served Narasimha and Jayasimha. During the reign of Vijayasimha the office of the Home Minister seems to have been held by Chandrasimha, while Malayasimha was ruling over the territory round Rewa. It may, however, be noted that the name of Chandrasimha is not mentioned in the Rewa stone inscriptions of Vijayasimha, the Chief Minister (Mahāmantrin) mentioned therein being Haripāla.

¹ Banerji took Talhanadëvî to be the mother of Malayasimha and altogether passed over Prithvidhara and his brother mentioned in v. 28. Had Talhanadëvî been the mother of Malayasimha, she would have been introduced much earlier along with the latter's father Kirtisimha (vv. 13-14).

² As the present inscription has been composed in a slip-shod manner, Bhagavan-mudrayā in 1. 20 may be a mistake for Bhagavafī-mudrayā. In that case the well-known coins of Gāngēyadēva, stamped with the effigy of Lakshmī, would be meant.

³ See below, p. 357, n. 6.

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 944

	प्रतिमात्रपान्य वर्षे वर्षे प्रशास्तर्थ हिन्दो वेभी दमाने छत्रा पालिन कहा मिन्ना सन्तर्भ वेषणामन्य सिंह छ लाजिंग लाग में घेने घेने घेने घेने घेने पालिन कि वास सम्मेन स्थान प्रति वास सम्मेन स्थान प्रति वास सम्मेन स्थान प्रति वास सम्मेन स्थान सम्मेन समेन सम्मेन सम्मेन सम्मेन समेन सम्मेन सम्मेन सम्मेन समेन सम्मेन समेन समेन सम्मेन समेन समेन समेन समेन समेन समेन समेन स	
	्यामाञ्चलका कार्याच्या वर्ष स्था स्वर्ध हिन्धा वर्षा स्था स्था सम्बद्धा मन्त्र स्थलिन निर्मा कार्याच्या स्थलिक वर्षा माञ्चलका कार्याच्या सम्बद्धा सम्बद्धा सम्बद्धा मन्त्र सम्बद्धा मन्त्र सम्बद्धा सम्बद्धा सम्बद्धा सम्बद्ध	10
	थे वेतनेपतिनवीरीभोगविसेनापन्तीस्वानविसेनास्य विस्तितास्य विस्तितारा प्रतिनिनेनारी तिसेनारी विसेनारी व	2
	 द्वी तर है मोदिष्ठ विक्त तर स्ति के दें में के के	4
	सिम् कृत स्ट्रानाम्मान स्वापितिक निवाहः स्वारंग ही क्रातंमा पेत्रं। ताता तना वहाविहाँ १६ पिः पेकुपः राज्य स्वित हो है। वहान स्वाप्त वहाविहाल सिन्त निवाह स्वाप्त हो है। वहान स्वाप्त हो हो है। वहान स्वाप्त हो हो है। वहान स्वाप्त हो हो है। वहान स्वाप्त हो है। वहान स्वप्त हो है। वहान स्	4
	सिमा कृति स्रेतने मान्यान प्रेनीपिविद्धानी है। ते कि विश्वति । ते ता विश्वति । ते व	6
	मंस्रीस्यस्थिति सबुक्तः सुन्पन्ति वस्त्रीवनः स्वतः । स्यापनिकारिका । यस्यापना तर्मन्त्र । सामग्रे मन्त्राणि महर्यन्त्र । निया विद्यापना विद्यापना विद्यापना । विद्यापना विद्यापना विद्यापना विद्यापना । विद्यापना विद्यापना विद्यापना विद्यापना विद्यापना । विद्यापना । विद्यापना विद्यापन विद्य	120
	ं भेरीसे यहार ताथित मुज्य में क्रिया के क्षेत्र के का छिए। स्वराधिक कि ने विश्वास के स्वराधिक के ने किया के किया किया के किया के किया	8
-	ला वार्याची लेख से वार्याची वा	10
	ण भेर पाराविषरविभिन्न वेपरेवासी में हारविहर हे रीरा उसने तें। पर कि बात तर सर्वहका महिन प्राप्त के प्रति हो ते विश्व के प्रति है के प्रति	ra-con
- 3		12
	े ति वपरानरका निक्रालार । व्यर्क्तिनिहाना निव वर्षाका विषय परिवाल विषय कर्षी स्वयान में विषय निव वर्षा के विषय कर्षा विषय कर्षा कर्षा विषय कर्षा कर्षा विषय कर्षा कर्षा विषय कर्षा विषय कर्षा कर्षा विषय कर्षा कर्षा विषय कर्षा व	14
- 3	मा विश्व के त्या विश्व के त्या के त्य के त्या के त्य	1.3
1	मा व्याह्म विकास में मार्चित के के मार्चित के विकास में मार्चित मार्गित के मार्गित मार	16
17.8	ात कापियासके नेपाल पावरक कर के सरवाह या बाता कि कार के कि विभाव सामित के कि विभाव कि विभाव के कि विभाव कि विभाव के कि विभाव कि	
1	ाति विष्यालया निकार के तर्दित निकार में तर्दित विषय में पाल करवा स्थान में पाल करवा साम कर्ति के लिए से ताम कर का निकार में ति कि से ताम के कि ताम के कि ति के निकार में ति कि से ताम के कि ताम के ताम के कि ताम के कि ताम के कि ताम के	18
	AND THE REPORT OF THE PROPERTY	
		20
14		22
-		24
	भ निर्वाचना विक्रमें तेन लाहित मुख्य वात साधिव निर्वाच निर्वच निर्वाच निर्वच निर्वच निर्वच निर्वच निर्वच निर्वच निर्वच निर्	
		26
	ाटमहारामाणाश्मिशीयायायामामवस्य । साधसामवस्य । स्वाधसामवस्य । स्वाधिसामवस्य ।	



The inscription is dated, both in words and numerical symbols, on Friday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Sāhasamallānka year 944. Though the era is not specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri reckoning. It regularly corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 944, to Friday, the 30th July 1193 A.C. On that day the tithi ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. The importance of the date lies in the data it furnishes for determining the commencement of the Kalachuri year. If the Kalachuri era began in 248-49 A.C. as was finally concluded by Dr. Kielhorn, the present date shows that the years of the era could not have commenced with the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada as was once supposed by him.

The significance of Sāhasamallānkē is not clear. Mr. Banerji1 took it to mean 'the anka named Sāhasamalla' and Dr. Hirananda Sastri² suggested that anka means abda or year; but neither of them has explained how the year was called Sāhasamalla. The cyclic year corresponding to the above date was Pingala according to the northern system and Pramādin according to the southern system. Neither of these names can be said to be a synonym of Sāhasamalla. According to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar3 anka means ākhya. He has suggested that the Kalachuri era was called Sāhasamallābda and called attention to two other dates4 which are called Sāhasa and which, though referred to the Vikarma era, work out all right for the Kalachuri era also. But Sāhasamalla does not mean the same as Sāhasāñka. The latter, which is a synonym of Vikramānka, occurs in many places as the name of Vikramāditya, the well known patron of Kālidāsa and the reputed founder of the Vikrama Samvat. As Kielhorn has shown, both the dates qualified by Sāhasānka, which Prof. Bhandarkar proposes to refer to the Kalachuri era, appear quite regular as dates of the Vikrama era also. There is, therefore, no necessity to take them as dates of the Kalachuri era. Besides, if they are referred to that era, the first would fall towards the close of the fifteenth and the second in the first half of the sixteenth century A.C.6 The palæography of the inscriptions is certainly against ascribing such late dates to them. Besides, there is no evidence that the Kalachuri era was current in North India down to the sixteenth century A.C. Even in Madhya Pradesh where petty Haihaya princes continued to rule until their principalities were annexed by the Marathas, the latest date of the Chēdi era known from inscriptions is 969.7 Thereafter the Haihaya princes used the Vikrama and Saka eras in dating their records.8 There is thus not the least evidence in favour of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that Sāhasamalla was a name of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era.

A king named Sāhasamalla is indeed known from several coins with the legend

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 295.

² Loc. cit, n. 4

³ See I. N. I., p. 282, n. 2.

⁴ These dates are (1) V. 1240—Mahôbā (Hamîrpur District, U.P.) fort-wall fragmentary inscription noticed by Cunningham, A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI. p. 72 and Pl. XXII. L. 15, Vyōm-ārnņav-ārkka-saṃ-khyātē Sāhasāmkasya vatsarē, l.17 samvat 1240, Āshādba va di 9 Sōmē (Monday, the 4th June, 1184 A. C.) and (2) V. 1279—Rōntāsgaḍh (Shahabad District, Bihar) rock inscription of the time of king Pratāpa, ed. by Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 311 f. L.1, Navabhir=atha mun-īudrair=vāsarāṇām=udhīsaiḥ parikalayati samkhyām vatsarē Sāhasāmkē | madana-vijaya-yātrā-mangalē māsi chaitrē pratipadi sitā-kāntau vāsarē Bhāskarasya || (Sunday, the 5th March 1223 A. C.).

⁶ Ind. His. Quart., Vol. X, pp. 48 ff. Cf. Vikramādityah Sābasānkah Sak-āntakah in an old verse cited in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on Amarakōša, II, 8, 2.

⁶ The first date would correspond to Monday, the 22nd June 1489 A. C., and the second to Sunday, the 3rd March 1527 A. C.

⁷ No. 102, below.

⁸ See Nos. 103-108, below.

Srimat-Sahasamalla. But as V. Smith has shown, he was a king of Ceylon and there-

fore could not have had anything to do with the Kalachuri era.

What then does Sāhasamallānkē mean? Since no other explanation is satisfactory, the conjecture may be hazarded that the expression is intended to signify the year by the system of word-numerals. Sāhasa stands for four; for a verse from the Nāradasmṛiti² (XII, 2) cited in the Mitāksharā states that sāhasas or violent crimes were four in number. Malla means 'a wrestler', 'a match for', and therefore conveys the sense of equality. Here it probably signifies an equal number, i.e., four in the present case. Anka, as is well-known, signifies nine. These numerals are to be placed from right to left, i.e., as 944 by the rule ankānām vāmatō gatib. Thus sāhasamallānkē means 'in (the year) 944' and this we find is actually the year in which the record was put up.

The geographical names Narmada, Tripuri and Karkaredi, occurring in the

present record, have already been identified.

TEXT4

- ा सिद्धिः [।*] स्वस्ति ॥ अष्टारचक्राकृतिपूर्णांचन्द्रं पद्मासनस्थं हिमशैलगौरम् । सब्येतरापा— णिणाखड्गपुस्तम्बद्ध्यामि नत्वा खलु मंजुघोषम् ॥⁸[१॥*] मलयसिंहकुलानि गुणानय स्वसम— येन यण्योचितशक्तिकः [॥] अ[ब]तरंति पदानि यतः स्वतः सुमह—
- वां ननु केन न कीर्त्यते ॥ 10 [२॥ *] वाचश्चेमा [: *] प्रवृत्ता मे रवेरिव मरीचयः । मलयसिंह कुलाब्ज (ब्ज) [स्य *] प्रवो (बो) धाय सहस्रशः ॥ 11 [३॥ *] अतिविमलजली धैः प्लावयन्ती पवि [त्रै] मूं निवरपुरलोकात्संस्तुता सिद्धगीभिः । अप [न] यति सुवंशाज्जातमात्रा कुमारी कलिजकलु प्रभारं दर्स (शं) नान्न मेंदा या ॥ 12 [४॥ *] तस्यास्त टेस्ति त्रिपुरी पुरीति तस्याम
 - अभूत्कण्णंकुलप्रसूतः । राज्ञां गुरुः श्रीविजयास्यदेवो राजाधिशास्ता विदिशान्दिशाञ्च ॥¹³[५॥*] यस्य प्रतापानलशुष्ककण्ठा रा[ज्ञां] गणा अंगुलिसंज्ञयापि । साशंकमेवं विवदन्ति चिन्त्यं सेवा— फलास्तत्सदिस¹⁵ प्रपन्नाः ॥[६॥*] [तत्पू]र्व्वपूर्व्वा भृवि ये [ब]भूवुस्तेषां [य]शोवर्द्धनमन्त्र— मन्त्री ।
 - 4 श्रीजाटनामा विषये नियुक्तो वाचस्पतिः [स]व्वं[गुणै]रिवाभूत् ॥[७॥*] धम्मंध्वजानां धुरमत्र गुव्वीम्विश्राणनेना विषये विजेभ्यः । यस्यैव वा(बा)ह्वोर[पि] पौरुषे[ण] श्रीकर्णादेवो जितवाद्यिपूरच ॥[८॥*] तस्माद्गयाकर्णमहीशभक्तो मन्त्रस्य गोप्ता भुवि वन्दिजीवः । जज्ञे यशःपाल इति प्रतीतस्तारात्मजः

¹ V. Smith assigns the date 1200-1202 A. C. to him. See C. C. I. M., Vol. I, p. 330.

² Manushya-māraņaii stēyaii para-dār-ābhimarsanam | pārushyam=ubhayaii eh=ēti sāhasaii syācb=chaturvidbam | Mitāksharā on the Yājūavalkyasmṛitii, ch. II, v. 72.

² I. P., p. 85

⁴ From an inked estampage.

Bapressed by a symbol.

⁶ Properly सञ्चेतरपाणिय-, but so changed to suit the metre.

⁷ Read पस्तं वदयामि.

^{*} Metre : Indravajrā.

⁶ There is a superfluous ornamental mātrā on this akshara.

¹⁰ Metre: Drutavilambita.

¹¹ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹² Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following six verses: Indravajrā.

¹⁴ Banerji read निरम which he proposed to alter to निरम, but the superscript n of niya is quite clear.

¹⁵ Read सेवाफलं तत्सदसि-.

¹⁶ Read गुर्व्वी विश्वाणनेना-.

प्रीम्य इवेन्द्रदेवात् ॥[९॥*]त[स्या]य पुत्रोपि वि[शा]लवा(वा)हुः स्रष्ट्रा जगद्दीक्ष्य तमोधि— रूढं(ढम्) । तद्यो(इयो)तनायावयवी शुभांशु¹ईपिः प्रक्लृप्तः खलु मूर्त्तमानिव² ॥[१०॥*] [प]यं हि पद्मालयपद्मसिहः सत्पत्रशुभ्रांकुरशुद्धगोत्रः । क्षत्रस्य वंशे स निदानवी(बी)जी श्रीच— न्द्रसिद्धावरजो विजञ्जे ॥[११॥*] सर्व्यंत्र दि—

6 क्षुख³विसिंप्यशःप्रचण्डचेदीन्द्रराद्दि(ड्वि)जयसिंहगृहैकमन्त्री । यो विप्रवीर्यं वरदानव (व) लेन रक्षेद्दारिद्रघदन्तिपटलद्विजरुद्धदेहम् ॥⁵[१२॥*] श्रीपद्मसिंहविदुषोत्र नितांतवा (वा) हुः श्री— कीर्त्तिसिंह इति सिंहव (व) लो विजज्ञे । आरातिचक्रहृदि शंकुरसौ विशंको रामः पुरा दशरथादिव

कोशलेशः

७ ।।[१३।।*] सदिस यस्य हिता विविधा वु(बु)धाः सुरपतेरिव मन्त्रविदः सुराः । शुशुभिरे शिस (शि)नः किरि(र)[णा] गिरः प्रति[ग]ता जगतस्तमसिङ्खदे ।।⁶[१४।।*] सामन्तमण्डल–शिरोह्हधूननेन नि≍पंक पादवनजो मलयानुिस(सि)हः । श्रीकीित्तिसहतनयः स वभूव वीरः क्षत्रस्य वंशजसमुद्धरणैकमल्लः ।।⁸[१५।।*] वि—

द्याधिकारकुमुदाकरवो (बो) धचन्द्रो रत्नाकरोथिमनुजेषु च रत्नदानैः । सन्वे गुणा मलयसिंहनर-प्रति[च्ठा] दोषोपि सोस्य न मृगांककृतो गुणांकैः ।।[१६।।*] आरातिमित्रकमलौधिवधातवो-(बो) धस्ताभ्यां ददन्दश्विगम्व (म्ब) रमुज्व (ज्ज्व) लं यः । शीता ् शुरक्कं इव तीक्ष्णसुशक्ति-

हस्त उर्व्यामभूत्म (न्म) लयसिंह इति प्र-

9 वीण: ॥[१७॥*] आन्दोलयेद्यस्य कृपाणा¹⁰वायुर्व्वीचीगतं भानुमिवाम्बु(म्बु)मध्ये । आरातिसे— नामव(व)लां व(व)लिष्ठः सोभूदिषुम्कमक[रो]¹¹ विशुद्धः ॥¹²[१८॥*] आवर्त्तसुक्ती हरिजे¹³ समुद्रे फेनं मुखे व(मू)िंन पदेपि वीक्य । मग्नारिसेना न व(व)हिज्जंगाम यस्याशु सोभून्मलयस्य सिंहः ॥[१९॥*] व[व]लिर्व्वी—

10 र: प्रादाति (त्त्रि) पदिनिमितं कि त्रिभुवनं पदं दास्यामीन्दोरिव (पि) हरहरीन्द्राज (दि) सु (पु) नृणां (णाम्)। अहं जित्वा तेभ्यः सपिदं करवालेन प्रक[टं] [नृपैः] साकं वेति व्यवसितव (व) लो यः स जयतु ॥ 14 [२०॥ *] यस्यारिसामन्ति शिरोविसिप्पिरवताज्यदीप्तासिशिखाकुशानुः । सं-

प्राप तावत् र[णे]त्र तृप्ति ल ्कां

11 हि दग्धा (ग्वा) पि न मारुतेयः ॥ 15 [२१॥ *] तुरासाहं जित्वा शसि (शि) नमपि देवान्नणमुखे महादेवीशच्या विचरित मृगांकस्त्रिभुवने । अहो तेषां [भो] गात्भु (द्भु) जगपितशेषो विलसितुं पृथिव्यां देवीयं जनपदजनैरुक्त इति यः ॥ 16 [२२॥ *] कामं ययाग्निभवनेत्रजन्मा कोधात्मकः शत्रव (व) लं ददाह । वैधव्य-

² The last pāda of this verse has one excess aksbara.

3 Read दिङ्मुख-.

6 Metre: Drutavilambita.

7 Read fewin-

Read दघहश-

¹ Banerji read ब्रह्मंबू and proposed to alter it to मुझांबू, but the reading given above is quite clear and appropriate in the context.

^a There is no superscript y in rya as read by Banerji.
^a Metre of this and the following verse: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre of this and the two following verses: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ The sense requires the reading कृपाणो, but it does not suit the metre. Read the line as आन्दोलयत्यस्य रणे कृपाणो वायुगैतं भानुमिबाम्बुमध्ये ।

¹¹ Read -दियो: कर्मकरो.

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following verse: Indravajrā.

¹³ Perhaps the intended reading is आवत्तंश्वतीहरिजे.

¹⁴ Metre: Sikharini.

¹⁵ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁶ Metre: Sikbarini.

- 12 दु:खेन्धनदीर्घवा ठ्रपै: 1 संघुिततो यत्प्रतिकूलवध्वा ॥²[२३॥*] सलकाणो निर्मातलकाणो— भवत्सुकवर्करेडचामिप यो रणे यदा । विलू[न]वा(बा)हुव्यसनः शिलीमुखैः कराद्विमुक्तैम्मैं— लयस्य सिंहजात् ॥³[२४॥*] रे रे विक्रम शूर धावसि वृथा मच्चापवा(बा)णांभशि(सि) मग्नो यास्यसि ना—
- ग्रिक्त त्र कृते खड्गाग्निमुज्वा (ज्ज्वा) लये । इत्युक्त्वाभिह्तो रणे नवदशस्थानेषु वा (वा) णैह्रं दि यातोष: परिभूतिवकमव (व) लो यस्मात्स जीया [दिति] ॥ १ [२५॥ १] प्रासादमाला द्विजदेवतानां सृष्टा विवित्रा गगनं विलग्ना । येनापि याभ्यस्त्ववरोधभीत्या यातीव भानो रथ आशु तिय (ये) क् ॥ १ [२६॥ १] तीव्रं तपो दु:खकरं प्रकृ—
 - 14 त्य सिद्धा त्रजन्तो दिवमूर्ढं (ध्वं) मुच्चे: । यद्रामदेवालयवाधिता ये प्रायेण [ते] विश्वपदं प्रया-ताः ॥ १ [२७॥ *] योयं सुतस्तल्हणदेविदेव्यास्त्रायेत [मि] त्राणि निहन्ति शत्रून् [1] भीष्मो यथानेकसमानुवर्ती जीयात्स पृथ्वीधर सानुजोपि ॥ [२८॥ *] श्रीगर्मानामा रुचिरां [शु] धामा यस्याभवच्छी रणसिंहसुनु: । धम्मस्य विद्याहयको शले-
 - भाषी सर्व्वाधिकारैरिव चित्रगुप्तः ॥[२९॥*] ताम्बू(म्बू)लदानाधिकृतिप्रयुक्तः श्रीमज्जर्गात्सहसुतः सुमंत्री। यस्याभवच्छीहरिसिहनामा सर्व्वाधिसंपत्परिपूरिताशः ॥[३०॥*] प्रौढप्रचण्डारिकरि—प्रमाथी नाराचपाशांकुशखड्गयोद्धा। वा(बा)हुप्रशक्त्यातिदृढप्रहारः सेनाग्रयायीव रणे कुमारः ॥ [३१॥*] व्र(ब्र)ह्मणो
 - ग्री ज्ञानवादेन वेदतत्पा (त्त्वा) थंयोगिना । निस्तीण्णीनि पाण्पण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरिप ॥ १० [३२॥ *] स सोमञ्येनाग्नीन्नयति चयता (ना) न्तर्द्द्वजगणो महीं कृत्वा यूपै रिवकरचपालोद्धंवकटकां (काम्) ततो वेदिश्रोणी विधिविहितमन्त्रै: कृतिगर वसन्यस्मिस्तिष्ठेन्न[पु]रिमह का[स्ठा?] लकिमिति
- 17 ॥ 1 [३३॥ *] भुक्तवापि यस्मिन्वरपाणिपात्रे चकास्तु नक्तं स्ववधू विवहाय । अंभो निरीक्षा (क्या) हतजीवसंघास्तीवं तपो वा मुनयञ्चरंति ॥ 2 [३४॥ *] तिग्मांशृतापक्लमनोददक्षे क्क्षां विचकु — स्त्रिय आत्मनोंगे । प्राणेशहस्तप्रतिक्लृष्तयन्त्रनिम्म् क्तघार 1 अपयसां कणौषै: ॥ [३५॥ *] पीत्वा — लिचक्रम्मं यु —
 - 18 मत्तमुग्धैः पद्माकरालीढमुखै ¹⁴ र्श्नदद्भिः । आकण्यं मुग्धा अनुजापयन्ति गीतं यशो यस्य च नाग— कन्याः ॥[३६॥*] से(शै)वालकल्हारकवारिपण्णीसालूकसंघाटकरेवमापै भ्रमें क्षैरभक्षे ¹⁵ र्युतमम्बु(म्बु)— वी(बी)जैक्वें प्रैः ससर्ज्जाथिश (स)रो य ईदृक् ॥[३७॥*] कीडाप्रवृत्ताः पतिभिः श (स)रोज्यौ (व्धौ) संय[म्य]

¹ Read - बाल्पै:

^{*} Metre: Indravajrā.

¹ Metre: Vanisastha.

⁴ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīdita.

⁵ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁶ Perhaps विष्युपद is meant.

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses: Indrawajrā.

^{*} The context requires a reading like quality; but the visarga seems to have been dropped metris causa.

The metre requires the syllable to be short.

¹⁰ Metre: Anushtubb.

¹¹ Metre: Sikharinī.

¹² Metre of this and the following four verses: Indravajrā.

¹³ The metre requires here a reading like - भारी: or भारा-.

¹⁴ This should properly be आलीहपद्माकरमुखे-.

¹⁵ Read संघाटक एवमादी: । भक्ष्यरभक्ष्यै--.

- 19 चास् १ त्कथमास्थितानां (नाम्) । तासां भ्रुवोंगानि कुचोरुजंघा दृष्ट्वाक्षसूत्राण्यपतन्मुनीनां (नाम्) ॥ [३८॥*] यस्मिस्तीरे मरकतिश्रिलारत्नव (व) द्वासनस्थैव्वींचीलोला रजतस (श) फरीवंचितो रुप्रदेशै: । विप्रैस्तृप्ता अमरिपतरः सप्त दिव्या मनुष्या आशंसंति प्रथि [त] –
- 20 यशसं यं स जीयाद्भुवीति ॥³[३९॥*] दिव्यांगनांग नवकुंकुमपंकिपगवारिप्रपूरलवित्रितरो-ममालाः । क्रीडंति यत्र सुखिनो भुवि राजहंसा अंभोनिधानमत (तु)लं प्रश्न (स)रः ससर्जं ॥ [४०॥*] एतदंभोनिधानाय शतानि दश पंच च । भगवन्मुद्रया योपि टंककानां व्य-
- 21 येकरोत् ॥ [४१॥*] सर्व्वार्थं (थि) सार्थे र स्तुतिजैर्व्वचोभिर्व्वदीजनैः संस्तुत एव योभूत् । सिद्धार्थयोगी मलयानुसिंहस्व (स्त) समै भवेयुः शुभदास्त्रिदेवाः ॥ [४२॥*] वास्तव्यवृत्तिप्रथमै— किलगं नाम्नाप्यभूदुद्धरणो विपश्चित् । उद्घृत्य मह्यां अमृतं गृहीतुं लोकैकनाथोथ यथेशमूर्तिः। [१४३॥*]
- 22 तस्याथ पुत्रः प्रमदाभिरामो यु(जु)ष्टः श्रिया श्रीधरमूर्त्तिरासीत् येनावनी सर्वगुणा गुणोर्थैः पुण्यैरनेकैश्च कृता पवित्रा ॥[४४॥*] तस्यापि सूनुर्भुवि ठक्कुरो यो लक्ष्मीधरो लक्षणकाव्यवेता । विद्याधरस्तस्य वभूव पुत्रः सर्व्वाधिकारार्थंगुणप्रवीणः ॥[४५॥*] अर्थंत्रयाणां ॥—
- 23 मिप तत्व (त्त्व)युक्तः कामस्य सारेण तु किंचिदेव। विद्याधरोथास्य श(स)रोधिकर्ता हेतुर्यथाव्ये (व्ये)ः सगरो बभूव ॥[४६॥*] श(स)रःसंख्यापने विद्वान्वास्तव्यः पुरुषोत्तम ॥(:।)
 श्रीमद्वल्हणपुत्रोभूदाचार्यश्रीधरो यथा ॥ १३ [४७॥*] पञ्च क्रतूनामिप यश्च कर्त्ता श्रीरामचन्द्रोथ वभूव विद्वान् । तस्याथ पु-
- 24 त्रोपि दिवाकराख्यः सर्व्वज्ञकल्पो द्विजमुख्य एव ॥ १४८॥ *] तस्याथ पुत्रो गृहभक्तिवित्तो दैवा— चिछ्रया यः परिहीन (ण) जातः ॥ अत्रेयगोत्रो ननु कृष्णपूर्व्वः काशीनिवासी च परोपकारी ॥ [४९॥ *] तक्कें ज्ञानमतीव यस्य चतुरः शब्दा (ब्दा) थेंशास्त्रे तथा मीमांसाधिगतो विपिश्चिदभव— द्वेदां—
- 25 तयोगावि(दि) वी: । वेदा[भ्या]सरतः सदा सुविदुषां मूर्द्ष्ट्न प्रव(ब) द्वाञ्जलिविप्रः श्रीपुरुषो— त्तमो भुवि महान्वु (न्वु) द्वचा च वाचस्पतिः ॥ १६ [५०॥ *] तेनेयमिष्टांगसुवृत्तवृत्ता हारस्य यष्टि— श्च सदर्थंगुच्छा [। *] सद्वंशमुक्ताफलकी त्तिसूत्रा शस्ता प्रशस्तिः सुविनिर्म्मितेव ॥ [५१॥ *] उत्कीण्णी सूत्र—

¹ Banerji read चामूत्कव- and proposed to change it to चासन्कव-, but the second akshara is clearly सू. Besides असून् can be properly construed as the object of संबद्ध.
² Properly बीचीलोल-, but so changed to suit the metre.

³ Metre : Mandākrāntā.

⁴ There is a symbol incised between # and #.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā

⁶ Metre : Anushtubh.

Banerji supplied here the visarga, but it is properly dropped according to the vārttika on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

⁸ Metre of this and the following four verses: Indravajrā.

PRead मह्याममृतं.

¹⁰ Read महीतुं.

¹¹ This anusvāra is superfluous.

¹⁸ The engraver at first cut the first aksbara of this word as इं and then changed it to सं. The second aksbara is clearly ह्या and not ह्या as read by Banerji.

¹⁸ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: Indravajrā.

¹⁵ The sense requires a reading like परिहीणो जात:, but it does not suit the metre.

¹⁶ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīdita.

26 धारेण श्रीमद्गल्हणसूनुना । नाम्नानंतेन चन्द्रेयाः शुद्धेयं वंशपद्धतिः ॥²[५२॥*] चत्वारि-शत्यधिकेव्दे (ब्दे) चतुभिन्नंवमे शते । शुक्रे साहसमल्लांके नाभस्ये प्रथमे दिने ॥[५३॥*] संवत् ९४४ भाद्रपद सु(शु)दि १ शुक्रे श्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेवराज्ये ॥ मं-

27 गलं महाश्री: ॥ ।।। श्री: ॥ [घौ]वर्यकार्यक्षमर[ल्हणा]स्यो यस्याभवद्दल्ह[ण*]सूनुवीर:

द्वारीव न (नं)दी गिरिशस्य युक्तः संग्रामस् (शू)रो रिपुदर्णमर्दी ॥ [५४॥ *]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verses 1-2) Having bowed to Mañjughôsha, who is as white as the snow-mountain, who is (seated) on a lotus-seat, who is the full moon resembling a wheel of eight spokes, (and) who has a sword and a book in his right and left hand (respectively), I shall describe Malayasiriha's family and (his) excellences duly (and) with suitable vigour; for words occur (to my mind) of their own accord. Who, indeed! would not describe the great?

(V. 3) These words of mine in thousands are engaged in glorifying the family of

Malayasimha even as the rays of the sun are in opening the lotuses.

(V. 4) The Narmadā which flows with sacred and extremely limpid water from the world which is the abode of the best of sages (like) a maiden born in a noble family, and which is praised by the words of the Siddhas, removes by (mere) sight the weight of the sins due to the Kali age.

(V. 5) On its bank is a city named Tripuri where is a king named the illustrious Vijayadeva, the lord of princes, who is born in the family of Karna (and) is the ruler

(of regions) in all directions.4

(V. 6) In whose assembly the supplicant kings, whose throats are parched by the fire of his prowess, discuss, through apprehension, the doubtful reward of their service⁵ by signalling with their fingers.

(V. 7) The illustrious Jāṭa, a minister whose counsel⁶ increased the fame of those who preceded him on this earth, (and who was) like Bṛihaspati in all his merits, was appointed

to (this) vishaya:

(V. 8) Who bore here the heavy yoke of pious people by making gifts to the Brāhmanas, (and) by the prowess of whose arms alone, the illustrious Karnadeva conquered his foes.

(V. 9) From him was born (a son) known as Yaśaḥpāla as Budha, the son of Tārā, was born from the moon god,—who, a venerable person on the earth, was a devotee of the king Gayākarņa and the keeper of (his) counsel.

(V. 10) His son also, who had large arms, was created as a light incarnate of auspicious rays, by the creator who found the world enveloped in the darkness (of ignorance)

in order that he might illuminate it.

(V. 11) Padmasimha, the abode of the goddess of fortune, had a spotless and pure family as a lotus has excellent petals and white sprouts. In (that) Kshatriya family was born (his) younger brother the illustrious Chandrasimha,7 the progenitor (of a family).

¹ Perhaps चान्द्री या is intended.

² Metre of this and the following verse: Anuthtubb.

[&]quot; Metre: Indravajrā.

⁴ Lit. in (all) directions and sub-directions.

⁵ Banerji, who read *nityath* in place of *chintyath*, translated,—'in whose assembly kings always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (*for bim*)'.

⁶ Mantra means here 'counsel' not 'incantation' as rendered by Banerji.

⁷ See above p. 347, n. 3.

(V. 12) (He), the sole home-minister of the king Vijayasimha, the lord of Chēdi, who is most powerful with his fame spreading to all cardinal points—(he) who by the force of the prowess, conferred by the boons of the Brāhmaṇas, protects² the bodies of the twice-born besieged by a host of elephants of poverty.

(V. 13) In this family, from the learned and illustrious Padmasimha was born the illustrious Kirtisimha of long³ arms, who had the strength of a lion, even as Rāma, the lord of Kōsala, was, in times of yore, born from Daśaratha. Himself fearless, he was a

dart in the hearts of a host of (his) enemies.

(V. 14) In his court there shone various learned men who were his well-wishers, versed in policy, as gods do in the assembly of Indra. (*Their*) words flashed forth like the rays of the moon sent forth for dispelling the darkness (*ignorance*) of the world.

(V. 15) Malayasimha,4 the son of the illustrious Kirtisimha, the hero who was a peerless wrestler in rescuing those born in Kshatriya families, had the dust of his lotus-

like feet swept off by the locks of (his) feudatory chiefs.

- (V. 16) He is the moon that makes the night-lotuses, that are the learned men, bloom. He is the ocean (the mine of jewels), as he confers jewels on needy men. All excellences have become established in the personage of Malayasimha. On account of (these) excellences he has not even the deer-spot (which is seen in the moon).
- (V. 17) Causing the destruction and blooming of the lotuses which are (his) enemies and friends (respectively), he, like the moon (and) the sun, has made the skies of the ten quarters bright. With a sharp pike (śakti) in his hand, there has appeared the skilful Malayasimha on the earth.
- (V. 18) He is a flawless bowman whose sword causes the forces of the enemy (which appeared) weak (before him) to tremble even as wind tosses the reflection of the sun amidst waves of water.
- (V. 19) The hostile soldiers being plunged into the ocean of his horses, and seeing the whirls and oysters (in the form of) foam (from the horses' mouths) on their faces, heads and feet, did not soon come out of it!—Such was the lion of Malaya (i.e., Malaya-simha)!
- (V. 20) 'Did the valiant Bali give the three worlds measuring the three steps (to Vishnu)? I shall confer on men the rank of the moon (or) that among Siva, Vishnu, Indra and others, by winning it openly (and) at once with my sword or with (the help of other) princes.'—May he (i.e., Malayasmiha), who had such confidence, in his prowess be victorious!
- (V. 21) The fire, whose flame in the form of (Malayasiniha's) sword burned brightly with ghee which was the blood gushing forth from the heads of his feudatories, obtained that satisfaction in battle here, which it had not obtained from Hanuman (even) after burning (the city of) Lanka.⁵
- (V. 22) 'Having vanquished Indra, gods (and) also the moon, this moon (in the form of Malayasimha) roams about together with Sachī who is the Mahādēvī. Oh! this

¹ I. e., Chandrasimha, loc. cit.

² Rakshët 'should protect' is here used for rakshati 'protects.'

³ Nitanta seems to be used here in the sense of 'long.'

⁴ The text has Malay-ānu simbab which literally means 'Simha following Malaya,' i.e., Malaya-simha.

⁵ Banerji's translation 'he (i.e., Malayasimha) obtained (meh) satisfaction as the Son of Wind (Hanuman) himself did not obtain by burning Lanka' is unacceptable as the text has clearly Mārutēr=, not Mārutēr=.

(our) king is Sēsha, the lord of serpents, (created) to enjoy their pleasures l' So is he des-

cribed by the people in the country.1

(V. 23) The fire of his anger being fed by the wife of his enemy with the fuel of tears which she shed for a long time on account of her grief of widowhood, destroyed the forces of the enemy, even as that produced from Siva's eye (burned) the god of love.

(V. 24) Salakshana became deformed when in the battle of the glorious Karkarēdī he had the misfortune of having his arm cut off by the arrows discharged by

the lion of Malaya (i.e. Malayasimha).

(V. 25) May he (i.e. Malayasinha) be victorious!—who, addressing (Vikrama) in battle with the words 'O valiant Vikrama, thou art vainly running away! Thou canst not escape being drowned in the flood of the arrows (discharged) from (my) bow! Why need I kindle here the fire of (my) sword for thy sake?', struck him in the heart in nine or ten places with his arrows and brought him down, overcoming his prowess and strength.

(V. 26) He erected a marvellous row of mansions touching the sky for gods and Brāhmanas, through fear of obstruction from which, as it were, the sun's chariot goes

obliquely with speed.

(V. 27) Having performed fierce and painful penance, the Siddhas go to high heaven, (while) those, who worship (?) at the temple of Rāma (built) by him, generally go to the abode of Vishnu.³

(V. 28) May that Prithvidhara4 together with his younger brother be victorious, living for many years like Bhishma—(he) who, being the son of the queen

Talhanadevi, protects friends and destroys enemies!

(V. 29) The illustrious Garga, the son of the illustrious Rāmasimha, the repository of beautiful lustre, who (was invested) with all powers, was, like Chitragupta, his (i.e. Malayasimha's) writer of religious documents and of education, horses and treasury.

(V. 30) His excellent minister was the illustrious Harisimha by name, the son of the illustrious Jagatsimha, who was appointed as the distributor of betel, and fulfilled

the wishes of all supplicants with (gifts of) wealth.

(V. 31) He killed huge and fierce elephants of the enemy, fought with arrows, a noose, a goad and a sword, dealt a very firm blow with the might of his arm, and marched in the fore-front of the army like Kärttikëya.

(Vv. 32-3) This city of men is an ornament of the region here,—in which even students have refuted heterodox doctrines with discussions about the knowledge of Brahman together with the real import of the Vēdas; (in which) the multitude of Brāhmaṇas bring the fires of the Sōma and Syēna sacrifices to the altars, filling the surface of the earth with the golden rings of sacrificial posts (touched) by the rays of the sun⁵; and in which they dwell making the sides of the altar resound with the mantras as laid down by (rules) (vidhi).

(V. 34) Where the Chakravāka birds, having been fed from the vessels in beautiful hands, and having left their mates at night, practise severe austerities like sages, fixing

¹ This verse does not yield a satisfactory and coherent sense.

² Lit. devoid of auspicious marks. As the word bābu occurs in a compound, the sense may be that Salakshana lost both his arms.

³ See above p. 352, n. 6. Banerji, who took visva-padam as the correct reading, translated, 'They mostly obtain the feet of God (without endeavour)'.

⁴ Banerji takes *Prithvidbara* as a common noun in the sense of 'a king' and refers it to Malayasimha. The context shows that *Prithvidbara* was the name of Malayasimha's son.

⁶ The significance of this expression is not quite clear to me.

⁶ This and the following two verses describe the tank which is mentioned in v. 37.

their gaze on water and doing no harm to the multitudes of (aquatic) creatures;

(V. 35) (Where) women (had) their bodies sprinkled with sprays of water, discharged from the syringes held in the hands of their husbands, which (sprays) were efficacious in removing the fatigue caused by the rays of the sun;

(V. 36) (Where) beautiful Naga maidens repeat (the songs of) his fame sung by multitudes of humming bees which, with their mouths licking clusters of lotuses, have become

intoxicated with the honey they have drunk (from them);

(V. 37) He constructed such a tank for the needy (provided) with dams, which contains edible and unedible seeds (growing) in water such as the śēvāla (moss?), the white water-lily, water-plants (vāriparnī) and lotus-roots.

- (V. 38) How did the rosaries fall from the hands of the sages who were sitting (on the bank of the tank) curbing their vital airs, when they saw the eyebrows and limbs (such as) breasts, legs and thighs of (the women) who were engaged in sporting with their husbands in the ocean which is this tank!
- (V. 39) On whose bank the gods, the manes, the seven sages and men, being propitiated by the Brāhmaṇas seated on excellent slabs of emerald, whose thighs are touched by silvery fishes darting through the waves (of water), praise him (i. e., Malayasimha) of well-known fame. May he live (long) on the earth!

(V. 40) He constructed (this) large tank, a matchless reservoir of water, in which flamingos sport in joy, their feathers being coloured with the spray of water

yellow with the fresh saffron-paste on the bodies of heavenly damsels.

(V. 41) He spent fifteen hundred tankakas stamped with (the effigy of) the Bhagavat for (constructing) this reservoir of water.

- (V. 42) May the three gods³ confer their blessings on that Malayasimha,⁴ the successful yōgin, who has been eulogised by all hosts of suppliants and panegyrists with words of praise.
- (V. 43) Then there was the wise man, the foremost of the Vastavya (family?), (who was) Uddharana in name also (as he was the saviour in reality), (and who) having raised up nectar to the earth, had, as it were, the form of the god (Vishnu), the sole lord of the world.
- (V. 44) Then was (born) his son,6 attractive to young women, who, being served by the goddess of fortune resembled in form Sridhara (i.e., Vishnu), (and) who, by the numerous collections of his virtues and abundant religious merit, made the earth pure and possessed of all qualities.
- (V. 45) His son on the earth was the Thakkura Lakshmidhara who was conversant with marks⁷ and poetry. His son was Vidyādhara who was proficient in the qualities required for all offices.
- (V. 46) Vidyādhara, who is (fully) conversant with the principles of the three aims⁸ (of human life), but slightly with the essence of love, was the Superintendent and the cause of this tank as Sagara was of the ocean.

¹ The words saniyanya ch = āsūn are obviously to be connected with munīnām and not with tāsām as done by Banerji.

^{*} Vanichita (lit. deceived) is used here in the unusual sense of 'touched.'

³ I. c., Brahmā, Vishņu and Siva.

⁴ Here also the text has Malay = anu-simbah for which see p. 355, n. 4, above.

The sense of pratham-aika-lingam is not quite clear to me.

⁶ Banerji takes Śridhara to be his name. This is possible as a teacher named Śridhara is named below in v. 47, but the text is not clear on the point.

⁷ I. e., with the science of palmistry.

⁸ I. e., dharma (religious merit), artha (wealth) and möksba.

- (V. 47) Purushottama (of) the Vastavya (family), who knows how to measure a tank, was the son of the illustrious Valhana and resembled (his) teacher Sridhara.
- (V. 48) There was, again, the illustrious Rămachandra, a learned man, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son also, named Divăkara, being almost omniscient, was the foremost among the Brāhmaņas.
- (V. 49) His son, who belongs to the Krishnātrēya gātra, dwelt in Kāšī, obliged others and had his mind devoted to his preceptor, was, by fate, deprived of fortune.
- (V. 50) (He), the illustrious Purushottama, a great Brahmana, whose knowledge of logic is profound, who is adept in the science of lexicography, and is equally versed in Mimārisā, whose mind is engaged in (studying) the Vedānta, Yōga and other (systems), who is devoted to the study of the Vēdas and folds his hands on his head before those who are very learned, is in intelligence a Brihaspati on (this) earth.
- (V. 51) By him has been made this excellent prasasti (eulogy) which, containing the desired meaning, is composed in good metres, resembling the string of a pearlnecklace (which contains round pearls) which has a good theme as the necklace has a cluster (of pearls), and which describes the glory of a noble family even as the necklace has the thread passing through the pearls produced from a good bamboo.²
- (V. 52) This eulogy of the family, faultless like the moon-beams (?), has been incised by the Sütradhāra named Ananta, the son of the illustrious Galhaṇa,—
- (V. 53) On Friday, the first day of Bhādrapada in the year nine hundred increased by forty and four (denoted by the expression) Šāhasa-mall-āṅka,3
- (In) the year 944, (the month) Bhadrapada (and) the bright (fortnight), on the (lunar) day 1, Friday, during the reign of the illustrious Vijayasimhadeva.

(May there be) bliss and great fortune!

(V. 54) Sri. His (i.e., Malayasimha's) door-keeper was named Ralhana, the valiant son of Dalhana, who is capable of executing a responsible (?) work, is brave in fighting, and destroys the pride of his foes, as Nandi is (the door-keeper) of Siva.

No. 68; PLATE LVII

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

This plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. Its contents were briefly and somewhat incorrectly given by him in his Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI, p. 146. It was subsequently edited with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, pp. 227 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

¹ Krishņa-pūrvah Ātrēya-götrah evidently means 'belonging to the Krishņātrēya götra' and not 'born in the race of Atri, before whom Krishņa was born' as translated by Banerji. 'The sense is clumsily expressed here as in so many other places in this inscription.

^{*} There is a play on the word aud-waisfa which means (t) a good family and (2) a good bamboo. The metaphor in this verse is not properly expressed.

³ See above, p. 350. Sābasa, malla and anka denote the numbers 4, 4 and 9, and according to the rule ankānām vāmato gatib, the expression stands for 944.

The plate measures 153" by 9" and is inscribed on one side only. It is quite smooth, the edges of it being not fashioned thicker, nor turned up, nor protected in any way. As the result, the preservation of the inscription is only fairly good; for the surface of the plate is a good deal worn, especially in the proper left half down to about line 14 and in the right half from about line 8 to 14, so that some aksharas here are only faintly visible, and a few others are altogether illegible.... In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole; but the ring with any seal that may have been attached to it is not now forthcoming. The weight of the plates is 1923 tolas.'1 The average size of the letters is about. 25". The characters are Nagari. The technical execution is fair. Except for two opening verses in honour of Brahman and Bhāratī (the goddess of speech), the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end and a stray quarter of the Indravajra or the Anushtubh metre here and there, the whole record is in prose. Both the metre and the grammar are faulty in several places. Mistakes of the former are pointed out in the foot-notes to the text. As regards those of grammar, attention may be drawn to the wrong gender in samantasirō-ratnō in 1.6, the faulty compounds in suta-dvau and mātri-pitrō- in 11.6 and 14 respectively and the syntactical blunder in sō-ham. . . samājnāpayati vōdhayati cha in 11.7-8. Final consonants, are not properly marked. The writer's carelessness is betrayed by the omission and transposition of words in many verses and the orthographical mistakes such as the use of the dental s for the palatel s (e.g., in sarmane for sarmane in several places in Il. 10-12) and vice versa (e.g., in sükshmā for sükshmā in 1.2, suta-dvau 1.6 etc.), that of n in for n in punya-yaso, 1.14 and punya-karmmanau, 1.18. The sign of v is used to denote b in all places except babhūva in 1.5.

As stated before, the inscription opens with two verses, one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of Bharati, the goddess of speech. The first of these occurs in several copper-plate charters of the Later Kalachuris, while the second with some alterations is met with in three records of the Kalachuri king, Karna.2 The inscription then refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vijayadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Trikalinga, who by his own arm had acquired suzerainty over the three kings (viz.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirājā and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. Worthy of note is the epithet Parama-māhēśvara here applied to Vāmadēva, for it clearly shows that the latter cannot be identified with the god Siva. As the description of Vijayadeva is closely similar to that of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha in the Rewa plate of Kirtivarman, he is evidently identical with Vijayasimha, the son and successor of Jayasimha. This identification is again corroborated by the agreement of dates. For, as shown below, the date of the present inscription corresponds to 1195 A.C. It is twenty years later than the date of the Rewa inscription of Kirtivarman (viz., K. 926 or 1175 A.C.), and this squares with the relation of Vijayasimha to Jayasimha. Again, the date of the present inscription is only two years later than that of the preceding Rewa stone inscription of Malayasimha which belongs to the reign of Vijayasimha.3

The inscription next gives the pedigree of the donor Salakshanavarman, who

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 227.

Nos. 50, 51 and 54. In these it is in praise of Brāhmī, while in the present record it glorifies Bhāratī. Bhāratī which is here substituted for Brāhmī does not, however, suit the metre.

³ As a matter of fact, Salakshana is mentioned in verse 24 of that inscription, as one who suffered a defeat in Karkarēdī at the hands of Malayasimha, a feudatory of Vijayasimha.

was then plainly a feudatory of Vijayadēva. In the capital Kakarēdī there lived a personage named Dhāhilla who was honoured by all princes. After him flourished in course of time Vājūka, Dandūka, Khōjūka and Jayavarman, whose relation to Dhāhilla and to one another is not specified. Jayavarman's son was Vatsarāja who, again, had two sons Kīrtivarman and Salakshaṇavarman (or Salakhaṇavarman). The former, being the elder of the two, succeeded his father and was himself succeeded by his younger brother Salakshaṇavarman.¹

The object of the present inscription is to record the donation of the village Chhiqauqā, situated in the Kūyīsambapālisa² pattalā, which Salakshaṇavarman made after bathing and worshipping Siva at Kakarēqā. The donees were all grandsons of one Mādhava and belonged to the Kausilla gōtra with the three paravaras Kausilla, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. It seems that Mādhava had four sons Mahasōṇa, Chīthu(?) Pīthana and Srīdhara. The village or its revenue was divided into five padas or shares of which two were allotted to Rāmasarman, Gāṭhēśarman and Dāmaraśarman, the three sons of Mahasōṇa and one each to Pāṇḍu(?)śarman, Paitēśarman and Haridattaśarman, the three sons of Mahasōṇa's three brothers.

The date the donation is given in line 13 as Friday, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight³ of Märgaśiras in the year 1253 (expressed in decimal figures only). No era is specified; but there is little doubt that the date is to be referred to the Vikrama era. It is found to be regular for the current Vikrama year 1253. The seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrnimānta Mārgaśiras of that year ended 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Friday,⁴ the corresponding Christian date being the 27th October 1195 A.C.

Of the place-names occurring in the present grant, Kakarēdī has already been identified with Kakrēri in Vindhya Pradesh. I have not been able to trace any place exactly corresponding to Kūyīsambapālisa. There are, however, some villages named Kooiah in the adjoining territory; the nearest to Kakrēri that I have been able to trace is 12 miles to the east by south. Chhidaudā I am unable to identify.

TEXT 5

- [सिद्धिः ।] स्वस्ति । [निर्ग्]णं व्यापकं।[नि]त्यं शि[वं] परमकार[णं](णम्) । भावग्राह्यं पनं(रं) [ज्यो]तिस्तस्म(स्मै) सद्व्र(द्ब्र)ह्मणे नमः । [१।१।।*] शुद्धे हृदय[क्षेत्रे] वल्लीमि[व] व्या-
- 2 यन्ति [यां] मुनयः । मोक्षमहाफलजननी भारती शू (π) क्मा सा जयित ॥ (π) परम-भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा-

¹ Cunningham wrongly stated that Salakshanavarman was the grandson of Kirtivarman.

² See below p. 361, n. 13. Cunningham read the name of the village as Navagrāma.

^a Cunningham inadvertently stated the date to be the 7th of waxing moon.

⁴ According to Kielhorn's calculations the tithi ended 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise on that day. Cunningham, who presumably took the Vikrama year as expired, stated that the tithi fell on Thursday, as indeed it did in 1196 A. C.

^a From ink impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

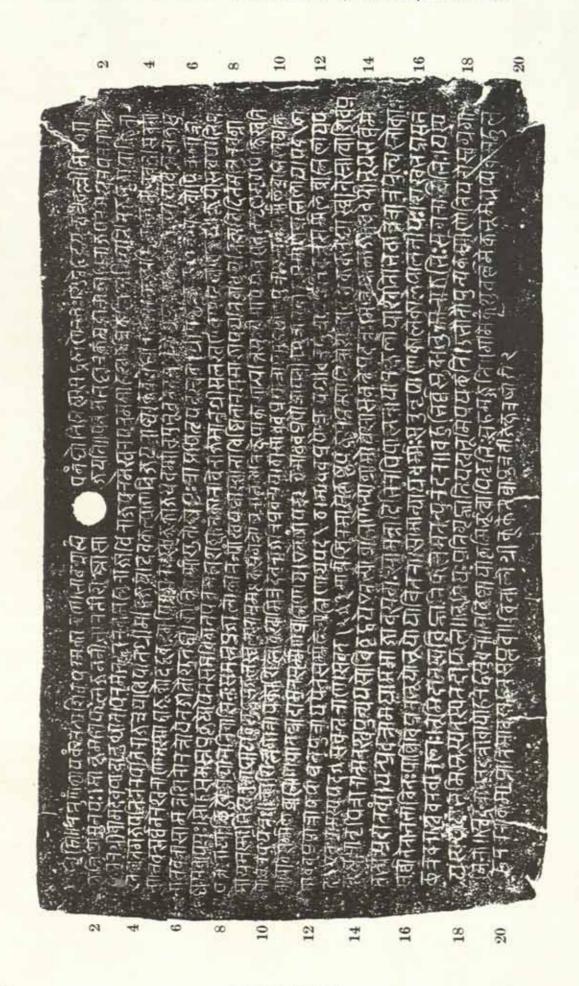
⁷ Metre: Anushtubb.

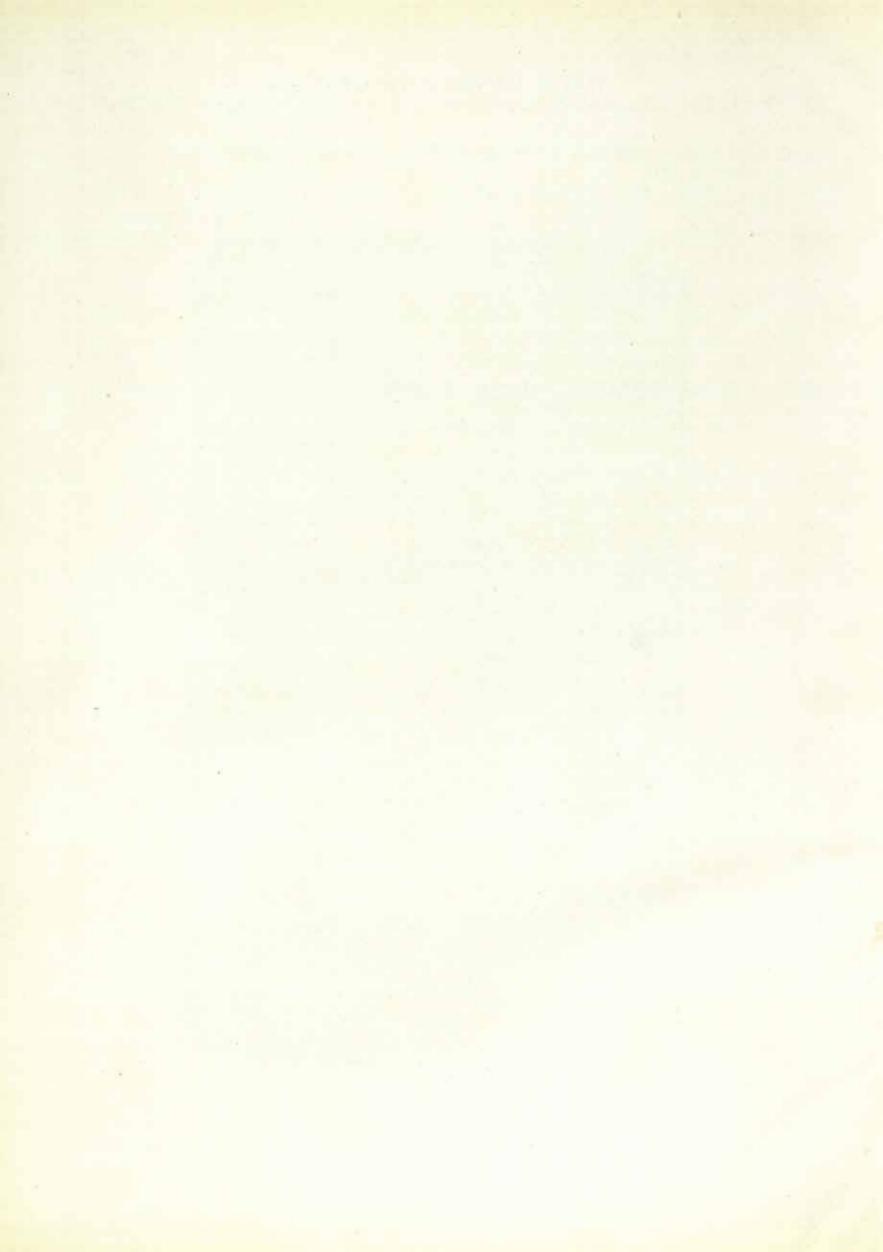
⁸ ध्यायन्ति does not suit the metre. Read रोपयन्ति as in the Goharwa plates.

a The metre is faulty here also. The Goharwa plates read ब्राह्मी स्थमापि सा जयित ।

¹⁰ Metre: Aryā.

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253





- 3 [हे]श्वरश्रीवामदेवपादान्ध्यात ।¹ परमभट्टारकमहाराजािधराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरित्रकिल-[ङ्गा]धिपतिनिजभुजोपार्जिता-
- 4 स्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति (त्य)श्रीमद्विजयदेवकत्याणविजयराज्ये ।(॥) ककरे[डचा] [राजधान्यां] धाहि[ल्लो नामा]भवत्²। स च मा³-
- उ न्योभवत्सर्वनरेश्वराणां (णाम्) [।*] तस्माद्वाज्को दंदुकश्चापि [क्रमतः4?] खोज्को जय-वर्मा च बभूव [तदनंतरी] [1*] अथ जयवर्मदेवा[प ?]त्यं वत्सराज[:*] सू-
- 6 तोभवत् । सामन्तशिरोरत्नो⁷ येन जातौ श्तद्दौ । कीर्त्तवर्म्मा श्(स्)तो ज्ये[छ]ः प्राप्तिपत्-पदं⁸ स्व[तः] । श्रीमच्छ[ल्लक्ष]णवर्म्म[दे]वोपि⁹ कमाद्रा-
- 7 ज्यमवाप सः। सोहं समस्तप्रकृयोपेत¹⁰समिवगतपंचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)लंकारविराजमानश्रीसलखण-वम्मंदेवो11 विजयी।12 क्योसंव13(ब)पालिस-
- श पत्तलायां छिडौ[ङा]ग्रामिनवासिनः समस्तप्रजालोकानन्यांश्च यथास्थानाधिष्ठितान् समाज्ञापयित वो (बो) धयति 14 च । विदितमस्तु [भ]व[तां*] ग्रा-
- 9 मोयमस्माभिश्चतुराचाटविशुद्ध¹⁵सजलस्थलसाम्प्रमध्कसगत्तींपरनिधिनिक्षेपाकाशोत्पत्तिस् (स्व)सी— मापयंन्तसवनत्णपक्षिखनि-
- 10 गोचरपर्यन्तः ॥12 कौशिल्ल16गोत्राय कौशिल्लविश्वामित्रदेवराज(त)त्रिप्रवराय । ठ17 । माध-वप्रयोत्राय महस्रोण¹⁸पुत्राय [राम ?]स (श)म्मेणे वा (बा)ह्मणाय । त-
- था गा[ठ]स(श)म्मंणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तथा दामरस(श)म्मंणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय। एतेवां पद19 २[1*] ठ माधवप्रपीत्राय । [चीयु ?]पुत्राय [पांडु ?]स (श)म्मंणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । पद १ [1*] 31
- 12 माचवप्रपौत्राय पीथनपुत्राय पैतेस (श)म्मेंणे ब्रा (ब्रा)ह्मणाय पद १ [1*] ठ। माचवप्रपौत्राय श्रीधरपुत्राय [ह]रिदत्तस(श)म्मंणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय प-
- 13 द १ [1*] एवं ग्रामस्य पद ५ संवत्त (त्स) राणां स (सं)वत (त्) १२५३ मार्गास (शि)र(रो)मासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथी शुक्रदिने ककरेडचां स्थाने स्नात्वा शिवं प्र-

¹ This danda is superfluous.

^{*} This requires only one akshara to become a hemistich of an Anusbtubh verse. Read नाम योऽभवत् to suit the metre.

³ Here we have the cadence of an Indravajrā verse.

⁴ After this word a danda, which was at first engraved, is cancelled.

⁵ This sounds like the latter half of an Anushtubb verse. What follows appears to be in the Anusbjubb metre.

⁷ Read सामन्तानां शिरोरत्नं यस्माज्जातं सुतद्वयम् । to suit the metre.

^{*} Read प्राप्तपितृपदः.

If this is intended as part of an Anushtubb verse, we should have श्रीसलक्षणवम्मापि. The sandhi in the text is due to the royal name being taken as जानवाण-

¹⁰ The letters are quite clear here. Read -प्रकृत्यपेत:, Kielhorn's reading प्रकृष्टोपेत-does not give a good sense.

¹¹ This name is a corrupt form of श्रीसलक्षणवरमं-.

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ Kielhorn read क्यीसवपालि, but the impression clearly shows an anusvara on स.

¹⁴ Read समाज्ञापयामि and बोधयामि.

¹⁵ Here and in the following expressions the sign of visarga is wrongly omitted.

¹⁸ Read क्रीशिल-. This is shown to be derived from क्रीशिक in Vamana's Kāvyālankārasūtravritti, V, 2,61.

¹⁸ The last two aksharas of this name though faint, are legible. The name occurs also in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II, though it refers there to a different individual.

¹⁹ This word is used here and in some places below without a case-affix. Read 44 ?.

- 14 पूज्य मातृपित्री¹रात्मनश्च पुन्य (ण्य)यसो (शो) विवृद्धये एत (ते) भ्यो वा (बा) ह्यणै (णे) भ्यो या-मोयं सासनत्वे² प्रदत्तः । मत्वेषा³माज्ञाविधेयीभूय सर्व्वमे-
- 15 [ते]भ्यः प्रदातव्यं (व्यम्) । यन्प्रदत्तं भया ममाज्ञावस (श) गैः सामन्तादिभिरिप पालनीया रक्षणीयाश्चेति । भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यस्लो (श्लो)काः ।
- 16 सर्व्वानेतान (न्) भां (भा) विनः पाधिवेंद्रान (न्) भूयो भूयो याचित रा । सामान्या (न्यो) यं धर्मः स्त्री त्न (न्) पाणां काले काले पालनीयः ।[।३॥*] शंखं (खो) भद्रासनं
- 17 छत्रं बराश्वं(श्वो) बरवारणाः। भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलम(मे)तत्पुरंदर ॥⁹[४॥*] व(व)हुमिव्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य
 - 18 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[५॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा (ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमि प्रयस्य (च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य (च्य)कम्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगा—
 - 19 मिनौ ॥[६॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुंघरां¹⁰। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मञ्जति ॥[७॥*] गामेकं शु(सु)वर्ण्णमेकं¹¹ भूमेरप्येकमंगूलं(लम्) [।*]
- 20 हरन्नरकमाप्नोति मा(या)वदाहृत¹²संप्लवं(वम्) ॥[८॥*] वि¹³ नाणी श्रीकृके तथा पुत्र[: ।*] वी(वी)जे क्षेत्र पाडी¹⁴ २ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) Glorious is that speech¹⁵ on which the sages contemplate¹⁶ as on a creeper planted in the pure field of their heart, and which, (though) subtle, yields the great fruit of final emancipation.

(Line 2) During the beneficial and victorious reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vijayadēva, the lord of Trikalinga, who, by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (viz.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmādēva, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—

¹ Read मातापित्रो-.

² Read शासनत्वेन, as the expression is generally used.

³ This aksbara is quite clear.

⁴ Originally युत्प्रदत्ता.

⁵ Read पालनीयं रक्षणीयं चेति ।

⁶ Read याचते रामभद्र: ।

⁷ Read urn-

⁸ Read पालनीयो भवद्भि: । Metre: Sālinī.

^{*} Metre of this and the following verses: Anushtubh.

¹⁰ Read हरेत वसन्धराम्.

¹¹ The metre is faulty. Read सुवण्णमेक गामेकां.

¹² Read -दाम्त-.

¹³ Vi also occurs in the Dhurëti plates, below, No. 72, I. 20. Nāni seems to mean 'an engraver'. Kūkë is mentioned in line 19 of No. 65, above.

¹⁴ Perhaps खारी (a measure of grain) is meant.

¹⁵ In the Goharwa and other inscriptions where this verse occurs, it is Brāhmī, not Bhāratī which is eulogized.

The use of the metaphor 'the field of the heart' shows that rōpayanti (plant), not dhyāyanti (contemplate) is the appropriate verb in this relative clause.

(L. 4) There was (a personage) named Dhāhilla in the capital of Kakarēdī. He became venerable to all princes. From him were born in course of time Vājūka and Dandūka, and after them, Khōjūka and Jayavarman. Afterwards was born Vatsarāja, a son of Jayavarmadēva, the crest-jewel of feudatory princes, from whom two sons were born. (Of them) the elder son Kīrtivarman himself obtained his father's throne, and the illustrious Salakshhaṇavarmadēva also obtained the kingdom in course of time.

(L. 7) I, who am that Salakhaṇavarmadēva, being possessed of all the powers of the state, shining with the distinction of having obtained the pañcha-mahasabda (and) being victorious, command and inform all the subjects, residing in the village Chhiḍauḍā (situated) in the pattalā Kūyīsambapālisa, and others established in their respective posts—

(L. 8) "Be it known to you that having bathed at the town of Kakarēḍī and worshipped Siva, We have given as a grant, on Friday, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśiras in the year 1253, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and Ourself, this village (divided into) the following five padar³, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and madhāka trees, together with pits and barren lands, treasures and deposits, open space and products, extending as far as its limits (and) together with woods, grass, birds and mineral products,—to the following Brāhmaṇas, (viz.,) two padas to the Brāhmaṇa [Rāma]śarman, the son of Mahasōṇa and the grandson of the Thakkura Mādhava, of the Kauśila gōtra with the three pravaras Kauśila, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta, the Brāhmaṇa Gāṭhēśarman and the Brāhmaṇa Dāmara⁴; one pada to the Brāhmaṇa [Pānḍu]śarman, the son of Chīthu (and) grandson of the Thakkura Mādhava; one pada to the Brāhmaṇa Paitēśarman, the son of Pīthana (and) grandson of the Thakkura Mādhava; (and) one pada to the Brāhmaṇa Haridattaśarman, the son of Srīdhara (and) grandson of the Thakkura Mādhava.

(L. 14) Knowing this, (you)⁵ should pay all (dues) to them, obeying their orders. What has been granted by me should be preserved and protected by feudatory princes and

others who submit to my commands."

And there are the (following) holy verses in this connection:-

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(The engravers's were) the illustrious Vi Nāṇi Kūkē and his son. The field requires two khārīs? (of grain) for seed.

No. 69: PLATE LVIII

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

This inscription was first brought to notice by Dr. T. Bloch, Superintendent of the Archeological Survey, Eastern Circle, in his Annual Report for 1907-08, p. 15.

¹ Properly, Salakshanavarmadēva.

^{*} Prakritis, are 'the powers of the state' or 'constituent elements of the realm' which are seven, viz., king, minister, allies, treasure, territory, forts and army.

³ Pada seems to be used here in the sense of bhaga 'a share'.

⁴ Gāthēšarman and Dāmara also were evidently sons of Mahasōṇa,

⁵ I.e., the residents of the village.

⁶ See above, p. 343.

⁷ For khārī, a measure of grain, see above p. 193, n. 1.

^{*}Cunningham has not noticed this inscription in his account of Bherā-Ghāt. See his A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, pp. 60 ff.

A transcript of its text accompanied by a lithograph was published by Mr. R.D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, p. 142. The record is edited here from excellent estampages supplied by the Superintendent of Archæology, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a stone slab let into the front wall, on the right-hand side of the door leading into the sanctuary of the temple of Gauri-Sankara at Bhērā-Ghāt, 13 miles from Jabalpur, the chief town of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The writing, which measures 1'9" broad by 9" high, contains four lines. It has suffered considerably on the right-hand side owing to the peeling off of the surface of the stone. About six aksharas at the end of the first three lines and one akshara in the beginning of the last two have been either wholly or partly damaged.

The characters are Nagari and the language Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The record is of the time of the king Vijayasimhadeva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripuri. Its object is to record the obeisance of the Mahārājāi Gosaladevi, (her son)¹ the Mahārāja Vijayasimhadeva and (the heir-apparent) Ajayasimhadeva to the enshrined god who appears to be named here Bhagnakhidra (the Destroyer of diseases).²

TEXT 3

- महाराज्ञी श्रीमद्गोसल[देवी⁴] [श्रीमहा]रा³-
- वश्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेव [महाकुमार⁶]—
- 3 [अ]जयसिंहदेव⁷ एते [भ]ग्निख[द्राय] [हिता][य*]
- 4 [नि]त्यं प्रणमंति⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

The Mahārājāi the illustrious Gōsaladēvī, the glorious Mahārāja, the illustrious Vijayasimhadēva, the Mahākumāra Ajayasimhadēva,—these constantly bow to the Destroyer9 of diseases for (their) welfare.

¹ Hiralal makes Gōsaladēvī the queen of Vijayasimha. See I. C. P. B. (second ed.), p. 37. The Kumbhī copper-plate inscription, however, makes it plain that she was his mother. See Appendix, No. 4, below.

See below, n. 7.

³ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁴ These aksharas are almost certain.

⁵ Banerji read [महारा]—. The akshara रा at the end of the line is quite clear and there is space for three aksharas between it and देवी.

^{*}Banerji reads the last two aksharas of this line as afin and the first akshara of the next as \(\varphi\), but the latter, not being open on the right, cannot be read as \(\varphi\). The title Mabākumāra of Ajayasimha occurs in the Kumbhī plates.

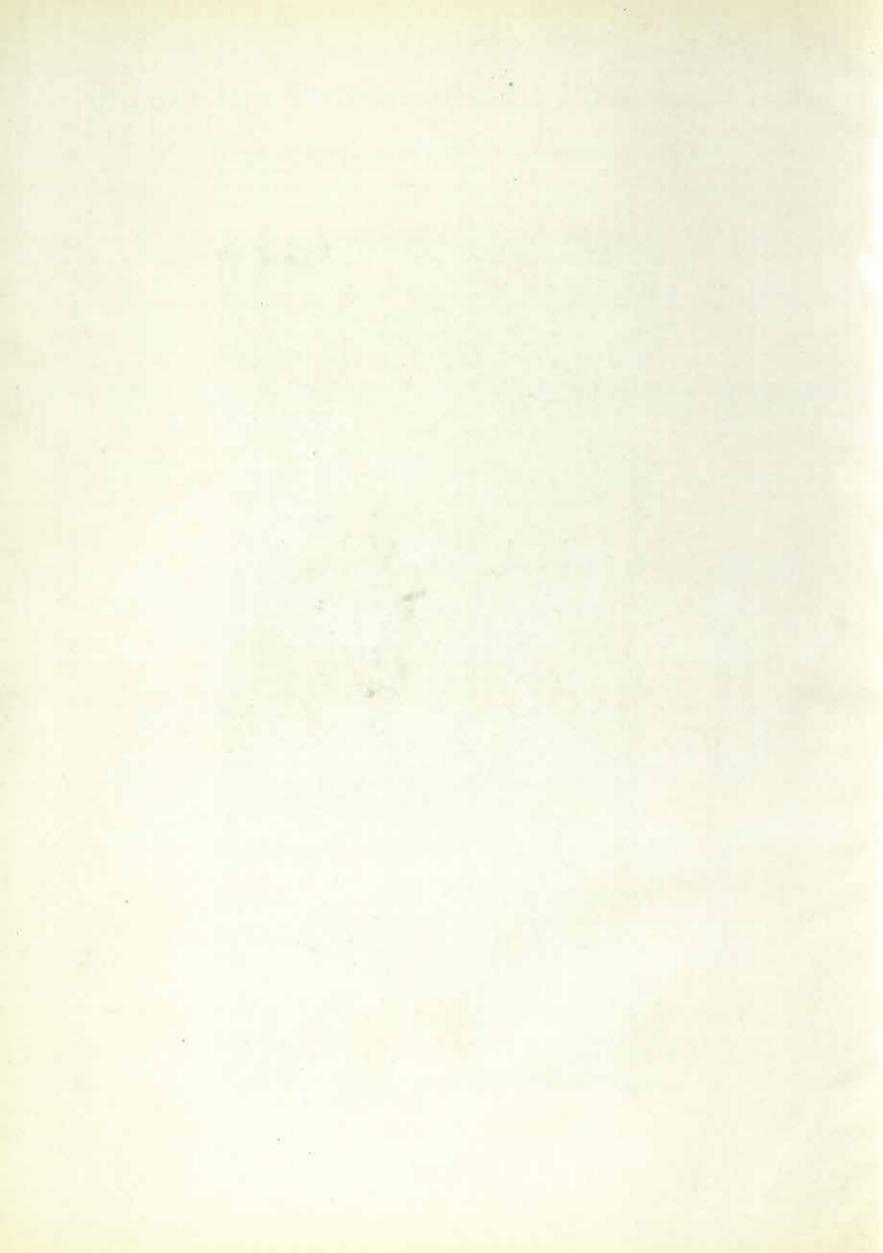
⁷ Bancrji reads the text from here to the end as -इजयसिहदेवनेदं(?) श्री[वेद्यनायचरणं] नित्यं प्रणमित. Apart from the ungrammatical construction, there is no sign of the medial i on v in -divine. The aksbaras following अजयसिहदेव are certainly एते. As regards the reading भानश्चिद्राय the aksbaras रन and जिल्ल are almost certain. Lexicons give kbidra in the sense of 'a disease'. Bhagna-kbidra may be a name of Siva who is so called because he drives away diseases.

⁸ Banerji read प्रणमति, but the anusvāra is clearly seen at the foot of the vertical stroke of ba in Ajayasimba, 1.3.

⁹ It is not unlikely that the temple was erected and the image of the god installed by way of thanksgiving after the recovery from illness of the dowager queen or one of her sons.

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA





No. 70; (No Plate)

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 96x

This inscription was brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who found it deposited in the guard-hall of the old palace at Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. The original provenance of it is not known. A short account of its contents was published by the Government Epigraphist in his report for the year 1935-36. The record is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by him.²

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone which is broken irregularly on the proper left. The extant writing covers a space measuring 2' 1½" in height and from 1' to 1' 1" in breadth. No lines are broken off from the top and the bottom, but on the proper left from three to twelve aksharas are lost at the end of each line. The writing has again suffered very much by exposure to weather, several aksharas being completely effaced in almost every line. As shown below, the inscription appears to be a public copy of a copper-plate charter. It has a large portion in common with other Kalachuri grants, especially the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha³ and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.⁴ Many of the lost or illegible aksharas can, therefore, be restored with the help of these latter records; but some names of officials mentioned in lines 9-12 and a few fiscal terms which occurred in lines 13-16 are now irrecoverably lost. The record consists of 19 lines. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". The characters are Nāgarī. They resemble in a general way those of the Lāl-Pahāḍ stone inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. In style the inscription is in the customary form of a copper-plate charter.⁵ The orthography does not call for any remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Vijayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripuri. The object of it is to record the king's grant of the village Dhōṭṭavāḍa in the Rēvā pattalā. The name of the donee, which seems to have occurred at the end of line 13, is lost.

The present record appears to be a public copy of a charter which must have been originally engraved on copper-plates. As in the Kumbhi plates, the royal order is issued here from the capital **Tripuri**. Again, in lines 6-16 the present record names dignitaries and mentions several rights and privileges after the manner of copper-plate grants.⁶ It seems, therefore, that Vijayasimha caused the charter to be copied and incised on the stone in order to give it full publicity.

Like his predecessors; Vijayasimha is described here as one who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva and assumed the titles Trikalingādhipati and others. Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed there are the Mahāpradhāna Thakkura Kīki, the Arthalēkhin Thakkura Kēśava, the Sāndhivigrahika Lakhana the Mahāmantrin Haripāla, the Mahāmandalika Malayasimha and the Rājaguru Vimala-

¹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

The estampages are not suitable for plating.

³ Above, No. 63.

⁴ Appendix, No. 4.

⁶ An analogous instance is furnished by the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta; see Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 213 ff.

See especially the corresponding portions of the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.

⁷ He is probably identical with the Sāndhivigrabika Tbakkura Haripāla mentioned in 1.8 of the Dhurēti plates (No. 72, below.)

siva. Malayasimha is probably identical with the homonymous feudatory of Vijayasimha. His inscription dated K. 944 shows that he was in charge of the territory round Rewa during the reign of Vijayasimha.

The inscription bears in line 17 a date in three digits, the first two of which are probably 9 and 6. The third digit is completely effaced. But as the Dhurëti inscription of Trailōkyamalla shows that the Chandellas occupied the territory round Rewa in K. 963 the third digit of the date must have been 0, 1, or 2. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. The corresponding Christian date will, therefore, range from 1208-9 to 1210-11 A.C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, the Rēvā pattalā must have comprised the territory round the modern town of Rewa. The village Dhōṭṭa-vāḍa I am unable to identify.

TEXT 3

- ा सिद्धिः [।*] स्वस्ति श्रीम[त्त्रि]पुरीतः परमभट्टारकम[हाराजा*]-
- 2 विराजपर[मे][श्व*]रश्री[वा]मदेवपादा[नु]ध्या[तपरम*]-
- 3 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]र[मेश्व]र[परममाहेश्व*]-
- 4 रत्रिकलिंगाधिपति[निजभुजोपाजिताश्वपतिगज*]-
- पतिनरपतिराजत्रयाविपति(त्य)[श्रीम]दि⁵[जयसिह*]-
- 6 देवचरणा[:] अद्येह श्रीम[हाराज्ञी श्रीमहाकुमार श्रीम*]-
- 7 हाप्रधान ठ[बक्*]र[कीकि] [अर्थ*]लेखि[ठक्क्र*]-
- 8 [श्री*][के]स(श)व सांधिविग्रहिकः?। [श्री]लखण [श्री][महाप्रती*]-
- 9 हार श्री[म*]⁸हाम (मं) [त्रि]ह[रिपाल⁹].....[श्रीमहा*]-
- 10 मंडलीक श्रीमलय[सीह] (सिह) [महा] चि....
- 11पाकलित(?).....[रा].....
- 12 पाल¹¹ राण[क*] [श्रीमद्रा]ज[गुरु श्री] [वि*]मल¹²[शिव*]...
- 13 [स?] रे[वा]पत्तलायां घोट्टवाडं [नाम].....
- 14क[र]वि[सेणा]दा[य13 भू]मि[जा*]ङ्गल [*] [साम्प्रम*]-

¹ Chakravarti reads the name of the Mahāpratībāra as Bhīmasimba, but it appears to be a mislection for Mahāmamtri—. The Kumbhī plates mention Mahāmantrin after Mahākumāra.

¹ Above, No. 67.

^a From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This akshara is fairly clear in the estampages. The following four aksharas are broken off.

⁶ The name 新俸 is faintly seen in the estampages. It occurs in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4, below).

⁷ The visarga and the following danda appear to be superfluous.

[&]quot; Chakravarti read these four aksharas as भीमसिंह.

These aksharas are not quite clear, but the Dhurëti plates of the reign of Trailokyamalla (No. 72, below) mention one Haripāla as Sāndhivigrabika.

¹⁰ Read - मांडलिक-.

n Some official like कोट्टपाल seems to have been mentioned here.

¹² The aksbaras म and इ are fairly clear. The preceding aksbara चि of the Rājagara's name seems to have been omitted inadvertently. For a similar omission, see श्री[म*]हामंत्रि— L, 9, above.

¹⁸ This seems to correspond to विसेणिमादाय mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.

- 15 धूक[गोप्र1]तृणो[द्भिदादि]सक[ल*].....
- 16 [कामत]मवाडप्रविणक[र*][सव्वी][दाय*] [स ह(हि)][त:*]...
- 17 [द्रिस ?]त [च] प्रदते (त इ) ति ॥ संव[त्*][९*][६][×].....[म*]²-
- 18 हीदत चंडाज्व (?) मंत्रि श्री[मलय ? 3]
- 19 श्री[रेवा].....4॥

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success! Hail! From the famous Tripurī,—the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahā-rājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vijayasimhadēva, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of Trikalinga, who by (the might of) his arm has attained suzerainty over the three kings, (viz.,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara the illustrious Vāmadēva, (commands as follows):—

(L. 6) Today here⁵ (in the presence of) the illustrious Mahārājāi, the illustrious Mahākumāra, the illustrious Mahāpradhāna, Thakkura Kīki, the Arthalēkhin, the illustrious Thakkura Kēšava, the Sāndhivigrahika, the illustrious Lakhaṇa, the illustrious Mahāmantrin Haripāla . . . the illustrious Mahāmānḍalika Malayasimha . . . the [Kōṭṭapāla] Rāṇaka, the illustrious Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, . . . We have granted a village named Dhōṭṭavāḍa (situated) in the Rēvā pattalā, together with the cess on Visēṇa, together with fertile⁶ and (other) lands, together with mango and mahuā trees, together with pasture-land, grass etc., together with ...kāmata, mavāḍa, and the cess on the pravaṇis, and all other taxes to

(L. 17) (In) the year 96 [x] . . . (the illustrious Mantrin Malaya—). the famous Rēvā....

LOUIS DE LA TABLE DE

¹ Read alvarr

² The first figure of the date is illegible, but it must have been 9 as the Kumbhi plates of his reign are dated in K. 932. From its top which alone appears in the estampage, the second figure appears to be 6. The third figure again is completely effaced.

³ Only the first akshara of this name is fairly distinct.

⁴ Traces of five or six aksharas appear here.

⁵ I. e., at Tripuri.

⁶ See above p. 331, n. 1.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 71; PLATE LIX

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958

THIS inscription was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham, who published a transcript and a lithograph of it and drew attention to its date in his Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 101-3, and plate xxvii. The date was subsequently discussed by Dr. Kielhorn in his article entitled "The Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi Era' in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-19. The record is edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a loose broken stone slab near the ruins of a temple at Bēsāni (long. 80° 17' E. and lat. 24° 12' N.) in Vindhya Pradesh, about 14 miles northwest of Jukēhi, a station on the Katni-Manikpur branch of the G.I.P. Railway. The record is fragmentary. The extant portion contains six lines. Nothing is lost at the top and the proper right side. The first four lines seem to be complete on the left side also. But as the lower corner on that side is broken off, the fifth line has lost about six aksharas, while the last one shows only the upper fragments of three aksharas in the left corner. Besides, an indefinite number of lines has been lost at the bottom. The extant portion has suffered here and there by exposure to weather. The letters were carelessly written or incised. The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. The orthography does call for any remarks.

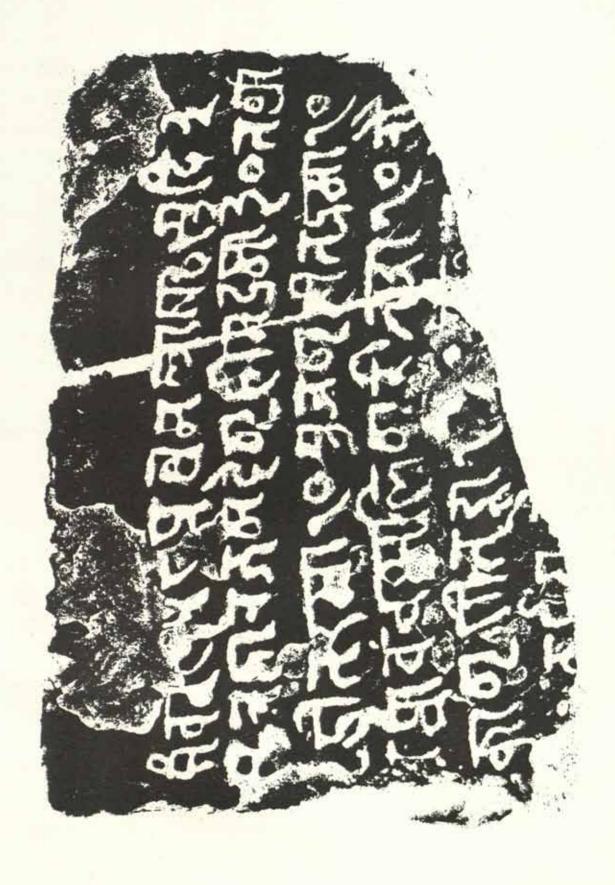
The inscription opens with the date, viz., the year 958 (expressed in numerical figures only), the third tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha. The object of it seems to be to record gifts in drammas received from different persons for some purpose not specified in the extant portion of the inscription. The gifts may have been made, as conjectured by Cunningham¹ for some work connected with the temple near the ruins of which the stone was found. It may be noted that the preserved portion of the record does not mention any reigning prince.

The interest of the inscription lies in its date which, on the evidence of its characters, must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. Its wording shows that there were two months named Ashā dha in the year 958 and the month in which the inscription was put up was the first or intercalary Āshādha. We find that in 1207 A.C., which corresponds to the expired Kalachuri year 958, there were two Āshādhas, of which the first or intercalary Āshādha lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June. The third tithi of the bright fortnight of it fell on Thursday, the 31st May 1207 A.C.

¹ See C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 102.

^{*}Kielhorn has shown that Āshāḍha was intercalary in 1207 A. C. 'For in that year the solar month Āshāḍha lasted from May 26, about 1 h. 40 m. after sunset, to June 27, about 4 h. after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise'. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 219.

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958





TEXT1

- ा संवत (त्) [९]५८ प्रथम आयद² सु दि ३
- ² स्(स्)त्रहा(धा)र जगदे[व*] शृहीतद्रमा(म्माः) ३० त[या⁴]
- अ [गृहीतद(इ)मा(म्माः) १० ⁵पु[ज]गृहीतद्रमा(म्माः) १०
 - 4 [त][था] वंद[धा]लि⁶ गृ[ही]तद्रा(द्रम्माः) १० री-
 - उ कागृहीत द्रा (द्रम्माः) १.....
 - 6 .[कहंरा(?)].....

[The lower part of the stone is broken off and lost].

TRANSLATION

The year 958, (the month) first Āshāḍha, the bright (fortnight), the (lunar) day 3.

From the Sūtradhāra Jagadē[va] 30 drammas have been taken. Similarly (from . . .)

10 drammas have been taken; (and) from Puja 10 drammas have been taken. Similarly from Vandadhāli 10 drammas have been taken. From Raukā 18. drammas have been taken.

No. 72; PLATE LX

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILOKYAMALLA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 963.

These plates were brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. He first published a brief notice of their contents in his report for the year 1935-369 and subsequently edited them with a lithograph in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff. They are edited here from an excellent ink-impression kindly supplied by him.

They are two copper-plates measuring 1' 3.2" broad and roll" high. They were discovered in 1926 in the village of Dhurëti, 10 about 6 miles south-east of Rewa by a cultivator while ploughing his field. They have raised rims. When discovered they were apparently held together by a ring, but it had already been cut when Dr. Chakravarri examined the charter. This ring has a seal measuring 6\frac{3}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}" attached to it, bearing in relief the figure of Lakshmi with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head, and the legend \$Srimat-Trail\(\tilde{o}kyamalla\) in one line below it. The weight of the plates together with the seal is 419 tolas. The record consists of 22 lines, of which eleven are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .5".

The characters are of the Nagari alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the closely similar forms of the initial \$\tilde{e}\$ and \$pa\$, \$t\$ and \$bh\$, and \$ch\$ and \$v\$. The \$prishtha-matras are used

¹ From inked estampages.

^{*} Read प्रथमापाद-.

³ Cunningham read अमरे. The second aksbara appears more like ga than ma; the horizontal line which seems to join its two limbs may be accidental.

⁴ Cunningham read here ta Sri which gives no sense. It seems that the name of some person is omitted through inadvertence in the beginning of l. 3.

^{*} Cunningham read this akshara as मू.

⁶ Cunningham read Prithiva vasini, but the reading does not appear to be supported by the original,

⁷ Cunningham reads 1000, but the ciphers after the first figure are uncertain.

⁸ The second figure here is lost owing to the peeling off of the stone.

⁹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp. 90-91.

¹⁰ The place-name is spelt as Dhoorëti in the Degree Map 63 H.

here and there to denote medial diphthongs. The language is Sanskrit, Except for three verses in the beginning, the inscription is in prose throughout. The record is very carelessly written especially in lines 18-22. The writer had evidently a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As shown below, this is a private document. Still the writer states that it was issued from a camp and that the camp was situated at some auspicious place! It is clear that he has blindly copied the introductory part of the record from some royal charter. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of v for b, of the dental for the palatal sibilant and vice versa.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Trailokyamalla who, as shown below, is identical with the Chandella king Trailokyavarman The object of it is to record the mortgage (vitta-bandha) of a certain village by the Saiva ascetic Santaśiva

in favour of one Ranaka Dhareka,

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Siva and Ganapati. It has then three verses in praise of Krishna, Sūlapāṇi (Siva) and Sarasvatī.1 It next proceeds to state that during the reign of the illustrious Trailokyamalladeva, the lord of Kanyakubja, who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva, had assumed titles commencing with Paramabhattāraka (i.e., Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Maharājādhirāja and Paramēśvara), and had attained supremacy over the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men,2 the Saiva ascetic Santasiva, the son of the Rajaguru Vimalasiva, conveyed by way of mortgage (vittabandha) at Dhovahattapattana in the Dhanavahi pattala, the village of Alaura, to the Rāṇaka Dharēka, the son of Sēvarāja, who was himself the son of the Thakkura Rāsala. The deed of mortgage was actually executed by Nadasiva, a younger son of Vimalasiva, with the authority of his elder brother Santasiva. Some persons are cited as witnesses at the end of the record. The record was written by the Panditas Viśveśvara and Gangadhara. It was engraved by Siruka. There are no benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end of the record, as it is not a land-grant.3

Trailokyamalla, during whose reign the deed was executed, is evidently identical with Trailokyavarman (or Trailokyamalla), mentioned in the Rewa plates of V. 1297 and 1298 of his feudatories Kumārapāla and Harirāja.4 He, therefore, belonged to the Chandella dynasty. Still the same epithets are here applied to him as were applied to his predecessor Vijayasimha of the Kalachuri dynasty, evidently through the ignorance of the writer, who seems to have drawn upon some Kalachuri record for the description of

the Chandella king.5

Among the officers of Trailokyamalla mentioned in the present inscription, there is one who deserves special notice6. This is the Mahāmahattaka, Mantrin and Māṇdalika Malayasimha. He is evidently identical with the Mahāmāndalika Malayasimha mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha. As shown below, the present inscription was incised in K. 963, i.e., within two or three years of the aforementioned inscription of Vijayasimha. During this short interval the rule of the Kalachuris in the Rewa

4 Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, pp. 232 and 236.

¹ The verse in praise of Sarasvatī occurs in the Kānyādarša (I, 1) of Daṇḍin.

In line 12 the king is called tri-lati-rājy-ādbipati, 'the lord of three hundred kingdoms.'

For a similar instance, see Anjaneri plates (Second Set), of Bhogasakti, No. 32, above.

⁶ It may, however, be noted that Trailökyavarman is called here Kānyakubjādbipati, not Trikalingādbipati. The latter epithet is applied to him in the Rewa plates of Kumārapāla, dated V. 1297 mentioned

⁶ Another officer, the Köttapäla Vähada may be identical with Vähadavarman, the son of Salakshanavarman, the feudatory chief of Karkarëdi, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 236. The Sändbivigrahika Haripāla may be identical with the Mahāmantrin of the same name mentioned in No. 70, 1. 9.

territory was supplanted by that of the Chandellas, and Malayasimha seems to have transferred his allegiance to the rising power. Perhaps he was himself instrumental in causing this revolution!

The inscription is dated on Monday, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Tyeshtha in the year 963 of an unspecified era. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out regularly; for in the current Kalachuri year 963 (1210-11 A.C.) the tithi fell on a Friday and in the expired year 963 (1211-12 A.C.) on a Wednesday. It is not, however, unlikely, in view of the careless writing of the present record, that Some of the text is a mistake for Saumye (on Wednesday) as suggested by Dr. Chakravarti. The date would in that case regularly correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

Of the places mentioned here, Dhovahatta has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Dhurëti, but there is not much similarity in their names. It is more likely to be Dhobhat near Makundapur, about 10 miles south by west of Rewa. Dhanavahi, the headquarters of the pattalā in which it was situated, may be identical with Dhanavāhi which lies 22 miles to the south-west of Dhobhat. Alaura I am unable to identify.

TEXT1

- अों नमः सि(शि)वाय ।। गणपतये नमः ।। जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनंदनोयं (यम्) ।² जयतु जयत् कृष्णो वृष्णिवंस (श) प्रदीपः ॥ (।) ज-
- यत जयत मेघश्यामल[:*] कोमलांगो जयत् जयत् पृथ्वी[भा]रनाशो(शी) मुकुंदः3॥[१॥*] अवत् सकललोकान्नी-
- उ लकंठ[:*] स्मरारिस्ति (स्त्रि)पुरदहनसमधीं मूह्मि (र्घन) भास्वछ (च्छ)सां (शां)कः । तुहिन-गिरिसताया वल्लभः ज्लपाणिः ।5
- 4 सकलजनशरण्यः सब्बंलोकैकनाथः ॥[२॥*] चतुर्मुखमुखांभोजवनहंश (स)वधूर्मम [।*] मानसे रमतां नि-
 - र्यं सर्वंशुक्ला स[र*]स्वती⁶ ॥[३॥*] परमभट्टारक (के)त्यादिसमस्तराजावली विराजमान परममाहे[इव*]र अस्व (इव)पति श्गजपति-
 - 6 नरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिस्री (श्री) वामदेवपादानुध्याता (त)कन्यकृञ्जा-घि⁹पतिमही-
 - 7 [प्र]बढंमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स्नी(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेवराज्ये संम(व)त् ९६३ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ७ सोमे दिनं (ने) महा-
- महन्न (त्त) कमंति (त्रि) मंडलकस्त्रीमलयसिंह¹¹ व्याप्रियमाणे शंविग्र [ही] क¹² ठक्क्रहरिपाल-कोट्रपालवाहड-

¹ From an ink-impression.

This danda is superfluous.

² Metre of this and the following verse: Mālinī.

⁴ There is one redundant aksbara in this pāda. Read स्मरारिः पुरवहन-.

⁵ This dands is superfluous.

⁴ Metre: Anushtubh.

The aksbara q in राजावली, which was omitted at first, is written above the line.

Read परममाहेश्वराश्वपति-.

Read कान्यकृज्जाधिपति-.

¹⁸ Read सोमदिने, or rather सौम्यदिने.

¹¹ Read -मांडलिकश्रीमलयसिंहे.

¹² The vertical stroke of ही is not incised. Read साधिविग्रहिके ठक्क रहिरपाले.

The following words also should be in the locative case.

- 9 अर्थलेखी स्री(श्री)[चं]दस्रेठि¹ यथावत्तंमानसमस्तवणिग्जनव्यवृहियमाणं पंचकुलधर्मा— धिकरण²चितायां
- 10 घोवहट्टपत्तने धनवाहिपत्तलायां यत्र नवचन शुभप्रदेशसमावासितकटकात (त्) व यमनियम[स्वा]— घ्याय—
- 11 ध्यानानुष्ठानतपचकवित्ति पंडितचकच्हामणिसै (शै) वाचार्याधिपतिसञ्बेविद्याकुस (श)ल[:*] क-
- 12 लौ दुर्व्वाशा(सो)वतारः त्रिशति(त)राज्याधिपतिस्री(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लपादच्वंनरतः ध्यानं कृर्व्वाणो⁶
- 13 एकाप्रचित्ततया भट्टारकस्री (श्री) मद्राजगुरुविमलशिवसुतो (तः) सां (शां) तशिवचरणाः वत्सगो— त्रान्वये वित (त्त) वं (बं) ध—
- 14 स्वरूपतया ठ रासलसुतसेवराजत(स्त)त्सुतराणकस्त्री (श्री) म[ढ]रेकस्य अलौराण्यामस्य भागभो-गप्रवणि-
- 15 करसव्वादायसहितं याविधरण्यस्य दत्तमिति ।। गूरुणा मनुङ्घां (ज्ञां) प्राप्य यमादिगुणोपेत[:*] समस्त-
- 16 प्रक्रियान्वितित्त्र (स्त्रि)कालस्नानदेवार्च्नरतः अन्निपूजारतस्च (श्च) सर्व्वभूतदयापरः सर्व्वेषां वंदिजना—
- 17 नामाधारभूतः जंतूनामास्वा(श्वा)सभूमि[:*] सर्व्वासु कलासु चतुरः ॥ 12 शस्त्रशास्त्रविसा(शा)— रदः भट्टरकस्रीम 13
- 18 द्राजगुरुविमलसि (शि)वशु (सु)तः शांतशिवानुजो नादसिवन¹⁴ पट्टस्य [ह] (व) र्षस्रपतया याव-दीयते तावदवा-
- 19 पितमिति¹⁵ धि(वि)त्तवं(वं)धतया किचिकार्यंकारणितापि वारणे स्री (श्री)मद्धरेकस्य याव¹⁶दिच्छा प्रतिपद्यते¹⁷ ॥ अत्रा-
- 20 थें साक्षिणः ।। पट(ह) किल मदने तथा सीले तथा ठ सूपट ठ गांगे वि रणधील वि गांगादेव पट्ट वि कवित ।। ठ गोलू-

¹ Read क्षेत्रि-.

[&]quot;Read -अविह्यमाणे पंचकलयमीधिकरणे. चितायां seems to be superfluous.

³ This expression seems to be out of place in a deed of mortgage,

⁴ Read तपस्विचकवित-.

[ै] Read पादाच्येनरतो; but as the compound stands it means that the Saiva ascetic was devoted to the feet of Trailokyamalla.

⁸ Read कुञ्जीण एकाम-.

⁷ This expression in the plural number does not fit in with the preceding epithets which are all in the singular. Read शांतशिय:.

⁸ वत्सगोत्रान्वयो.

P Chakravarti read अलीरा, remarking that ली which was first engraved was subsequently corrected into ली. See, however, similar mātrās of medial au in Kalau, lines 11-12.

¹⁰ The correct construnction would be अलोराग्रामं . . . सर्व्वादायसहितं यावार्द्धरण्यं दत्तवानिति ।

¹¹ Read गृहणा-.

¹² These dandas are superfluous.

¹⁸ Read मट्टारकश्रीम-.

¹⁴ The writer perhaps intended to write नाद्धिवेन, but it would not suit the several adjectival expressions in the nominative prefixed to it. Read नाद्धिवस्तेन.

¹⁵ Read यावदादीयते तावदेवापितमिति ।

¹⁶ The aksbara q in apq-, which was at first omitted, is written above the line.

¹⁷ The text is very corrupt here. Probably the intended sense is किंचित्कार्यकरणे वारणे वा श्रीमदरेकस्य येच्छा सा प्रतिपद्यते ।

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILOKYAMALLA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 963



(From a photograph).

21 ण इति कृत्वा प्रविष्ये सित गृ(ग्र)हीतव्यं(व्यम्¹)॥ सु(शु)भं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः॥ स्वल्पवु(बु)ध्या(द्वधा) मंदमितरहं यतु(त्) वाल्याति—

मु[द्गी]रितं सुद्धमसुद्धं वा² पं विस्वेस्वरेण³ लिखितमिति ॥ पं गंगाधरेण [च] [।*] उतकीरितं

सीरुकेन ।। ।। ।

Seal

श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यमल्ल[:।*]

TRANSLATION

Ōm ! Adoration to Siva! Adoration to Ganapati!

(Verse 1) May this god, the son of Dēvakī, be victorious! May this Kṛishṇa, the great luminary of the Vṛishṇi family, be triumphant! May (this Kṛishṇa), who has a delicate person dark like a cloud, be glorious! May Mukunda, who removes the burden of the earth, attain victory!

- (V. 2) May the blue-throated (Siva), the enemy of Smara and the dear husband of (Pārvatī) the daughter of the snow-mountain, who has a spear in (his) hand, protect all people,—(he) who was able to burn the three cities⁵; who has the bright moon on his head; who affords protection to all people and is the sole lord of all worlds!
- (V. 3) May the all-white Sarasvati, the female swan (sporting) in the assemblage of lotuses which are the mouths of Brahmā, always enjoy herself in my mind!
- (Line 5) During the reign of the illustrious Trailokyamalladeva, who looks resplendent with the complete series of royal titles commencing with Paramabhattaraka, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (and) the supreme lord of three kings, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who is the lord of speech through his study of various lores, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, who is the lord of Kanyakubja and whose beneficial and victorious rule is augmenting on the earth, -on Monday, the 7th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Jyeshtha in the year 963, while the Mahāmahattaka, Mantrin and Māndalika, the illustrious Malayasimha is present on duty, while the Sandhivigrahika Thakkura Haripala, the Köttapala Vāhada and the Arthalēkhin the illustrious Srēshthin Chanda (are also present on duty), (and) while the affairs in the court of justice of the Pañchakula6 are being managed by all merchants according to custom,-at the camp fixed at some auspicious place in the Dhovahatta pattana (situated) in the Dhanavahi pattala, the holy Santasiva of the Vatsa gōtra, a son of the Bhattāraka, the holy Rājaguru Vimalaśiva,—who has become the sovereign of ascetics through the practice of self-restraint, observances, study of sacred texts, and meditation; (who is) the crest-jewel of an assembly of learned people, the lord of Saiva Achāryas, proficient in all lores, (and) an incarnation of Durvāsas in the Kali (age); to whose feet is devoted the illustrious Trailokyamalla,7 the lord of three hundred kingdoms, (and) who is (always) engaged in meditation with a concentrated mind,—has given, by way of mortgage, the village Alaura, together with all dues (such as) bhaga, bhoga,

5 These are the three cities of the demon Tripura burnt by Siva.

² Here also the text is very corrupt. Perhaps the intended reading is इति कृत्वा प्रविश्य ग्रहीतव्यम् ।

Read बाल्यादुवीरितं शुद्धमशुद्धं वा.
Read विश्वेश्वरेण.

⁴ Read उत्कीण सीरुकेण.

⁶ The Pañchakula (assembly of five persons) corresponds to the Pañcha-maṇḍalī or Pañchaka mentioned in earlier records and the Panchāyat (Village Jury) of modern times.

⁷ See above, p. 372, n. 5.

taxes on pravanis and inclusive of (payment in) gold, to the Rāṇaka, the illustrious Dharēka, the son of Sēvarāja (who is) the son of the Thakkura Rāsala.

(L. 15) Having obtained the permission of (his) elder (brother), Nādaśiva, a son of the Bhaṭṭāraka, the holy Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, and a younger brother of Śāntaśiva,— who is endowed with self-restraint and other virtues, and possessed of all marks of high rank; who is engaged in bathing three times a day, adoring gods and worshipping fire; who is intent upon (showing) kindness to all creatures; who is the support of all suppliants¹ (and) the source of consolation to (all) creatures; who is skilled in all arts and proficient in all arms and sciences,—has conveyed by way of mortgage the whole annual income of the paṭṭa.² In the matter of doing or desisting from doing anything, the wish of the illustrious Dharēka is (to be) followed.

(L. 19) The witnesses to this deed are—Paṭṭakila³ Madanē; also Sīlē; also Thakkura Sūpaṭa; Thakkura Gāṅgē; Vi⁴ Raṇadhōla⁵, Vi Gāṅgādēva; Paṭṭakila Vi Kavita (and) Thakkura Gōlūṇa.

Knowing this, (the mortgagee) should enter into and take possession (of the village). May there be well-being of the writer and the reader!

(L. 21) Whatever I, dull-witted as I am, uttered through childishness and weak-mindedness, was written by Pandita Viśvēśvara and Pandita Gangādhara. (This deed) has been engraved by Sīruka.

Seal

The illustrious Trailokyamalla.

1 Lit., 'all panegyrists.'

an Shake

* I. s., of the village Alaura.

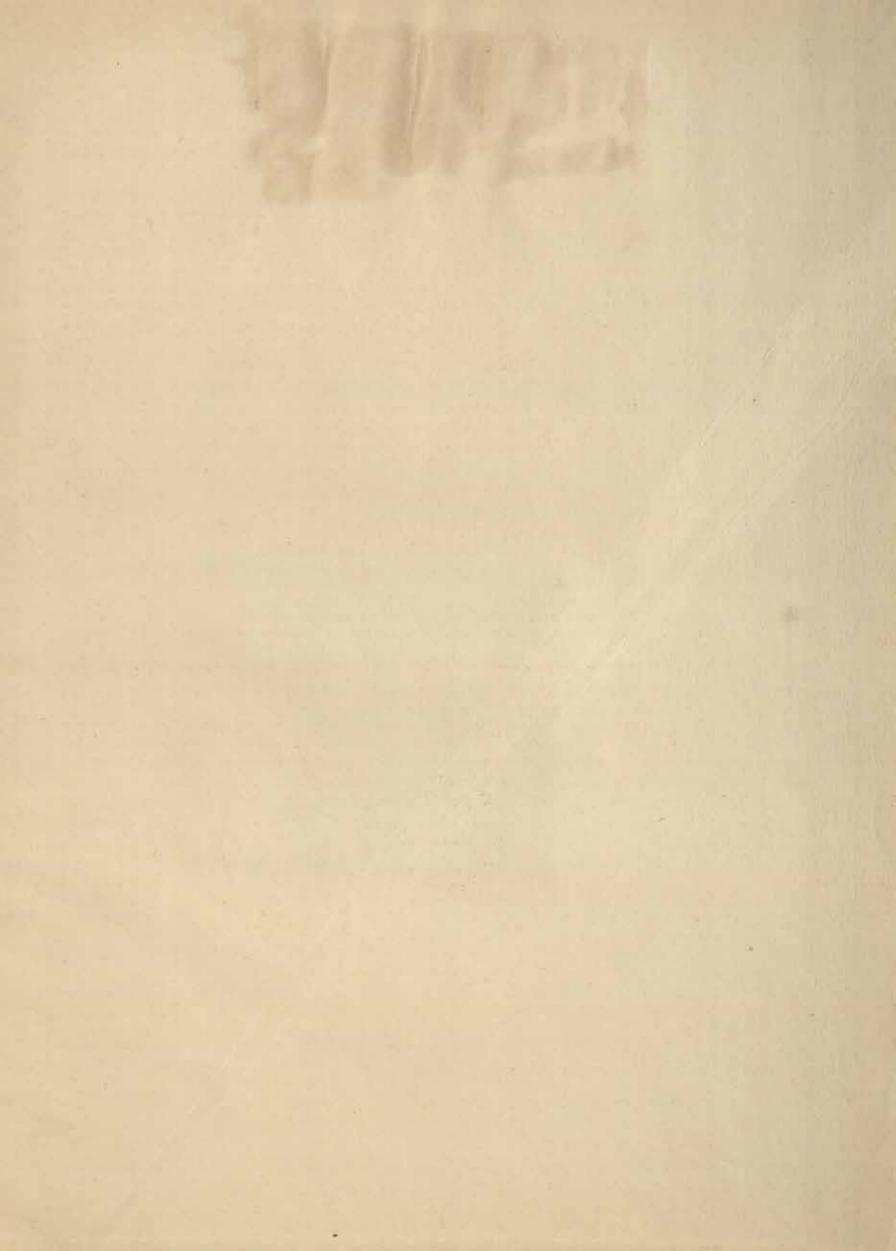
^a This seems to correspond to modern Pāṭil, the headman of a village.

⁴ Vi is evidently an abbreviation, like Tha and Patta, of some title or official designation. See above, No. 68, 1, 20.

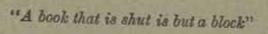
⁵ Perhaps Ranadhöla stands for Ranadhavala (brilliant in fighting) as suggested by Chakravarti, but it is more likely to be a proper name.











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